TORIES OPEN FIRE ON IRISH WORKERS

British troops storming into the Bogside, Catholic ghetto in Derry, North Ireland last week met resistance from stone-throwing youth in many back street battles.

BILLY GRAHAM LEADS 'HONOR AMERICA' CRUSADE - COVER FOR RIGHTISTS

Hospital Workers Must Fight To Reject Sellout Contract Offer!
what the editors think...

The analysis of Kenneth Gibson's election as mayor of Newark which appeared in the July 3 Militant reveals that the Socialist Workers Party has deepened its movement toward Stalinist popular front politics.

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While the CP openly and loudly trumpets its support for Gibson, the article is written by a Whig, Nat London, and London makes no bones about being a Whig. London goes to great lengths to demonize the Gibson candidacy and the "oppositional" Democratic Party campaigns of Gary and Stokes in Cleveland and Boston.

The SWP had opposed Stokes on the electoral arena by running its own candidate for mayor of Cleveland on the grounds that Stokes was an open Democratic Party candidate.

FEIGELE

But even this electoral opposition to the socialist candidate did not go unaided. There were many black communist and black radical workers who actively supported the candidacy of the socialist candidate for mayor.

In this sense London fairly describes the key words of his analysis: "Lately our institutions have been under attack." The Supreme Court, the Congress, the President, the flag, the home, the educational system, and even the church, London points out, have all been under attack. But even with that, in spite of their faults, we believe in America. London is preparing the rationale for open support to liberal politicians via the back door of a campaign for an "independent black political party." Thus every argument is turned toward demonstrating Gibson's "rational" support for the Democratic Party and from the capitalist-racist coalition. The logic of this argument is undeniable. But in fact his election provides the framework for the mobilization of the blacks, for control of the "black community" and for the formation of an "independent black political party." If this is the SWP's conclusion then they should come right out and say whether they were for Gibson, Adriozino or for abstention in the Newark election.

INDEPENDENCE

The London article also draws up its portrayal of Gibson as an independent candidate that he was "inextricably and openly associated with the Democratic Party. London also points out that the black electoral coalition are the "national" issue and that the "openly" Democratic Party candidates "as a former, that made him so valuable to the capitalist ruling class who supported him."

The New York Times notes that Gibson is "bending over backwards," to build a bridge to the pre-Affirmative Action. His ap- pointments are designed to reassert the ruling party to the black community they are renouncing Trotskyism and the struggle for an independent labor party in favor of the swamp of liberal politics.

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Dear Bill,

I think before me a copy of Progressive Labor's National Steering Committee Report on "Inner Party Struggle" dated June 15, 1970, I know that it is the most slanderous piece of trash I have ever seen in my life. I also have before me a copy of which you and the other comrades wrote putting forth your criticisms of the PLP.

The campaign of slander against you and the other comrades unthrust in that document and presently going on throughout PLP can only be described as Stalinism gone erupting. It is in the best tradition of Stalin's frame-up trials and "confessions," politics. This campaign exposes us for a fraud to all as clear on Progressive Labor's Stalinism and Leninism and shows clearly that it stands for all the worst of both Marxism and Leninism, that is, on Stalinism with its inhumanity and the political difference, any other way than by organizational manoeuvres and slanders. You know it, of course, but I want to point out to you that my own experience, there is no democratic centralism in the PLP.

I must say that, despite some serious flaws in your letter, there is a serious and honest attempt to criticize Progressive Labor. I see, however, that the report is that PLP and its mistakes are seen isolated and abstracted from the weaknesses in the ground in this country and the world. That is, it is the product of those theoretical roots of problems. The fact is, without a genuine criticism of Popular Labor's possibility for the working class and its violation of democratic centralism.

PRAGMATISM

The reason for this is that you are starting from an assumption that looks at the rest of the leadership of PLP started, with which it is split from the Communist Party. That outlook is pragmatic. Battle to this outlook is the refusal of PLP to deal with the fundamental issue of the revolutionary movement. That are the new developments in the revolutionary movement and, particularly, in this decade, as well as the working class on all fronts, means Trotskyism. This is why you can make your traditional criticisms of Progressive Labor and at the same time be blind to the exact position of PLP's movement.

I face the reason I strength to you the need to confront the issue of Trotskyism vs. Stalinism, and theoretically and politically the best intentions, down the same road PLP has traveled since it broke from the CP.

Historically Stalinism means the revisionism of the Communist party, the destruction of revolutionary strategy as developed by the Bolshevik party and the first and fourth Congresses of the Communist International. It is in fact a rejection with the hard with the world of Stalin's "theory of socialism in one country." The first and second Congresses emerged in the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin started as a pragmatic solution on the part of the ruling Soviet bureaucracy to the "reality" of the situation. The solution of the leadership of PLP, the isolated workers' state in an economic-isolated and isolated from world, followed the Marxists of that time to the defense and development of the Comintern, the political counter-revolution of Stalinism and the opportunism of transforming that by the capitalist path of the most advanced capitalist countries. That outlook and the orientation of the opposition to Stalinism's adaptation to that reality, the isolated workers' state in an economic-isolated and isolated from world, followed the Marxists of that time to the defense and development of the Comintern, the political counter-revolution of Stalinism and the opportunism of transforming that reality.

This betrays Progressive Labor's blindness to the situation in the world. In the world of what we are witnessing today, the need of the Trotskyist movement is to develop a genuine solution to the fundamental issue of the radical national question. This means the abandonment of the Stalinist strategy and theory.

Progressive Labor, when it broke from the Communist Party did so organizationally. Politically and theoretically the best intentions, down the same road PLP has traveled since it broke from the CP. This is the foundation of all its problems. It is at no point based its work on any thought out strategy or analysis of the situation in this country and most of the world. This can best be illustrated by the way in which it sought to penetrate the working class and the working class in particular importance since not only have we seen over and over again from PLP's score this but that conception at the point of origin, learn from them, and struggle with them. What we have is the ongoing class struggle all over the country, organizations and eventually a party which will lead the working class to overthrow the existing state apparatus.

Bill Epstein, leader expelled from P.L. cannot meet the workers' needs because of bankruptcy of the demand for nationalism of basic industry under workers' control. It means mobilizing the working class independently for an end to war and imperialism. The vehicle by which this demand which poses the only way it can be realized is the demand for the labor movement as a whole and raises in the struggles of the today's movement for the working class to take state power.

This conception of a transitional program is not something that springs from Trotsky's head full blown like Minerva's head of Jupiter's but was the conscious property of the Bolshevik Party and was hammered out during the first four Congresses of the Communist International. What Is To Be Done, that is to say, that through its organization independent analysis of the international and national situations. Basically it is based on the analysis of the struggles, putting forth the idea, systematically and these struggles in the working class, that this working class can, through its own efforts, change the world. This is the program of the Party and it is to make some comments. That is the program of black nationalism. As for me, to find it or not to find it is while that it is true that you fought within PLP against the overthrow of the capitalist state and occupational labor reform.

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The central thrust in Lenin's What Is To Be Done? is that there can be no real revolutionary movement without a conscious theory. Your whole outlook, which is the "day-to-day" experience and the "day-to-day" of the workers', is that What Is To Be Done, that is to say, that through its organization independent analysis of the international and national situations. Basically it is based on the analysis of the struggles, putting forth the idea, systematically and these struggles in the working class, that this working class can, through its own efforts, change the world. This is the program of the Party and it is to make some comments. That is the program of black nationalism. As for me, to find it or not to find it is while that it is true that you fought within PLP against the overthrow of the capitalist state and occupational labor reform.

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Banks Rescue Chrysler As Bankruptcy Panics Spread

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Last week only a major rescue operation personally directed by Chrysler Chairman Lynn Townsend and involving a dozen or so of the biggest U.S. banks prevented Chrysler from succumbing to a run on its commercial paper and following the Penn Central into bankruptcy:

What is revealed is that the U.S. economy is being battered on the edge of a precipice. This situation can give way to a landslide of corporate bankruptcies and bank failures at any moment. Chrysler has been in an extremely vulnerable position for many months. It has taken the brunt of the beating from the shambles since 1969 in new car sales. It has had to cut dividends from 50 cents to 15 cents per quarter per share. It showed a first quarter loss in 1970 of $25 million. It is in debt to the tune of $673 million payable within the year for its parent corporation and $1.6 billion in short term commercial paper for Chrysler Financial.

With the general panic conditions brought on with the collapse of the Penn Central, Chrysler found itself unable to roll its corporate paper, i.e., issue additional paper to pay off what was immediately falling due.

It was in this situation that forces Town- send to come hat in hand to the bankers who this time, at least, came through with $410 million in additional credit lines, momentarily stopping the drain.

Fearing more troubles immediately ahead, Senator Jacob Javits has called in the U.S. Treasury, which would back corporations that are momentarily strapped for cash. Javits has openly admitted that he fears a "chain reaction" might be in the offing as a result of the money squeeze.

Meanwhile under the gun of growing pressure, the large well known company going bankrupt (last week the Milbro Elec. Corp. and Heavy Reel Cap., industries), the House of Representatives approved a committee to study and recommend the first battering of U.S. bankruptcy laws in 22 years.

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Global Trade War Threatens As U.S.-Japan Talks Collapse

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The breakdown of the U.S.-Japan trade talks over textiles, textiles, wheat and Nixon's decision to back the imposition of mandatory import quotas opens the door to the beginning of a global trade war.

The fourteen month old U.S.-Japanese trade pact signed on June 24, Maurice Stana, Nixon's trade negotiator, and Kichi Miyazawa, Japanese Minister of Trade and Industry, meeting in Washington, reached no agreement. While the U.S. demanded that Japan accept a cut in its share of the U.S. textile market for the first time in five years, the Japanese rejected and accepted nothing less than an increase in the纺织品 market share to 12 to 15 percent over the next year.

With the collapse of the talks Maurice Stana, on behalf of the Nixon Administration gave the green light to Congress to impose mandatory import controls.

Though the official stand of Nixon is to stress that quotas only on textile products and it is well known that the Congress is inclined at this point to pass protectionist legislation that goes way beyond the relatively narrow issue of textiles or Japan.

PRETEXT

The breakdown of the talks will now serve as the pretext for wider controls. During the month of hearings held by the House Ways and Means Committee over 70 categories of commodities were proposed for protection.

Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills, is clearly preparing legislation that will allow virtually any quota on any product whose domestic producer was being damaged by imports.

Thus the groundwork is being laid for the consideration of a wide range of additional controls, as high as any tariff wall thrown up in the 1930s.

In 1929 with the passage of the Smoot-Hawley bill, the erection of protectionist barriers not only reduced imports but also must have become a significant factor in the construction of an almost unassailable tariff retentive measures.

The tariffs which depend on the U.S. for 30% of its exports are cut out of this market, it together with South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan must now seek to flood Europe with their cheap products provoking from the Europeans a similar set of import controls.

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Local 2947 Ranks Force Strike Over Wages At Williamsburg Steel

At Williamsburg Steel

STRIKE

The bosses offered 25 cents per year in a three year settlement with one sick day in the last year. To add insult to injury they demanded that any wage increase be accomplished by big increases in productivity. Already in the door shop at Williamsburg the spotlight is pushing for 70 doors over the 25 the men now got.

The top rate now is $4.01 an hour enjoyed only by the highly skilled mechanics. The bosses' offer does not even put a dent in the loss men have taken through plant closures.

The union is demanding 80 cents per year for a three year contract. But 2947 Pres. Clayton has made it clear that these demands are very negotiable and can be watered down. Forty cents, however, sounds much better than 25. While not addressing himself to the linking questions of job security, working conditions and rising inflation, Pres. Clayton has not raised one finger to prepare the ranks for any kind of struggle ahead. The only word from him has been a letter listing the companies' demands and nothing more about rising inflation.

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WHAT IS SPARATISM?

"If we subtract everything accidental, personal and episodical, if we reduce the present groupings in struggle to their fundamental political types, then indubitably the struggle of comrades Abern and comrade Cannon against comrades Abern represents a propagandist group of petty-bourgeois in its social composition, united by personal ties and having almost the character of a family."

—Leon Trotsky - In Defense of Marxism p.61

PART FOUR—The Graduates: Shane Mage and Geoff White

WE NOW TURN TO the graduates of the Spartacist School. Following the 1966 IC Conference the Spartacist experienced a period of desertion and splits which reduced the group to a shell of its former self and more important removed every leading member who had played any role in the previous struggles.

A look at just a few of these figures, the actual role they played in the Spartacist particularly in relation to the IC, and more recently in the movement, may throw more light on the nature and character of Spartacist and Robertson. We will begin with Shane Mage.

Shane Mage was one of the three initiators of the opposition within the SWP at the beginning of 1969. He sided with Robertson in the 1962 split in the minority and from then on to the 1966 Conference was one of the central leaders of the Spartacist group, a member of its leading body, the Resident Editorial Board, and a voice on the organisation. After four years in the leadership of the Spartacist he was to leave to embrace LSD, psychedelia and today, Zen Buddhism.

SEEU

In fact Mage was very directly involved in the issue which started the discussion which led to the split in the tendency. In the spring of 1963 Shane Mage’s wife Judy became involved in the initial organizing campaign which led to the formation of the Social Service Employees Union in the Department of Welfare in New York City. In the course of this work Judy Mage came into conflict with the leadership of the SWP. It became clear that either she would have to abandon or at least circumvent this work or be in danger of expulsion from the party for violation of discipline. She resigned from the party.

It was because of this situation that this author wrote the “Proposed Statement on Orientation” which stated directly against Judy Mage’s action which endangered the whole work of the international tendency.

ORIENTATION

"We recognise no circumstances whatsoever which would justify a member of our tendency, or any member of the party for that matter, in resigning from the party. We predict that there will be many, many situations in the coming period in which comrades will have to decide whether they are in the party or whether they are not. We are sure that in every case the group which has the higher interest is the party. And whatever decision we make is more important than any of these individual mass activities. It is our case that all of them together, our task in political utilisation to utilize these grave errors of the party leadership in order to educate the more important cadres of the party politically as to the nature of the political struggle which is now going on in the party."

The position taken by Shane Mage and Robertson was to defend Judy Mage in her act of resigning from the party and to insist that she still be a member of the discipline despite the fact that she was not a member of the party. Needless to say this raised certain questions as far as the discipline of the SWP but, as we have discussed earlier, even more questions as far as an understanding of the importance of the political struggle against revisionism in the Trotskyist movement internationally.

Mage added his defense to Robertson’s: "Presence in the same movement as the revisionist and revisionist-dominated organisations and to defend their view of the role of the mass movement and to participate in a national party with a solidly entrenched revisionist majority is in a secondary tactic for the revolutionary tendency. Like any tactic it is entirely subordinate to revolutionary struggle."

"The essential strategy of Marxism today is the formation of the revolutionary vanguard party of the working class through continual promotion of and participation in the class struggle on the basis of the perpetuation, development, dissemination, and implementation of the program of Trotskyism."

"Strategic imperatives can give way to tactical considerations only on the basis of concrete and compelling argument. Where the discipline of a non-revolutionary organization conflicts with the obligation of a revolutionary to his class and to the Marxist program there can be no assumption of discipline in favor of acceptance of the program."

"The revolutionary tendency consists of all those individuals participating in the class struggle on the basis of the Trotskyist program, irrespective of whether some party with a revisionist majority is willing to permit them to be 'party members.'" (2)

Mage was to leave to write to Gerry Healy in November: "We were told in our face, that the majority of the tendency in the U.S. is of the opinion to split from the SWP. I can give you the most categorical assurance that this is a lie...When all of us have stated that we have no perspective outside the SWP we mean every word." (3)

But what about your wife Judy, and your defense of her split from the SWP? At issue here was clearly a retreat from the political struggle against Pablo and on the grounds that all that counted was to fight as a "Trotskyist" in the working class directly. Judy Mage was to carry out the logic of this rationale provided by Shane Robertson and break completely from the Robertson group and become a labor bureaucrat. At one point in her bureaucratic career as president of the SEEU, this "Trotskyist" who chose the "class," had to be excoriated out of a union meeting by reporters from the Daily News so that she would not be physically lynched by an enraged membership!

It must be remembered that it was Shane Mage who provided the theoretical cover for this desertion of the movement.

TENDENCY

SEEU union president and at one point was almost lynched by enraged ranks.

Robertson defended Judy Mage when she broke from the SWP to do trade union work. Later she became SEEU union president and at one point was almost lynched by enraged ranks.

SIDEWAYS

by Judy Mage and that it was Robertson who organized a faction on the basis of this theoretical cover, a faction which in the fall split from the International Committee tendency.

SHOCK

We next meet Shane Mage in November of 1962 writing to Gerry Healy in "shock and disbelief" in this letter he stated that his differences with the proposals of the IC to the tendency "are essentially only two:" (1) I disagree with the proposal to centralize discussion among members of the tendency in the U.S. through a bulletin published in England. This proposal could only tend to obstruct the healthy political and organizational development of the tendency. Moreover as far as I can see it would be a direct violation of SWP party discipline and certainly would be a disloyal act toward the party!

"2) I believe that the entire SWP leadership, by its political methodology, outlook and practice, is fundamentally Pabloite. Like all restitutist tendencies it is heterogeneous, and splits within it can be counted on to provide us with concrete chances to intervene. But I would give weight to differences among individuals within this leadership only in the context of their basic political identity." (2)

Here we have the most arrogant of nationalistic outlooks! Mage objects to a discussion centralized through England because it would "obstruct the healthy political and organizational development of the tendency."

His argument about
TROTSKY

They first took the form of an article printed in the December 1965 issue of Spartacist," Trotsky and the Fate of the Russian Revolution." Written in the form of a review of a Deutscher's trilogy on Trotsky—soon three years after the death of the great Russian leader—Deutscher's views on Trotsky and Trotskyism in general were expressed in a foreword. Deutscher described Trotsky's views on the basis of revolutionary experience in his career from the time of the October 1917 revolution to the time of his death in 1940. The author's aim was to present the views of Trotsky and Trotskyism as a whole in the context of the historical development of the Russian Revolution and the International Working Class Movement.

"The victory of Stalinism as a political and ideological force was at its peak in the 1930s, but the victory of Trotskyism was already at its height in the 1920s. The Trotskyists fought against the Stalinists in the struggle for the future of the Russian Revolution." (8)

BUKHARIN

The main task of the Bukharinists was to defend the interests of the Russian working class, the Russian working class against the Stalinists. Bukharin had a clear understanding of the role of the working class in the revolution and the need for a strong and united Communist Party. In his writings, Bukharin emphasized the importance of the working class in the struggle against the Stalinists. His views on the role of the working class were also reflected in his support for the团结运动 of the working class.

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"Why did Stalinism become a mass movement embodying the most intelligent and motivated disturbances and intellectuals, while remaining an organisation of mysti-
cism and devils, a living lie?"

Again they answer:

"We are tired of the old Trotskyist form which has nevertheless been the best answer so far."[14]

WHITE

But scepticism was not limited even to these examples. It penetrated deep into the central leadership of the Spartacist group. In her speech given at the "Mass Movements in the New Left and state capitalist circles." In other words White's argument was that the Bay Area group was actually a cover for a "whole group which was preparing to desert the fight inside the SWP for political motives altogether. White covered for these people by leading the struggle to present this unprincipled group against the SWP. This is the basis for his long collaboration with Robertson.

UNITY

The approach White took to the question of unification of the two groups, in 1965-1966 and the International Committee is particularly revealed in a letter he wrote in May of 1965 at a time when the first negotiations were begun.

"However, the political heart of the matter I think is that we need to define sharply our attitude toward Healy and his IC. For us, I think this is a question of time involved in the Trotskyist "TW and its not particularly formidable group. We have had a certain historical connection with Healy, but his record with us has enabled us to avoid facing up to an evaluation of our current divergences and affiliates. If this letter from Tim is anything more than just a gimmick, we can no longer just sit it out.

Personally, I am quite concerned about our relations to Gerry and Tim. I think we would make a mistake to negotiate in any serious way (and how else were we to negotiate except with Healy without first being clear ourselves as to what evaluation we should make of him, not just what he wants with us, but he can do for us that we can't do for him. What can he do better than we can, and do we really see the IC playing the role assigned to it by Trotsky's FTTU and what about our relations to Pousadas?"[14]

HEART

Here we go to the heart of the man and in that way to the heart of the Robertson group. The whole question of the international movement is being dominated by Geoff White to the question as to whether or how the IC can do anything for us. In the spirit of American Pragmatism White wants to know what these bloody foreigners can do for us and how they can do for ourselves.

This brings us to Robertson's conduct at the 1966 Congress that in response to this letter he came to agreements with White on the following: (1) it was a question of what "we do for them and they do for us"; (2) that the IC was not the continuation of the Fourth International of Trotsky; and (3) therefore there was no need to break relations with Pousadas as the IC like Pousadas was simply a dispensable place for international fishing.

REIGNATION

We now move to July 1968. Some seven years have passed since Geoff White joined the opposition inside the SWP, six of them in collaboration with Robertson. Five years of independent existence of Spartacist have gone by and two of these after the definitive split with the International Committee in April 1966. Geoff White submits his resignation to Spartacist and completes his break with any sort of support in Trotskyism.

SPLIT

Following in the sceptical shoes of Shane Mage and Peter Friedrich Geoff White concludes that "Trotskyism has been failure:"

"...there is the long term history of what may broadly be called our movement from the emergence of the Russian Left Opposition to the present day in any of the great historical crises, we have been able to influence the course of events.... The course of the struggle refuses to follow our preconceptions, and we are unable to make our ideas or our history relevant to it... the IC's failure is that it lacks the ability to influence the historical and political social crises of our day, on a massive scale, our efforts at present are myopic, one of total utilitarianism:"

"This is the conclusion I have been moving toward with increasing consciousness at least even now since the conference, and in some ways, considerably before that. I have been forced to follow these thoughts to their logical conclusion for two main reasons. One is the subjective reason. Some personal investment in the sectarian movement. The other is that despite my confidence in the validity of these criticisms I have been unable to discuss them, develop, adequate alternatives. Just as I and I suspect many on the other comrades have subscribed to the degraded workers' state position on the Russian question largely because the visible alternatives present even more horrendous intellectual difficulties and destructive political consequences, so for some time I have subscribed to the validity of Trotskyism because I have been unable to see no valid alternative."[17]

DEMOLIZED

Here we have the demoralized, deme-

DECAYED

Scepticism as a method is completely idealist and works, as we shall see, as a cause of a better society than the one we have. Thought is defined as a method and serves to a complete break with all forms of religion and mysticism, and with fetishism. The ability of man to know reality and through

Geoff White (above) is shown below addressing the 1966 Spartacist convention.
RENEGADE

It was around the time of the April 1966 International Committee that Shane Mage publically dissociated himself with Spartacist and any connection with Marxism. But before he left he did his best to poison the already difficult situation between Spartacist and the IC. Gerry Healy wrote in a draft approved by Robertson:

"...The Stalinist leadership of the International Committee, with its exclusive interest in its own power and status, has no more regard for the original principles of Marxism-Leninism than does the Stalinist leadership of Spartacist. Its politics are those of the Stalinist imperialists. "We must be true to our original principles" is the Stalinist imperialist's cry when it is about to scrap them. The same is true of Spartacist. "We must not be swayed by outside pressures" is the cry of the imperialist when it is about to do just that. The original principles of Marxism-Leninism are not important in the life of the leadership of Spartacist and the International Committee. The Stalinist leadership of Spartacist has no respect for the original principles of Marxism-Leninism. Nor does the Stalinist leadership of the International Committee. Both of these organisations have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. They are organisations of Stalinism.""[13]

LSD

We need only add that by fall Mage appeared at a meeting of the Socialist Scholars Conference along with Isaac Deutscher. He utilized this platform to expound on the virtues of LSD and the inner revolution. Deutscher had in the past described LSD almost exactly the same way - up sharply. Our latest report is that he has become a convert of Zen Buddhism, and has his own spiritual adviser, a religious opium.

Shane Mage’s road from Marxism to Buddhism is not a personal evolution. It is the result of a political analysis, which in turn is the result of an internal crisis within Spartacist and the International Committee which Mage helped to bring about.

In answer to this letter Harry Turner wrote:

"...Your characterization of Shane Mage as an anti-Trotskist renegade who broke up a session of the negotiations of the Joint Unity Committee after being 'brought into it' by Robertson is also quite a surprising and incorrect one. Mage has recently publicly revealed political differences with Spartacist which in our opinion, effectively means the end of the Spartacist-Leninist line in the Trotskyist movement in New Zealand. However, he is not another who says the same thing. Let us see exactly what the rule of session supported Mage’s economic position.

"...Shortly after this episode Mage turned up at a public meeting held by Spartacist and spoke at length from the floor explaining that the position that the working class was no longer a major revolutionary force in the modern world. The Spartacist organisation then asked Mage to resign which he promptly did."

FRIEDLANDER

Shane Mage was not the only sceptic to leave Spartacist for LSD. Approximately a year later a small group, led by Peter Friedlander, split off and issued a leaflet asking the question: "Is Marxism dead?" which it answered by saying: "It looks like it."

"...Why did Stalinism become a major movement, embodying the most intelligent and dedicated workers and intellectuals, whilst an organisation of mysticism and deceit, a living lie?"

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The approach White took to the question of the two major Trotskyist groups within the IC in May 1965 and the International Committee, personally resolving the dispute. The leadership of the IC in May of 1965 at a time when the internal unity negotiations were begun?

In 1965, after the political heart of the Trotskyist movement in New Zealand, composed of South Africa, the CWI, the IC, and the WA, had been formed, the leadership of the IC had no choice but to face up to the fact that the Trotskyist movement in New Zealand was divided. The IC was faced with the problem of how to deal with this situation.

WHITE

But scepticism was not limited to these organisations. The main reason for the central leadership of the Trotskyist movement in New Zealand to break up was the question involved in the internal unity question. The question of how the IC and the WA should deal with the rich and poor of the Trotskyists.

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While Spartacist was running around with Nuclear Shield posters White wanted the workers states to give up nuclear arms knowing it to change reality was the greatest strength philosophically of the barricade movement and rationalism. But in a period of decay, capitalism throws up particularists in the universities to discover the bankruptcy of capitalism and thus the necessity to fight for its overthrow.

**REPLY**

The political conclusion of scepticism is to maintain the struggle to overthrow capitalism, to accept capitalist reality as unchangeable and unchangeable, and to therefore lead the life of a philistine benefitting materially from this capitalist reality and helping to maintain it through the propagation of religious-sceptical views in the universities. This is the course both Mage and White have taken.

James Robertson's reply to the resignation of the renegade anti-Trotskyst who now views his stay in radical politics as a bad investment is even more revealing.

"Receipt of White's resignation statement, etc. was not an issue. Comrade White, for all his inner corruption, was a mainstream of our tendency in the Bay Area and nationally. Comrade White was instrumental in holding together the Bay Area tendency in the time of the Healy-Walworth split from us in 1962, so that not only the majority of the Bay Area tendency went over... However from the beginning of his relationship with the tendency, a sceptical quality and a careful, faithful aloofness were not absent from his up-bringing. During our 1966 Founding Conference, Comrade White argued, albeit stubbornly and unconvincingly, that we should oppose the possess-ion and development of nuclear weapons by the Sino-Soviet bloc, a position which can in any practical way be squared with the support the working-class states against imperialism."

"White's resignation is without deep impact, especially his view that perhaps the elimination of the bureaucratic apparatus might have won the battle against the working class from social recession in a world scale."

The task of this movement is to resolve the crisis of leadership which has put back the working class from overthrew capitalism on a world scale.

In April 1966, the International Committee of the Fourth International called its Third Congress. At this gathering, representatives of the Workers' Internationale in several countries argued out the problems of building the international revolutionary movement.

While taking Spartacist into the Peace & Freedom Party (nominating convention above)

**FOOTNOTES**

2. Ibid., page 47-48.
4. Ibid., page 16.
6. Ibid., page 10.
7. Ibid., page 11.
8. Ibid., page 9.
12. Ibid., page 23.
15. Marxist Bulletin No. 34, op. cit.
18. Ibid.

**CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE**

**PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

by G. HEALY

IN APRIL, 1966, the International Com-mitee of the Fourth International called its Third Congress. At this gathering, repre-sentatives of Workers' Internationale in several countries argued out the problems of building the international revolutionary movement.

The task of this movement is to resolve the crisis of leadership which has put back the working class from overthrowing capitalism on a world scale.

This involved a scientific understanding of the class struggle and, in order to achieve this, a centralised organisation, fighting to lead the workers in all their national and international struggles, had to be constructed.

The process of building such a movement is complex and contradiction. It raises problems whose solution embodies a distillation of the experience of the working class in active struggle.

**LABOR PUBLICATIONS 243 E. 10TH ST. NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003**
CP's Daily World Slanders Opposition At Chicago Conference

BY FRED MUELLER

According to the Communist Party, the National Rank and File Action Conference held in Chicago on June 27-28 was a great step forward for the working class. George Meyers, chairman of the CP Trade Union Commission, is quoted in the Daily World as saying, "I haven't seen, among trade unionists, such spirit, such determination and such consciousness about going somewhere, since the 1930's."

As far as consciousness is concerned the role of the Communist Party at this conference was to hold the union leaders back. As we explained in our report on the conference in last week's Bulletin, the CP defends the class-collaborationist policies of the trade union bureaucracy, seeking to give them a militant mask.

Not surprisingly the Stalinist account of this Chicago conference is completely distorted. In the first report in the Daily World there is absolutely no mention of any struggle at the conference at all. In the second report, in the July 2 Daily World, the opposition is mentioned briefly in order to smear it and distort its views.

BREAK

According to the Daily World, Meyers, one of the main points of the conference was to break decisively with the Meany policies. To the delegates, I think Meany's policies meant a break with the policies of the CP which looks towards the development of U.S. big business and for the Vietnam War.

Meyers wants a break with Meany's policies, not toward the building of a Marxist leadership on class-struggle policies, but toward the building of a Maoist leadership on class-conflict policies, policies towards the bureaucrats who express the interests of the liberal wing of U.S. capitalism. They advocate a vaguely worded program of fighting racism and anti-union laws through reliance on a vague notion of "the unity of the bureaucratic and "labor friends" in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

BANKRUPT

This is the same bankrupt class-colaborationist policy of the Stalinists for decades. In order to defend themselves the Stalinists consciously ignored the facts. They ignored the fact that the CP by the Workers League, they ignore the demands for a labor party fight and fight for the wage offensive and shorter and better working week. They quite consciously single out the intervention of a number of relevant groups like the International Socialists and Spartacist, because these tendencies equivocated precisely on the question of the working class and how to win the contract of the fight for the trade union bureaucracy within the unions.

CP policy of supporting Democrats and union bureaucrats dominated Chicago conference.

The ruling Opposition to the conference was to take up the class program inside the unions today, whether this refusal is cloaked in a liberal or a bureaucratic language or in the anti-Moscow demagogy of the Stalinists, is nothing but a capitulation to the bureaucracy.

The Stalinists defend their class collaborationist line by slandering the Trotskyist opposition as "anti-labor" and by ignoring the real alternative to their policies.

BUREAUCRACY

As far as the Daily World is concerned, there is no such thing as the trade union bureaucracy. There are simply rank and file leaders. Some leaders, we are told, are good, while others are bad. As the Daily World says, the conference expressed support of trade union leaders who adhere to the interests of the membership, and opposition to those who fail to make those interests.

What became of Lenin's analysis of the bridging of a section of the working class and the development of a revolutionary bureauacracy based on the struggle against the exploitation of the advanced capitalist countries? Lenin explained that this bourgeoisie had to be mercilessly fought in the interests of the international working class.

The Stalinists no longer even make a pretense of analyzing the labor movement in materialist terms. They abandon completely the question of the bureaucracy because they believe they have taken care of the question of the Soviet bureaucracy, and thus bureaucratize the struggle of the international labor movement.

According to the Daily World, the so-called "ultraleftists" were given attention but as their purposes became evident they were brushed aside.

CCNY Hires Scab Labor To Bust Guard's Union

Burns guards picket CCNY to protest their firing and replacement with non union guards.

By a Bulletin Reporter

NEW YORK—Burns Guards picketed in front of City College last week after non-union guards were hired to replace them. The pickets carried signs saying "N.Y. State Takes Our Job" Awards City College Contract To Burns. They called Burns "CCNY's Non-Union Guards Take Our Jobs Away."

The contract held by the Burns Guard Corporation with CCNY for security service expired on June 30. Burns guards had worked at City College for over 10 years. On July 1 non-union guards from the Workers League Corporation took over the security jobs on campus. The Workers League Corporation undertook the Burns agency for the job on the basis of their non-union wages.

The guards were members of Local #2 P.E. I. A. W., and received about $2.00 an hour pay. The new, non-union guards will be paid even less.

CCNY Dean of Students Herbert Sommers said that the difference in pay amounts to about $1.50 an hour.

In a statement issued July 2, the college said, "In accordance with the Board of Higher Education contracting procedures, the college is mandated to award contracts to the lowest responsible bidder."

"The status of contractor's employees with the union affiliation or non-union affiliation is settled between the contractor and his employees."

"We are informed that the Wackenhut Corporation has expanded an effort to employ the security personnel previously associated with the City College by the Burns International Detective Agency."

Most of the guards will refuse these jobs because to accept them will mean the loss of job seniority and pension benefits protected by the union.

The college administration says that "union affiliation" is no concern of the college. This is a bald faced lie. They, like every other city agency and institution, as well as every capitalist enterprise, are trying to cut costs at the expense of the workers living standards and working conditions.

The first step in this direction is to get rid of the unions where possible, and lure non-union labor at lower wages.

This cannot be allowed to cut costs at the expense of either the students or the workers.

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SUPPORT

According to the college, Wackenhut has offered to rehire the guards who formerly worked for Burns on the campus. The union guards were hired on the basis of union wages and benefits, as union guards their homes and all guarantees of a union contract must be maintained. No one campus worker must be made to pay in either unemployment or non-union wages, for the cost cutting schemes of the city.

To get rid of the union guards and unionize the new guards must be sent to Local 2, and to every campus and in the city labor movement to mobilize support for these workers.

DIFFERENCE

But we can tell Meyers and the rest of the CP just what the fundamental difference is. The Stalinists are carrying forward the same fundamental policies as in the 1930's but the working class is no more content to accept the old Stalinist policies today. The 1930's was the period of rapid industrialization, of the rise of fascism, the betrayals of the Comintern, and bitter defeats for the working class. The 1970's are ushered in by a working class which has been decisively defeated since the war, a working class which is disenchanted and determined to make its previous gains. The stage is set for explosive class battles in the 1970's, for this is the first time in all of this century that the working class has a chance to take united action to move the development of the class struggle.

This is the lesson of the Chicago conference—this is the first time the working class is coming out into the open and expressing its demands.

And this means that for Meyers and Company we will have a much tougher time in misleading and betraying the working class. The Stalinist bureaucracy is beset by a growing opposition from the workers and increasing demands for a massive international upsurge of the working class which threatens the disappearance of peaceful coexistence and long years of collaboration between the capitalists and the Stalinists.
POLISH STALINISTS BREAK CEMENT STRIKE IN IRELAND

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Last week over 750 workers at Cement Ltd. in Drogheda and Limerick, Ireland, were forced back to work after a five month strike. After more than 21 weeks out on $12 a week strike pay, the workers went back on the demands:

Their strike was broken not only by the bosses and the police but by international scabbing of the Stalinist bureaucracy of Poland.

On April 6, two months after the start of the cement workers' strike in the Republic of Ireland, Poland exported some cement—scab cement.

Over 520 tons of Polish made "SAIL" brand portland cement was sold to Minex, the stateowned building materials export company, and shipped to Henry Thompson.

Proof of Stalinist scabbing. Bills of Lading for shipment of cement to Republic of Ireland during big cement strike.

"Coal importer" in Moville, Ireland. The cement was loaded onto the "MV FRANCE" in the port of Gdynia, Poland and was shipped to Moville Port, in County Donegal, a small port that does not normally handle cement shipments. No regular port in Ireland would accept the scab shipment.

SCAB
The Stalinists scab cement was sold to the bosses above at $19.50 a ton, the going price for cement during the strike reached as high as $20.00 a ton. It was very profitable business indeed!

Meanwhile the strikers were confronted with so many truckloads of scab material that they were forced to form vigilante squads to ambush trucks carrying the Polish cement and destroy the cargo. But the strike was ultimately crushed, thanks to the kind cooperation of Mr. Gomulka and Co.

But scab cement is not the Polish Stalinists first venture into the filthy business of international strikbreaking. Earlier this year they exported coal to fascist Spain and helped Franco break the heroic Asturian miners' strike.

This is just another example of the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy of Poland. A regime which has opened up diplomatic relations with the Luso-Nol regime in Cambodia, which welcomed the Tory victory in England, which has "cultural exchanges" with Spain and Portugal.
IRISH WORKERS

It shows the program of the Tories for England as well.

SLI

The political force which fought against this strategy of the ruling class has been the Socialist Labour League. The SLI has led the fight for the unity of the working class in Ireland, and for the unity of Irish and British workers, of all religions and races, against the plans of the Tories to drive back the working class. It is this fight, led by the revolutionary party, guided by Marxist strategy, which can pose the question of power, and topple the reactionary Stormont government and the Tories for good.

Three thousand additional troops have been rushed to Ulster to “maintain law and order” during the annual Orange and champagne riots, which ends July 12. This brings to 11,000 the number of British troops occupying North Ireland, which is increasing on the brink of civil war.

Rioting was touched off by youths in Derry after the arrest and imprisonment of Bernadette Devlin, Member of Parliament from Mid-Ulster. She was arrested for her role in fighting the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B-Specials when they attacked workers in Derry’s Catholic slum of Bogside last August.

The Chichester-Clark regime has imposed a 10:30 curfew, and rushed through a new law providing for a mandatory minimum sentence of from 1 to 5 years for rioting. The Special Powers Act, which suspends all civil liberties is used to arrest on suspicion and to imprison without trial. Thousands of British troops encircle the working class Catholic areas, searching all who enter for guns, and conducting house to house searches for armaments. Catholics in the cordoned off ghetto charge that British troops looted as they searched.

At the same time, the top British officer in North Ireland, Sir Ian Freeland, has the army under orders to shoot without warning anyone carrying firearms. Troops have used this time and again to fire at crowds of youths armed with only their fists, sticks and rocks.

DICTATORSHIP

For all intents and purposes, a military dictatorship exists in North Ireland. The Tory government in Stormont, with the aid of the Tories now in office in England, have every intention of carrying out the most vicious attacks on Catholic and Protestant workers alike.

The Unionists are clearly trying to provoke confrontations between Catholics and Protestant workers in order to re-endorse divisions within the working class and strengthen the hand of the Unionists in attacking the working class with new force. Just as Powellism and racism is used in England to divide the working class there, Paineyism and religious divisions are used to divide the Irish working class.

This is the meaning of the provocative Orange Day parades celebrating the victory of Protestant loyalism in the Battle of the Boyne in the 1600s. For the last several weeks, “practice” Orange Day marches have been held in Belfast and Derry, taking place directly through Catholic districts. This is like holding Kik Kluk Klan marches in central Harlem. Tory officials absolutely refuse to remove or cancel these parades which are designed to provoke confrontation and British troops stand ready to attack Catholic workers who dare to dispute these laws.

These religious hatreds have been nurtured for centuries to divide the people of Ireland divided and in colonial status. The Tories now provoke and inflame these prejudices and further divide the class and divert it from the prospect of more unemployment and poverty which now confronts both Catholic and Protestant workers. The Tories are trying to solve the problems posed by the economic crisis in Britain at the expense of the workers’ living standards. They use racism and religious divisions to achieve this.

UNION LEADERS

The North Irish trade union leaders are no better at fighting for the interests of the working class than are the British trade union leaders. In the face of this massive attack on the working class, trade union leaders last week met with Sir Reginald Maudling, new Tory Home Secretary. They emerged from the meeting pleased that Maudling had assured them that the Tories would support the continuation of the Chichester-Clark “reform” program. They also welcomed the new act outlawing “incitement to Haterd and Disorder.” They see this act as a device by trade union leaders of these so-called “reforms” just as the way to more vicious repression. The “Incitement to Hatred” Act will be used against all of those militating to fight the Tories. Chichester-Clark’s “reform” program is just a cover for the Tory’s real program: troops, arrests, military law, repression—which is now in action.

The attacks on the North Irish working class are samples of what workers can expect in England as they fight to defend their standards of living and their trade union rights against the Tories. Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, speaking at a London meeting called by the SLI and the Young Socialists in solidarity with the working class of North Ireland against the British troops and the Tories, pointed out:

“The government is showing its hand now in how they are going to bring Saracenics and tanks into the Bogside. The barricades are that the persecuted Catholic workers have had to erect for hundreds of years. They are like the British working class comes out in protest for true rights, they will do the same thing in Liverpool and London as well.”

French Trotskyists Hold Workers Conference

BY MELODY FARRAR

On June 30—21 the Workers Alliance, founded by the French section of the Fourth International after the 1968 general strike, held its first conference in Paris. 45 delegates attended as well as 58 guests.

The conference brought together workers from every major union and from different political tendencies. The majority of delegates belonged to the GGT (Socialist Federation) while others came from the CGT-FO, CFDT and the student unions.

The main goal of the conference was to unite all workers and youth in a struggle to forge a United Front of workers’ organizations and fight for a workers’ government based on socialist policies.

The experience of the 1968 General Strike was central to the conference. Many delegates cited the role of the Stalinists in attempting to break up the General Strike and the refusal of the French CLP to lead a fight against the new “anti-worker” law that destroyed the power of the working class and its vanguard.

The conference took place at a time when the French ruling class is going over to open repression and provocation against the working class. The French working class, however, remains strong and undefeated. At the same time as open repression is used, the Pompidou government announced the reorganization of the Stalinists to hold the working class back.

OPEN LETTER

The conference issued an open letter to all workers and youth who outlined the major resolutions of the conference. The letter ended with a call to the workers to fight against the Pompidou government and to answer the call of the International Workers Alliance to defend the Social Security and a call for all workers to call an end to the June 12, 1968 law outlawing revolutionary organizations and the recently passed anti-wrecker law. A number of resolutions were passed by the conference calling for immediate withdrawal of all troops from Indochina, and for the removal of all Warwak Pact troops from Czechoslovakia. The conference proposed the establishment of an International Inquiry Commission of workers’ organizations to investigate the new trials in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and pledged to fight for the release of all political prisoners in these countries.

DEFENCE

A special resolution was passed to take up the defense of seven workers from Valence now facing jail sentences for following a police attack on the Valence strikers. At the end of the conference a National Committee was elected.

Throughout the conference discussion the necessity to build a revolutionary party, based on the principles of Trotskyism, was emphasized. Without such a party the working class, through its unions alone, will not be able to defeat the bourgeoisie. The First Conference of the Workers Alliance is an important step forward in building this party.

MARXISM & MILITARY AFFAIRS

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Opposition Sellout Grows In 1199

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

New York, July 6—The leadership of Local 1199 who agreed to a tentative new contract last Wednesday will have a tough job selling this pact to the membership. There is widespread opposition to the settlement at the hospitals and many workers have denounced it as a sell-out.

Delegates from three major hospitals—Beth Israel, Mount Sinai and Montefiore—have reported that the general reaction among the ranks is definite and dissatisfaction. At Montefiore several delegates have circulated a petition against the contract which has already been signed by 300 members.

The rank and file were ready for a fight to win their demands and now can see that the union leadership pulled back from a fight and betrayed the entire struggle. Many workers have said that all the major demands could have been won if the threat of strike action had been carried out. This is the first time that the 1199 membership has ever faced such mass opposition.

OPPOSITION

The opposition in 1199 is part of the militancy and rebellious mood sweeping whole sections of the rank and file in the labor movement. When the $101 minimum was won in 1968 it seemed to be a good increase especially since the minimum had been 79$. Since then workers have seen what inflation has done to this increase. Workers still feel that the $101, a slightly larger increase than two years ago is not sufficient to really improve their living standards.

What is different in 1970 is that workers not only insist on defending past gains but will fight to make even greater advances at a time when every politician

New U.S. "peace plan" is aimed at undercutting guerrillas.

BY MARTY JONAS

The recent “peace” plan for the Middle East proposed by Secretary of State Rogers is designed to take the heat off both the Israeli Zionist leaders and the Arab leaders.

It consists of a cease-fire and renewed negotiations (under UN auspices) supposedly based on Israel’s giving back all territories gained in the 1967 war. It remains deliberately vague on all points.

But one thing is clear—it is based on the continuation of Israel as an imperialist power in the Middle East. The vague peace terms are a fact of the fact that Israel cannot be guaranteed to comply with any of the terms (certainly not the third).

The plan comes at a time when both the Zionist leaders and all the Arab leaders are under attack by an upsurge of the Arab masses.

COOLING OFF

After the most civil war against Jordan’s Hussein recently, a cooling off of the guerrilla forces is what Nasser, Hussein and the other Arab rulers as well as Golda Meir most need.

The events in Jordan demonstrated that the war against imperialism in Israel could not be continued without a fight against the Arab ruling class.

This is the reason why Nasser went running to Moscow last week. Like Arafat of Al Fatah several weeks before him, he has no doubt been discussing with the Stalinit bureaucratic how to maintain the balance of power in the Middle East. This means the crushing of the Arab revolution. The Stalinit bureaucrats are experts in this, having assisted in the birth of Israel

Kingbrook Hospital workers rally before July 1st contract date.

Nasser and Kremlin Conspire Against Arab Revolution

In 1948, in all these forces come together. The Rogers plan’s terms, which are vague, are less important than its intended effect on the mass struggles now reaching a peak in the Middle East. We can expect to see high level talks presided over by the U.N. while the Arabs and Israelis lecture themselves deeper in spotted territories and the Arab rulers gather their strength to crush the revolutionary forces in the guerrilla movement.

FEAR

The thing that the imperialists and the Stalinit fear most is the immense force of the fedayeen in carrying forth the revolution and upsetting the balance of power.

The leadership of the guerrilla movements have up to now in even their most radical organizations been only willing to put pressure on the Arab leaders. This has been shown over and over in their unwillingness to seize power from governments that not only back down from fighting the Zionists but attack the guerrillas.

A party must be constructed that can lead the struggle for power in the Middle East against the treachery of the Arab rulers and the Stalinites.

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