

xs:Ma, Joe, Doug, Jack, Gus

(RETYPE COPY)

Reykjavik 3/21/1978

To U.Sec. Bureau

Comrades,

Accompanying this letter is a letter from Bjorn Arnorsson where he resigns from FBK. Because B.A. is the person in the leadership of FBK who has had the best contacts with other sections of the International and the best contacts with leading comrades of the International, we consider it correct to write to you and inform you about this matter. Besides this letter the affair is in the hands of the Control Commission of the FBK. We will send you its report on this as soon as it is ready.

We think B.A.'s letter is by itself very clarifying, but because of the seriousness of his accusations, we would like to point out the following:

1. B.A. didn't demand that ^{these} ~~this~~ matters were discussed in the Central Committee or in the Control Commission, nor has he written about them in the internal bulletin of FBK. Instead of that he writes this letter only one month after FBK's congress took place.

On this congress the overwhelming majority of FBK's members elected B.A. to the Central Committee. No factions or tendencies were formed before or during the congress, but in the matter that caused the most intense discussion at the congress (the participation of FBK in the parliamentary elections this summer) B.A.'s ~~views~~ views were supported only by a small minority. These facts show well B.A.'s sincerity in this affair.

2. In the first point of his letter B.A. mentions that he has previously criticized the functioning of the leadership of FBK in the Political Bureau. This is correct. Early in the year 1976 there were disagreements among comrades in the PB about the interpretation of a resolution which had been passed in the PB. The sequel was that the PB decided that all proposals put for the vote in the PB should be in written form and that the minutes should be read aloud in the end of each meeting. Everybody agreed to this procedure. But it must be admitted that things have not always functioned that way.

During that time B.A. also criticized that out of five members of the PB, three (that is: Asgeir Danielsson, Petur Tyrfingsson and Mar Guomundsson) had frequently met at the home of one PB member (P.T.), and discussed the actual political matter. Of course it happened that matters discussed at PB meetings had been discussed previously at such meetings. In this context B.A. proposed that these meetings should be prohibited. This proposal was rejected. These meetings were never formal, or secret, and they were mostly accidental. They didn't even lead to a bloc on the questions that were debated. B.A.'s proposal therefore meant that personal political discussion between comrades in the PB should be banned!

For the other items of the first paragraph of B.A.'s letter, we think it best that the Control Commission investigates them before we comment on them. They surprised us very much in the form B.A. explains them.

3. We would like to clarify the second paragraph of B.A.'s letter. It was approved in the PB that B.A. got himself hired as an economist by SFR (Union of State employees). Shortly after ~~1972~~ he was hired, B.A. showed in an exemplary way how to use such a position. He got a copy of a proposal for a new labour legislation that had been prepared by a government committee and was at this time discussed by top bureaucrats inside the BSRB (Federation of unions of state and communal employees). By this our paper Neisti was the first one to publish the content of this proposal, that was very hostile to the working class.

Up to now B.A. had only had a 1/3 post at the SFR. A while after he was hired he said that there was the possibility for him to get a full time post at the SFR/BSRB. Late last year he let us know that he had been told that being a member of FBK could make it impossible for him ~~to~~ to get himself hired as a full time economist at the SFR/BSRB.

The only time this matter was discussed at a formal meeting inside the FBK, was at a enlarged PB meeting, where leading comrades were asked to attend to explain their personal wishes and plans for the future. The only thing agreed upon was that Petur Tyrfingsson was permitted to go to Sweden next autumn.

At this meeting B.A. asked for the permission to become a secret member. PT expressed his disagreement on this. The matter was not discussed further at this meeting. Most leading members didn't like B.A. to become a secret member because he was one of our best agitators. But everybody realized that B.A. would do as he pleased as he had already done during more than a year. To formally disapprove of B.A. becoming a secret member would mean either that we had made an empty decision or that we were asking for B.A.'s resignation. That is why the matter was not brought to its proper end.

We are confident that no comrade needs an explanation of the differences between promoting FBK's policy and working as an economist at the SFR.

4. At the last congress of FBK ^a a proposal from B.A. was rejected. That proposal demanded that ~~the~~ a resolution named "The main organizational tasks of the FBK this spring" would everywhere (!) include a paragraph where it was stated that the work in the workers movement should be the main task of FBK in the next period ahead.

At this congress there was passed a political resolution which went in a detailed way into the labour struggle in Iceland and FBK's tactics in the unions, towards the reformist working class parties and towards the bourgeois state. At the congress B.A. expressed himself in agreement with the political resolution but abstained from voting because he had not had time to read it well enough.

The resolution B.A. Wanted to change started: "FBK's main tasks this spring will be campaigns around the wage bargaining, the May Day and the parliamentary elections."

The leaflet campaign of ASI (Federation of unions of blue collar workers) BSRB and other unions before the first of March failed in many ways. At a meeting of the labour-fraction of FBK it was decided that its members should take part in the distribution of the leaflet. Some comrades showed up, among them comrades who were against B.A.'s proposal at the congress.

B.A.'s criticism of the leaflet FBK published and distributed in the strike on the 1st and 2nd of March explains well B.A.'s opinions on "trotskyism." This leaflet accompanies this letter.

5. At its meeting on February 20 the Central Committee decided that "The opinions of the minority will be mentioned, but the resolution on the participation of FBK in the parliamentary elections will be published in Neisti and explained. In the February issue of Neisti the positions of the minority was explained in two articles.

It is our opinion that the resolution on the parliamentary elections put forward by the minority at the congress is on the whole in contradiction with the political program of the Fourth International. Even though this was not so, ^{we} we are of the opinion that the Central Committee has full right to decide on whether minority positions are published outside the FBK. B.A. was, up to his resignation, an eager supporter of this basic principle of a Leninist party.

It hardly needs mentioning that members of the majority in the election affair received the proposal of the minority in a handwritten form on the second day (of) the congress and duplicated it to make it possible for comrades at the congress to read it before the congress started the next day.

6. The list of comrades that Petur Tyrfingsson and Asgeir Danielsson presented before the election of the Central Committee was prepared ~~before~~ before the congress started and therefore before anybody knew about B.A.'s actual position on the elections. The reason why B.A. was not on the list was simply that (off the page on copy, nlb) he had during more than a year, been on his way out of FBK in reality, so he couldn't be looked upon as a leading member inside the FBK. The letter B.A. has now sent to FBK proves better than our arguments at the congress that our judgment was correct on this point.

Comradely,
s/Asgeir Danielsson
Petur Tyrfingsson

From The Rykingin :

Let's keep on fighting untill we have won a victory!

The general strike which was called at the 1st of March did succeed better than one could expect. The action was too little prepared at the behalf of the workers' leadership. Other unions than the HÍP (the printers) and ~~mnská~~ Dagsbrún (unskilled workers in Reykjavík) have not had organized strike control. The participation of BSPB (^{The Union federation of the}communal and state employees) was not at all complete, f.ex. because of brutal threats (by the Department of Finance) and the leadership of BSRB was not at all united. --- But what is maybe more describing about the lack of preparation is that the conservatives could stress that the leadership lacked ^{necessary support} from the workers to call the strike and many right-wing people were able to ignore the strike because of that.

But what is going to happen after that two-day general strike? The government is not going to withdraw its laws only because of this strike. It is necessary to do more.

XXIn general the workers' movement is not prepared to keep this strike going. It needs more preparation. It is necessary to agitate how important it is to defend the wage agreement, describe to people how the circumstances are, call meetings and tell people to take part in the operation of the strike. It is important to back the resolutions of the 8th congress of The Workers' Federation of Iceland (all blue-collar workers) and start a chain of meetings at the working places to wake up the movement. But still: We may not decrease the action now in any field.

Our strongest now is to put on a strike in certain sectors already and give the strikers meanwhile a full pay but call

a general strike right away for the second time at the 1st of April. The time until then must be used to wake up the strong movement and complete unity which is necessary. A whole month should be enough time.

But which sectors of the economy should be stopped? Without any doubt it would be most powerful to ban all export and import, in the way that shipping ^{would be stopped completely} and flying would be stopped completely. At least the air-cargo.

Meanwhile the other part of the movement would collect a considerable sum of money to pay these comrades fully while they are on strike. Other actions are also possible although it would be difficult to organize them, but all the more propaganda should be made in favor of such actions at the behalf of the workers' movement in general: These are actions as working slowly and other possible actions which people at each working place can unite in making.

We challenge all workers to point this out in the unions.

We suggest to the workers' leadership to organize further actions in this directions.

Let's fight - till we win.

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- Against paycuts!
 - For a full pay according to the inflation!
 - Ban on all import and export immediately!
 - For a general strike from the 1st of April until victory has been won!

Comrades.

I wish to tell you that ~~today~~ ^{today} I resign from the Fylkingin and from now on I consider myself a quasi-member in the way that I will as before fight for the course of the Fourth International, though without considering myself obliged to follow the party-regulations of the Fylkingin.

The reasons for this thoroughly considered decision are in few words the following:

1. The way the leadership of FBK works.

It has been known for a long time that many of the leaders of the FBK do consider it better to discuss matters and make decisions on them on narrow clique-meetings than through open - written or oral - discussions, which all the members of the organization can follow, at least through reports of meetings. I have criticized this way of acting before, f.ex. at PH-meetings (PH: ~~Executive Committee~~ ^{Political Bureau}, transl.)

It is still worse though when leaders inside the organization take part in spreading slander about other members inside (and outside?) the organization. An example of this is that members have contacted me to ask me whether I am on my way out of the organization (and have referred to certain members as f.ex. Ásgeir Danielsson and Pétur Tyrfingsson) a long time before such a decision ^{had} entered my mind.

2. This slander has been demonstrated by pointing out that I have not worked according to the course of the organization recently. This statement did also appear at the latest congress of the FBK. As I answered it at the congress, I restate that my work in behalf of the course of the organization recently has probably been greater than the work of the majority of other members inside the FBK. That it was accomplished mainly inside the workers' movement was in the first place brought

under the decision and approved by the same members as now use their own agreement to make me dubious in the eyes of the other members of the FBK.

This point is not the main reason for my resignation from the organization but it is right to mention that I do not in any way trust myself to work with the individuals, who have behaved in that way.

3. It is my opinion that the leadership of FBK has led the movement away from the course which it did have. An obvious example of that is ~~a resolution~~ ^{the rejection} at the latest congress of ~~which was about ignoring~~ a resolution of mine, which was on the work inside the workers' movement: it should have a top priority inside the organization in the next period. The comrades who took part in rejecting that resolution showed later their intentions in practice by f.ex. not taking part in distributing the leaflet of the workers' movement before the action of the 1st and 2nd of March. The peak was reached by a leaflet in which the workers' unions were attacked for a bad preparation. I wonder whether this leaflet was written at home while the workers' movement was distributing the above mentioned leaflet.

4. As did appear in my speeches at the latest congress, I disagree completely with the opinion of the majority of the FBK about the coming elections. That opinion is obviously formed by a leadership, which has no understanding of what is happening inside the workers' movement in Iceland today, does not at all understand the tactic which has been named "critical support" and - what is worse - the leadership seems to have little or no will to cope with these matters.

5. Still, all this is minor to the resolution of the majority of the Central Committee to reject to publish the

resolution of the minority in Neisti. That reflects the same kind of opinions as when the same individuals tried to bar a representative of a minority resolution from CC on the basis that he had worked according to an agreement (in other words worked inside the workers' movement), which the same individuals made (but naturally tried to cover up).

6. It is clear that today FBK is steered by a small *tragicomic* clique of kleinbureaucrats who use all the same methods as have been used against trotskyists inside the stalinist movement, such as slander, lies, and limitations of the rights of minorities inside the organization. I say tragicomic because at the same time as it is undeniably tragic to see the course of the FBK recently, it can not be denied that a bureaucrat in a small organization who tries to use the same methods as the big brother in the big party, has undeniably his comic sides.

At last I want to stress that I will as before keep on working with those of my comrades who have an understanding, an interest, and a will to work for the cause of the workers' movement.

Reykjavík 16.3. 1978. Björn Arnórsson.



FBK

FYLKING BYLTINGARSINNADRA KOMMUNISTA

Revolutionary Communist League

Laugavegur 53A, Reykjavík, Island
Sími: 17513

7 APR. 1978

20-3-1978

To the united secretariat bureau:

Dear Comrades.

The contacts between Fylkingin - FBK - and the centrum of the IV. International has been same as nothing. The only "integration" of the FBK is that we follow the international publications of the Fourth (IP/Inprecør). Our contribution to them has been nothing. (We can say the same of the international discussion, but of course we cannot expect contributions from Iceland in the IIDB; we read the bulletins and we have discussed some texts collectively). Reportation on our behalf is very limited, nothing for a long time and never authorised reports from any responsible organ of the FBK. Contacts with the IV. International through other canals such as international meetings, contacts with other sections, visits etc. are very limited. Finally: financially we have failed to do our duty towards our international organization (we wrote you about this special matter).

We wish to improve this situation. We want our comrades to know what we are and at least convince them that we are principial revolutionary communists, not some centrist formation, before they receive us as full members of the International. We also want to be integrated in the International and enjoy the fruits of its development, - as resources and priorities permit.

Of course we have no childish illusions in these matters: The International as a whole has not reached the stage of development when it can look at itself and behave as a genuine democratic and centralised world party; in the light of limited resources we must be in a low range of the priorities list, because of the position and role of the Icelandic working class in the world revolutionary process; because of our own limited absolute size, small leadership nucleus and limited resources we have very little possibilities in taking an active part in the International. Nevertheless we look at our participation in the International as a decisive factor in building a revolutionary communist organisation in Iceland. Even from a pragmatial point of view this is clear to the Icelandic revolutionary: The Icelandic left is not - to say the least - very stimulating in relation to political disussion and advance and the

general situation in Iceland are not favourable for revolutionaries. We must seek stimulation and guarantee our principles through the understanding of the Icelandic revolution in a historical and international context. And here the relations with the Fourth are indispensable. For example, the few visits by foreign comrades we have enjoyed, have had a very stimulating and improving influence on the leadership as the whole organization, - both regarding enthusiasm, activity, political discussion and evaluations in international and domestic questions (the visit of comrade Livio is still remembered as exemplary).

FBK has at least for two years worked under the banner of the IV. International.

In the summer 1975 and during the next winter the organization homogenised itself around the most important historical lessons of the world movement, analysed the social-democratic and Stalinist past of the Icelandic workers movement, took a principal international position (immediately around the fishing limits, NATO and import of foreign capital), and it managed to break the relative isolation inside the left, that other organisations tried to impose on us, thundering warnings about the "sectarian", "criminal" and "dangerous" trotskyist program and organization.

In the winter 1976-77 we felt the necessity to re-organise the FBK from being organized in basic units around discussion, education and so on, to organize the comrades basically ~~in different~~ for practical interventions in different sectors of struggle. At the same time when comrades was facing concrete political and organizational problems related to concrete intervention in the sectors of struggle, the leadership has tried to develop the general policy of FBK. On our last convention (held in february this year) we came to the conclusion, that the basic units of the organization (the cells) had isolated both from each other and from the leadership. The centralisation of the FBK (both in programmatic discussion/work and also practically) was in ruins, the building of a collective leadership and permanent flow of information inside the organization was and is a very urgent problem to solve. This situation have not only roots in the sectoral division of the comrades, and perhaps least in that, but first and foremost in that we have lost ^{individuals} individuals from the leadership, at the same time we have to face the unavoidable demands that this sectoral division makes to the central leadership (these comrades are though not politically lost, they are studying abroad or their activity have decreased because of social circumstances).

When we have to solve this political organisational problem, we meet another: There are possible trade-union bargaining and strikes in the next weeks (at least a campaign around defending the living standards of the workers; there was a wage-cut in february) and there will be elections to Parliament in June. We have decided to run candidates. This means two campaigns. An organisation where the majority are students, is in a bad position to carry out such projects, when there are examinations at the same time in Schools and University.

This is a rough picture of the main points in the organisational problems of the FBK. But if we bear in mind that a big list of primitive tasks in initial organisation of revolutionary party are unsolved, leadership nucleus limited - but at the same time, relatively many possibilities of getting a national hearing (if we ~~emp~~ compare ourselves with countries with millions of inhabitants), then it is obvious that it is not simple to decide on priorities in our work.

This is precisely what we want to discuss with some experienced comrade. We think that it would be a great help to us if you could arrange a visit for a few days and a comrade would discuss with us political-organisational problems of ours in the light of the situation of the workers and left movement in face of the tendencies of development of the Icelandic capitalist society.

We would also like to explain to this comrade and discuss with him the programmatic development of the organisation. We have successively developed our policy and program from immediate demands to putting forward concrete solutions of the day and propagandise transitional measures and now we are trying to cohere our propaganda around the formula of workers government. On the last convention we were not able to discuss a written actions program to guide our work and propaganda, but we managed to pass a resolution on the propaganda of the idea of workers government. These political conclusions and others we want to discuss with a more experienced comrade.

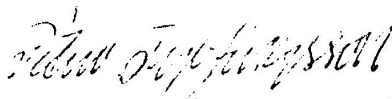
We look at such a visit as a beginning of regular reportation on our behalf and initial measures of integrating our organisation into the work of the International.

Of course it would be easier and more economic if this comrade could come to Iceland and be here on May 1.st Then it would be easier to finance the trip (with a special collection of money). If it is possible to organise the visit in this way, it would be very valuable, though it is not guaranteed that the same

comrade could do both and be at hand. (Of course we give him food and a place to sleep etc. in privat home of some comrade).

Any way - we are asking for a visit by an experienced comrade for discussion and advise about our domestic problems and about integration and participation in the IV. International. Can we have a written answeare as soon as possible?

International revolutionary greetings



Pétur Tyrfingsson
for the Pb of FBK

PS: Please excuse the bad English. PT.