

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

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SIXPENCE

# Develop the unofficial organisations of the working class to resist the capitalist's policy of wage freeze and unemployment

The government and the employers continue to hold the initiative and are exploiting their advantage to the full. Unemployment is continuing to rise and is expected to go on rising throughout the whole of this year, steel production is expected to fall by about 2 million tons with the steel industry functioning at only 70 per cent of its capacity. This is the famous "technological revolution" of Wilson; not only is capitalism unable to develop the productive forces but it is unable to utilise the productive forces which exist. Wage rates have not risen for 6 months while prices, rents, rates, and house mortgage rates continue to rise. And confronted with this situation, the trade union bureaucrats do nothing. It is true that Cousins and the leaders of the IGWU have put forward a timid programme for a £15 a week minimum wage and have even raised in a distorted way, the need for workers control, but they have done nothing to organise a political campaign to impose this programme.

Confronted by the passivity of the trade union official leaderships, and the complete confusion at present existing within the unofficial movements, Wilson, in the interests of capitalist class, has once again launched an attack on the working class; this time the printing workers. He accused the printing unions of blackmailing the employers and attacked restrictive practices as a "national scandal" while at the same time criticising the employers for being too weak and timid towards the printing unions. This criticism coupled with an offer of government aid to the printing employers, was in fact an incitement to the printing employers directly (and the whole of the capitalist class indirectly) to increase "productivity" by reducing the labour force regardless of the repercussions in the workers movement. And the T.U.C. playing the same strike-breaking role it played in the seamen's strike, goes along with this line. In the disagreement between the printing unions and the Thompson Organisation (dealt with in more detail in this issue of the paper) over the manning of presses at the new printing house in Hemel Hempstead, the TUC have intervened to bring about an agreement

which will involve the use of fewer men on the presses than was originally demanded by the unions.

The tendency towards taking authoritarian measures against the working class movement, which is common to all the capitalist

countries of Europe, has been shown in this country by the Part IV amendment to the prices and incomes bill, which allows the government to block a wage increase even if it has been agreed between employers and unions. Last week Stewart threatened the ETU leadership that if a proposed 13 per cent three year wage agreement for 56,000 workers was not postponed they would impose a standstill by law. And faced with this threat the ETU leadership meekly backed down.

This tendency to capitulate without a struggle has been a feature of the official leadership throughout this last period of economic recession. The only struggle which has been waged in defence of the workers jobs and conditions of life has been waged by the unofficial committees, and even this struggle has been inadequate, hindered as it was by the conservative leaderships of those committees and their lack of real functioning or democratic relationship with the workers. The recent interview of Etheridge (the Communist party

convenor in Austin at Birmingham) showed very clearly the conciliatory nature of many of these leaderships. When asked what his opinion was about the recent report on "Anarchy in the Car industry" he replied he had not had time to read it because he was so busy preventing strikes in the factory. He showed himself for what he was; a personnel relations man for the management concerned to keep the factory running by trying to smooth over all the conflicts which inevitably occur between the management and the workers, instead of using his position to organise the resistance to the employers and their plans of speed up and sackings. This is the C.P. policy of peaceful co-existence applied to the factory floor. It is because of leaderships like Etheridge and a lack of democratic functioning that the unofficial committees have been unable to prevent the sackings. And when, as sometimes happens workers have gone against their shop stewards and refused to apply work sharing it is because they have lost confi-

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## The Soviet Bureaucracy desperately tries to sustain de Gaulle in an effort to delay the European revolution

The visit of Kosygin to de Gaulle is one of the latest episodes in the desperate attempts of the Soviet Bureaucracy to stave off the revolutionary pressures which are developing in Europe. It is a diplomatic manoeuvre which is doomed to failure because peaceful co-existence has already shown its collapse on a world scale in Vietnam. The contradictions between the workers states and Imperialism far outweigh the contradictions within imperialism itself and to think to sustain peaceful co-existence by agreements with one side or the other is ridiculous nonsense. It is the reactionary utopia of the Soviet Bureaucracy, its last pipedream before world history closes over it for ever.

The visit of Kosygin is also of course an attempt by the bureaucracy to deceive the soviet masses and the soviet army, to prove that peaceful co-existence is a viable proposition. It is an attempt to meet the enormous question mark placed over peaceful co-existence by the dynamic advance of the political revolution in China. Soviet army units have expressed the desire to enter the struggle in Vietnam and recently in various discussions over the military role of Stalin during the last war, it became clear that there was violent opposition to the attempts of a sector of the bureaucracy to "restore" Stalin in some way. The efforts for "peace" on the part of Kosygin are the counterpart to the attempt to enforce more and more intimid-

ation against the soviet masses. The Ministry of the Interior has been strengthened. Harsh comments are passed about the need to increase labour discipline in the factories. The Soviet Bureaucracy is terrified of a genuine freedom for writers. But the bureaucracy like imperialism and capitalism is in its death agony.

At the same time that Kosygin, who represents the apparatus most interested in the "economic reforms", shakes hands with the assassin of the Algerian masses de Gaulle, the party bureaucracy elevates Brezhnev to the status of a Hero of the Soviet Union. This signifies a struggle within the Soviet Bureaucracy over the application of the economic reforms, the anxiety of the party bureaucracy lest the control of the process passes out of their hands. It is indirectly an announcement that the soviet masses are preparing shortly to intervene against the bureaucracy.

French imperialism is gravely ill and relies entirely on injections of support from the French Communist Party and the soviet bureaucracy in order to sustain itself. The crisis, social and political in character, announced itself quite clearly as long ago as 1958 when it became quite clear that French capitalism could no longer rely on parliamentary institutions to save itself and had to rely on the "personal rule" of de Gaulle. The French monopolists faced with the loss of social support undoubtedly take the road to

dictatorship. The parliamentary debates are a notorious farce and the whole structure of French political life whatever the parliamentary facade, tends increasingly to authoritarianism. This is inevitable. The general strike in May, the recent violent clashes with the police over Vietnam show quite clearly that the French masses are advancing on the path towards the struggle for workers power in France.

De Gaulle's "Fifth Plan" for the capitalist economy is in effect a declaration of war against the working class of France. Increasingly aggravated competition in relation to exports, dominates the thoughts of the world capitalist economies and in the French Fifth Plan, it is openly stated that "competitive capability is the prime good, for it is the key to everything else... the Fifth Plan will thus be a plan of effort". French capitalism is very weak compared with the other major capitalist powers such as the United States and Germany. Thus Federal Germany now produces roughly 70% more electric power than France although the difference ten years ago was only 50%.

The attempt is being made via this plan, as in Great Britain, to hold wage increases down to only 2.8% per year. Also the warning indicator of unemployment is now recognised as 2.5%. French like British capitalism is entering upon the policy of unemployment to reduce the pressure on wages and reduce

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### VOZ PROLETARIA OF ARGENTINA BANNED

Voz Proletaria the organ of the Trotskyist Workers Party of the Argentine has been prevented by the military government of Ongania from appearing in printed form. We appeal to the organisations of the working class and the students to send letters of protest to the government of Argentina, and to the Argentine Embassy here, demanding the freedom of the Argentinian trotskyists to publish their journal.  
Send to President Ongania  
Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina  
and to  
The Argentinian Embassy  
49 Belgrave Sq.  
S.W.1.

# TUCUMAN: Organise rank and file committees to develop the struggle to impose a workers plan to defeat the plan of the capitalists

This is an article taken from "Lucha Obrero" the organ of the Tucuman regional Committee of the Partido Obrero Trotskyista, the Argentine Section of the IV International.

The government, the national and provincial capitalists are trying to give a solution, a capitalist solution, to the irreversible crisis of the sugar industry.

The meeting in Salta of Galimberti and the governors of Salta, Jujuy and Tucuman, is to try to co-ordinate the application of a whole plan which starts from the organic necessity of capitalism, taken in its entirety, for the liquidation, the closing of more sugar mills which are not profitable from the capitalist point of view, and the need to continue with the process of capitalist concentration, in two or three monopolies, be it in Salta, Jujuy or Tucuman.

It is the general plan of capitalism in which other sectors of capitalism must be liquidated—among them sectors of the Tucuman Sugar Oligarchy—in defense of the general interests of capitalism, and if they don't apply this plan openly it is because they are frightened of the reaction of the masses of the province.

It is the same policy which they are carrying out in relation to the railways. They

are weighing up the possibilities of seeking the support of, or conciliation with, a sector of the trade union bureaucracy to try to apply the "Re-structuring" of the railways. This means a loss of the conquests of the masses, an increase in the hours of work, the closing of branch lines and workshops, unemployment and hardship for the masses.

The weakness of the government is immense, and because of this they reflect upon the possibilities and are frightened. In order to survive capitalism has to take these measures in relation to railways, the docks and the sugar industry.

We need to consume more sugar and they are limiting the production. The investment of capital is determined by the avaricious and rotten interests of capitalism. This is the functioning of the capitalist regime.

The misery, sickness etc. for the masses which these plans mean, is of no importance to capitalism. When they delay in applying them it is because they fear the response of the masses which replies blow for blow to every anti worker and reactionary measure as they are already doing now.

Galimberti and the governors in Salta discussed the closing of modern sugar mills. They seek to close sources of work in the

province while putting forward the need to open a sugar mill of a high production capacity corresponding to the immense capitalist plantations of the "Abra Grande" estate. Also they turn a blind eye when the bosses of Ledesma ignore capitalism's own laws by producing regardless of the quota.

And just as capitalism is impotent to give a progressive solution to the crisis of the country which gets worse day by day, so they are and will be impotent to give a

solution to the crisis and the problems of the province.

The leadership of the FOTIA, the trade union leaderships, the cadres of the sugar industry must work with the conviction that one cannot expect any possibility of settlement within a capitalist framework, that the plan which the Capitalists will try to prepare will inevitably increase the unemployment, the repression and the government intervention in the unions and the FOTIA.

## THE LIQUIDATION OF THE POLITICAL WEIGHT AND OF THE CENTRE OF THE SUGAR SECRETARIAT OF THE PROVINCE IS ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL AIMS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ONGANIA

Ongania and all of capitalism in the country wants to liquidate the FOTIA, the concentration of the sugar proletariat of the province, its weight in the economy of Tucuman and all the North west. The slowness in applying its plans is through the fear of a reaction on the part of the masses.

They don't want to close more sugar works in order to resolve the economic financial problems of their regime of exploitation. NO. This is only one part of its miserable plan. They want also to liquidate, using all measures within its reach, the weight of the sugar proletariat. They intend to dismember, smash, liquidate the centres where the political thought of the proletariat, the political thought of the masses of Tucuman, is prepared and worked out.

The sugar mills are the centres from where, permanently, the stimulus and the initiatives begin, they are the centres of political revolutionary influence. They want to remove, to diminish the influence, the political revolutionary weight and the influ-

ence which the sugar proletariat exerts on the North West, on the masses of the country.

They want to liquidate the FOTIA, as the organising centre of a revolutionary leadership in the north west and in all the country. They want to eliminate the small sugar cane growers, concentrating the plantations in a few hands to be able to exploit them at the higher capitalist level, and in order to eliminate the basis of revolutionary ferment which the small cane producers are. The capitalists wish to eliminate at least 500 small sugar cane producers who like the peasants of today on a world scale are influenced by the struggle of the proletariat, which it feels as a leadership in the anticapitalist perspective of workers and peasants power and the socialist revolution on a world scale.

It is necessary to defeat them in their miserable plans, to defend the sources of work, the worker-small sugar cane grower alliance, centralising the struggle with the programme of the FOTIA.

## The crisis in the printing industry demands the imposition of workers control

The crisis in the printing industry draws attention yet again to the acceleration in the process of capitalist rationalisation. Wilson's whole attitude is one of actively promoting capitalist centralisation at the expense of the masses. This of course was long ago foreshadowed in the mystifications in which he used to indulge before the 1964 election. Then he used to speak of using science to the full and the necessity for "modernisation." Well we all know what that means—intensified exploitation of the workers coupled with unemployment. The leaders of the Labour Party are rapidly taking off the mask of "socialism" and showing themselves for what they are—servants of monopoly capitalism, miserable political careerists dedicated to the interests of private property. And the violence of Wilson's attack on "restrictive" practices in the industry is a reflection of the increasingly bitter nature of the class struggle.

The policy of the government has been to encourage unemployment by means of the selective employment tax and the squeeze which led directly to mass unemployment in the car industry. Wilson's latest speech is to encourage the employers to accelerate sackings in the printing industry in order to cut costs. The Guardian has announced a 25 per cent cut in its staff and the unions bumble and moan but do precisely nothing. Thomsons propositions in relation to the two new papers in Hemel Hempstead involved the installation of new equipment with a sharp reduction in the number of workers required to man them.

The tendency of the rationalisation process is to create a body of highly paid workers and unemployment for the rest. Neither NGA or SOGAT have distinguished themselves by an audacious policy in defence of workers interests. The traditional craftsmen are threatened by the process as much as the unskilled workers in the printing industry but the union leaderships refuse to wage a struggle on a united front of all workers based on a thorough anti capitalist programme. Endless negotiations continue, productivity agreements have been arrived at, which amount to a line of conciliation with the employers.

The report of the economic intelligence unit reflects unquestionably the desire of the monopoly interests in the printing industry to clear out "inefficient" management and develop a real tough line. It is openly a capitalist philosophy that new

machines are not to benefit humanity but are purely for the benefit of the small group of owners and their profits. It is a naked challenge to the workers in the industry. It says a saving of 4000 men is possible—and naturally nothing about the possibilities of retraining and new employment.

The lessons of the whole process are quite clear. It is no use putting faith in the traditional union leaderships. They bleat and that is the end of it. The printing workers will have to follow a policy of depending on themselves. The union officials do not face unemployment and they are not interested in a fight to the finish. It is essential that the printing workers develop their independent committees and that they seek support in all the other sectors of the working class. There is no other path. Why are the employers accelerating the pressure now? It is because in part they see weakness in the opposition of the workers organisations and they have observed that all the demonstration in the car industry gained nothing for the car workers.

**It is essential to impose workers control in the printing industry. New machinery must not lead to any workers being laid off but to an increase in wages commensurate with the increase in productivity and there must be an all round reduction in hours. Only by a more effective organisation at the base of the printing industry will it be possible to combat conservative and individualist interests among the workers.**

The capitalist class control the press and they control the news that is printed and judging by the atrocious reporting that now goes on in the press it is obvious that much news suppression goes on. A genuine free press demands the expropriation of the capitalist printing press owners, (in a very limited form Briginshaw's demand for a state print corporation, although this is only to compete with private interests, reflects the necessity for nationalisation) and the availability of printing presses for the publications of the workers organisations and groups who desire to publish their opinions. That would be a genuine free press. The struggle in printing, not only a struggle for the immediate interests of the printing workers but a struggle to take the press out of the hands of private property and its control of opinion. Forward to nationalisation under workers control of the printing press and for a genuine free press for workers opinion.

## THE CAPITALIST PLAN OF DIVERSIFICATION OF PRODUCTION IN THE PROVINCE IS A VIVID EXAMPLE OF CAPITALIST IMPOTENCE

The sources of work which they say they are going to install in the province will not absorb the workers sacked by the closing of the sugar mills. It is absolutely false that with some factories such as a dried food factory, cigarette factory, biscuit factory, shirt factory, they will solve the problem of unemployment. A sugar mill employs between 1500 and 2500 workers in one factory and none of these factories will give work in this quantity.

These factories, when they are functioning, need only a few workers, because they use automatized machines. They are replacing workers by machines. Moreover the contract with Philip Morris for the building of a cigarette factory in Tucuman with a series of facilities which constitutes a veritable bargain for this sector of capitalism, forms part of the need of the alliance of national capitalism, with Yankee imperialism, and also part of the process of capitalist concentration on a world scale. Because with this production concentrated and centralised in a great scale in Tucuman it will tend to liquidate a whole sector of small tobacco producers in Salta and Jujuy. It is a true bargain for this sector of capitalism, because they will not have to pay a number of taxes and they have been given a series of enormous facilities.

In the zone of San Antonio they have already taken reactionary measures displacing workers from the sugar mills to make them work on the repair of schools, the digging of trenches etc. These measures do not form part of an organic plan of the bourgeoisie or of the provincial government, but empirical measures to find a solution. The solution of the bourgeoisie is that the sacked sugar workers will remain without work and the mills will stay definitely closed.

This is their plan, the capitalist plan. With the harvest finished, without the pressure of the sugar mills functioning with temporary workers, they believe that they will be in conditions to announce new closings of factories. The management of Mercedes, which is the same in Ledesna, announced the dismissal of all the workers and closed the factory.

...It is necessary to respond to the whole of this series of measures, of this reactionary plan of capitalism, with the workers plan, a plan which unites, organises the struggle of the sugar workers with all the exploited population. It is necessary that the peasants, the students, the poor petit bourgeoisie unite with the sugar proletariat. This is the way to form the UNITED FRONT of all the

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## THE EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW (IN ITALIAN) HAS JUST BEEN PUBLISHED

The review "RIVISTA MARXISTA EUROPEA" edited by the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International, has just been published in Italy.

The British section of the IV International greets the appearance of this review which will play a very important role in the building of the revolutionary current in Europe. In later editions of "Red Flag" we will publish some of the material from the Review in English and we appeal to workers vanguard, the students and intellectuals to send us money specifically to prepare for this task.

The "Rivista Marxista Europea" can be bought from us price 4s. including postage.

Part of a document of Cde J. Posadas adopted as a resolution of the I.S.

# WE PREPARE OUR ACTIVITY TO ORGANISE, IN A UNITED FRONT WITH THE CHINESE, THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

**J. POSADAS**

The Peoples Courts, the radio broad-casts about the shortening of the time interval before the war, about the response of imperialism with the war, and about the revolution and the war—the most important statement—all this indicates that the crisis is going to increase within China and that it is still not finished. Commentaries from these Courts have been read recently, where they continue attacking people, they continue attacking and have discussed the leadership of Lin Piao. That to say, there is still quite a struggle and they are ready to carry it through to the end. The mobilisation of the Red Guards has impelled new sectors to advance has made the true weight of Chinese society to be felt. Already it is moving further forward. In a negative form one can judge what is happening in China by the attitude of Imperialism; it has not said a word, nothing. Imperialism is immensely cautious because they are discussing; what are we going to do? How far are the Chinese going, what does it mean? Are they ready intervene? (In Vietnam). Imperialism is discussing.

Imperialism does not take the process lightly. It does not take it, saying "These are things done by backward people who are cutting people's hair off." They are frightened. When Castro did various things they joked about him and the Cuban Revolution. They have every reason to joke about the Cultural Revolution where according to the Soviets, they shorten shoes, cut off hair, and the heels of womens shoes. They try to laugh. But the process is not what they say it is.

It is necessary to realise that this intervention of the Chinese means that they are preparing to overthrow imperialism, preparing to intervene in Vietnam. As regards the reports which the Soviet Union gave about clashes with the workers, we say there can be no contradiction between the Red Guards and the workers: none. Imperialism the Soviet bureaucracy are inventing this. And moreover

even if such things have happened, they have another significance than the one they give. The way for us to judge this is that they want reforms, they are seeking the revolution. Then there cannot be contradictions between the workers and the Red Guards. It is out of the question. The soviets try to minimise the process, to stress nationalism, chauvinism and eccentricity.

## THE CRISIS OF THE PRO-CHINESE GROUPS

It is necessary to plan our activity with respect to the pro-chinese groups. One must consider that the influence of the Chinese is immense and that it is going to continue to be immense. The Chinese are gaining a still as yet unorganised authority in the whole of the world, by its struggle in Vietnam, its opposition to imperialism and the Soviet Bureaucracy. They are gaining a very great authority. But they are not succeeding in organising either currents, or parties, or movements. They are not succeeding in organising tendencies in the communist parties. What they have done is very precarious. Apart from Belgium where their activity is also very precarious, very small and which is in a constant crisis (but the C.P. and the Socialist Party have been in a greater crisis, for many years) the Chinese have not organised an important support. The groups which they are organising, and have organised until now have lived in crisis, crisis, crisis. They have not had either a real life, or real resources, or real orientation. And the groups have not intervened in the political life of each country. They have functioned on the basis of a general 'anti revisionist' programme. Firstly there was the defence of Stalin, now they are forgetting Stalin, but continue to be against 'revisionism' and are not opposing it with a programme. And 'revisionism' of what? What does revisionism mean? That the Soviet Bureaucracy is carrying out a policy of alliance, with capitalism, of conciliation with capitalism. Agreed. What is the policy to oppose to this? The policy in general is against imperialism and against capitalism.

And in each country, how does this express itself? The Chinese do not know. So they cannot organise currents and movements. On the other hand, their authority and their revolutionary deter-

mination is growing in the world and the groups which are organising in the world feel themselves strong and are attracted not by their certainty in each country, but by their confidence in the centre, which is the Chinese. And in each country they have neither the policy, objective, or basis to succeed in organising a movement however small. They have nothing. In the first stage, and still now, and for a time, they will continue in this way, in many parts of the world. The groups are opportunist, careerist. Previously they served the communist parties. But in the measure that the Chinese elevate their struggle, the groups need a local, national policy. And from this comes the crisis.

They have tried, the Chinese, to organise movements. For example the criticisms of Togliatti was their most important attempt. They thought that it would be sufficient to draw up a programme in order to attract a current in the communist party. When they saw that this failed, they beat a retreat; but not correcting themselves, not discussing, not drawing conclusions and offering a programme for Italy. They kept quiet. That is to say, the attitude of these people was not to organise the world revolution. They kept quiet about this. On the other hand now they are obliged to organise the world revolution even if they don't want to do it, and they are organising it in an indirect way, by the organisation of peoples courts, the formation of Red Guards, intervening as a type of soviet—there are still not soviets—mass popular interventions and discussion. They are intervening in the world revolution. There is still not a programme for the world revolution, but they are saying to the masses of the world "this is the way it must be done". In each country, in each workers state, it should be done in

this way". And socialist democracy is growing, but is still limited.

But questions of production, of leadership, of a world and Vietnam policy have to be discussed. All this is influencing and producing a basis for the organisation of new tendencies in the pro-chinese and in new groups. But this needs time. It is still the original groups which dominate, and the original groups do not have confidence either in the programme or in revolutionary objectives. 99% of the groups which are already pro-chinese have nothing. They have been organised in the previous stage which was one of being simple propagandists, being the intermediaries of the Chinese in each country. They expected that by reading "Here is Mao Tse tung, come with us" everyone would immediately come. They fulfill the role of local bureaucrats who do not even need to carry on a struggle, except to bring out publications. Before the Chinese proceed to organise a movement, they are therefore going to waste a fair amount of time.

But where the Trotskyists are around, the Chinese will not be able to organise any important or serious movement. Because any serious and important movement has to make a revolutionary policy. And the existing Trotskyists are the ones who are going to canalise the movement. And all the activity of the Chinese on a local plane for this type of policy, will

make them come towards us. Then there are going to be very great conflicts between the pro-chinese groups and the Trotskyists. It is inevitable. The only possibility for the Chinese to make a policy without complications, without competitions, will be where we do not exist. But where we do exist, they have failed. Because of this, there exists the crisis of the pro-chinese groups in the places where we work; some groups are directly gained by us and other groups grow before being gained by us to a revolutionary policy. In the process new groups will organise themselves without this transition. But the intention of the Chinese is still not firm nor certain. There is still not a coherent leadership in China, they are still in a complete crisis, they are still deciding who should lead. The present phase of the crisis in China is still the liquidation of a wing which hinders, disturbs and fetters the policy of the revolutionary wing which wants to reach a confrontation with the Yanks. They are still in this phase of the struggle. They are still not ready to be able to lead on a world scale—as they will tend to do in a space of months and years—they are still not at this stage. The pro-chinese are living in a previous stage. They are living in a stage of very general propaganda whose highest point has been to pass from anti-revisionist declarations to certain indications etc. of a revolutionary policy above all in Vietnam.

## THE CHINESE NEED THE TROTSKYISTS TO DEVELOP REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

It is with this understanding that our organisations, our sections, our parties, have to orientate themselves in each stage to judge what is the level of development, of capacity, of the possibility for revolutionary development of the pro-chinese groups. Our interest is not to develop the pro-chinese groups, but to influence the pro-chinese groups. We are not interested in developing pro-chinese tendencies and parties. If we could be sure that these groups would be groups which would put forward a programme and apply it, then we would do it. But then our movement would be unnecessary. The development of the activity of our parties is not to organise and develop pro-chinese groups. If experience had shown that it would be this way, the groups would have been different. In order to apply a revolutionary policy, the leadership, the party, the team, are necessary. This is necessary to acquire the experience, the certainty, developed in the peculiar conditions of each country. For this reason, domination of the world objective, of the comprehension of the world process, of the stages and the rhythms to apply in each country is necessary.

Without the organisation of a team which can be capable of understanding the programme and how to apply the programme, one cannot apply oneself to the revolution. And the Chinese will fail in all their attempts to form national movements. Totally. They haven't the time to do it. There is no possibility. One cannot transplant experiences mechanically from China, for example, to Brasil,

with all the recommendations that the Chinese are giving.

They have to understand the masses of the country, to understand the process of the country, to feel how to develop the process in the country, its rhythms, its relation of forces, and the basis on which this relation of forces arises, and the policy and the programme for this. And they need the team to be able to carry this on. They cannot do this. There is no time, no historic time to do it. On the other hand we have such conditions.

The basis of our parties are at the level to accomplish their functions very well. They are the result of years and years of activity, of organisation and of leadership and of a life in common in the International. This is not replaced by any amount of revolutionary will. From China are going to emerge thousands and thousands of revolutionary Chinese; but on the other hand in the countries outside China it is impossible to organise leaderships or revolutionary movements. Our programme, our policy and our objectives are already facts. It has been shown that they are correct and that this is the programme of the revolution. The organisation of the pro-chinese groups, where we already are, is in competition with us. For a period the Chinese are going to act in this way but later no. They are going to trust us. When the Chinese feel that they can make a united front with us, without prejudicing themselves, without our disputing with them their revolutionary leadership, they are going to come to us.

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# WE PREPARE OUR ACTIVITY . . .

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The conclusion is clear and must be taken with full decision by the leadership of the International. In all parts where there are pro-Chinese groups, or pro-Chinese groups in formation, we help them to develop, but do not join them, or to follow them. No. We help them to develop in as much as we see the possibility of them being gained by a revolutionary policy and that through them we can influence the Chinese. If our activity with those groups means delay, our deterioration, adaptation, or loss of time, we are not interested and on the contrary, we wage an open struggle against them, as against Seman in Argentina. What importance has it that they call themselves pro-Chinese? They are conciliators with capitalism. In no case do we seek to substitute pro-Chinese groups for the International. Never! We seek to influence them, and through them the Chinese. This is our essential policy.

Where they have no movement of mass importance, we do not have any interest in helping them to develop so that they can appear as a force. Where they have a mass movement,—for example Italy, then we make a united front with them seeking an agreement, seeking to influence them. But without, at the same time our independent development as an organisation, we cannot influence them. We have to be clear and definite that we are not going to take refuge in the Chinese. Everything is resolved in the last instance in the policy and the programme. And in the measure that the Chinese are going to elevate their political level, they are going to feel the need for a programme and a policy for each country, for each continent, which they don't have at the moment. They don't have a world programme. For this reason their hesitations and difficulties, when they have to speak on a world scale, they make mistakes, and they have no notion about anything. And it is necessary to see that in a short stage, among the Chinese there is going to take place a profound alteration in their whole previous policy in relation to Asia, a correction of their policy of leaning on any-

one. All this failure is going to lead them to a revision of their former politics. This is inevitable. And although the present leadership may not do so, others are going to realise that they have to change.

But we have an interest in influencing the Chinese, in giving security to the Chinese. For this reason they have to feel our policy and our force. They can see our newspapers, our publications and our objective movement. But in each country the pro-Chinese groups are the ones who report to the Chinese. We cannot make a substitute for the reports which they give.

The Chinese give credence to their information. But until now it has been so because those who decided were the wing conciliating with bourgeois tendencies and the Soviet Bureaucracy. Shortly everything is going to be cleaned and there will be others who are going to go to China. The changes in China have to reflect themselves in the world policy of the Chinese and also in the friends of China. Two fundamental facts demonstrate the changes which are being prepared, although there are delays, as Lin Piao said in the resolutions over the Red Guards "a delay is possible and a falling back in this struggle, but whatever happens we are going to win." Also in relation to us there can be a delay or a retreat and new attacks may be made. They will not be organised as before. In the course of six months, Stalin has only been named twice in 15 numbers of Peking Review and they speak of the Trotskyists, attacking them only once in passing.

Lin Piao who in the past made eulogies of Stalin now no longer does so. Stalin has disappeared, they have no need of him. This is going to reflect itself elsewhere. All the old Pro Stalin team is dead. There is only a small team and a stage is approaching when there will be very elevated theoretical discussions among the Chinese. And also within the new teams which are forming. It is for this reason that it is necessary to prepare our parties to intervene in each country according to the situation there, according to the nature, of the groups, their force, relation with the workers movement and their revolutionary intentions.

There we have our possibility to intervene, and it is necessary to develop it to the maximum. But it is necessary to exert influence as an independent organism. For example (we have to celebrate as a party) the mobilisations now to celebrate the 1 October. Where the pro-Chinese have a certain force and a certain weight, it is necessary to have a united front with them. Where they have no force, we do not have to have a united front, we try to push forward our line, not with the idea of smashing them or eliminating them but to elevate for example the discussion of what is happening in China. And it is necessary to unite this with the appeal to the trade unions of Hanoi, and with the last declarations over the tribunals and the war, taking the most recent, the most elevated as a centre for the celebration of the 1 October. The Chinese want this, they say this. And as a party we can realise the campaign. The objective for this is that the current that is influenced by the revolution and the ascendancy of the revolution among the Chinese can see that in each country the organisation which expresses consciously the revolutionary advance of the Chinese is Trotskyist, and also that this organisation does not give rise to the formation of a Pro-Chinese movement. For example in Uruguay or in Argentina, there is no reason for a Chinese movement. None!

The conclusion of this interpretation of the Pro-Chinese groups if the line is firm and correct can have variations. In Belgium the Pro-Chinese have a movement have a certain strength. They received 4000 votes there, we received 400. They have ten times the strength of ourselves. And they came from the Communist Party. But from then on the pro-Chinese have

gone down and we have developed. Our political authority has increased, that of the pro-Chinese has declined. Disintegration has set in. They do not disappear organically because the crisis of the CP and the SP is advancing more swiftly than their crisis. There remains a place for them and in so far as they say "we defend the wages of the workers" they have an audience. It is enough to see that the strike of the women workers which has involved all Europe and is going to have an immense repercussion in the whole of Europe in a short stage was not directed by them. It was a new independent movement whose principle leader is an ex-Communist who sympathised personally with China—but who does not belong to the pro-Chinese movement—because she saw that the Chinese were on the right road. But the pro-Chinese did not organise this. It was not Grippa who organised this.

It is important that each section of the International discusses the particular situation of each pro-Chinese group in each country to determine its attitude. In each country our sections must determine the attitude to take in relation to each group, but independently of the difference between one or the other country, our sections must base themselves in relation to the pro-Chinese groups (whether they have no importance in a particular country or whether there is an important group as in Belgium or in part of Italy) on the ascendant process of the revolution in China and its effect throughout the world and on the fact that in each country the programme is necessary for each country. This is vital. To the extent that the process goes to the left, the ascendancy of the revolution in China is a support directly to us where we have our sections. For this reason it is important to maintain our relationship with the pro-Chinese groups as means of access to the Chinese, nothing more; not for their development as movements. And

in countries such as Mexico and Argentine, it is possible to influence them directly. In other areas where it is not possible to say directly "Come to Trotskyism", it is still possible to exert an influence.

Inevitably they are going to feel that to apply this policy a leadership is necessary and they do not have it.

There is the very concrete and determining case of the Italians. The Italians thought that it was sufficient to put forward the statements of Mao Tse Tung and what the Chinese were saying, and to distribute them and... made no headway. The Italian comrades said to them "It is necessary to pursue a policy of entrism." They hoped that the Communist base would advance and said to us that entrism was a horrible policy, shameful. Now, they do not. Now they accept entrism and accept that the Communist base is not going to break with the Communist Party simply because they say so and appeal for this. All this experience which this small Italian group is now making, is a policy which all the pro-Chinese groups have not made nor have been prepared to make. None of their groups. If in Italy they accept our ideas it is because of the weight of our party, and also the particular condition of Italy. Elsewhere in the world there is nothing of this. Thus we must wait and organise our activity as those who recognise the advance of the revolutionary politics of the Chinese.

We must not dedicate our general activity to the small Pro-Chinese groups. To direct the activity of our movement to win the Chinese, only has significance if they have an influence over the masses. Almost everywhere they are little groups without access to the masses. In so far as our party influences them it has no great importance. But where they do have an influence or a direct contact with the masses as in Italy or Belgium it is worth paying attention to them.

## IN ORDER TO ADVANCE THE PRO CHINESE GROUPS HAVE NO OTHER ROAD THAN THE TROTSKYIST POLICY

Every Pro-Chinese group which develops has no other road than to follow revolutionary politics. It may develop with a conciliatory policy and a policy of adaptation in conciliation with petit bourgeois currents but that is of short duration, because the growth of revolutionary maturation is more powerful than the policy of conciliation of the Chinese. Between the process of adaptation of the Chinese and the necessity for the revolutionary politics, it is the revolutionary policy which gains. They are changing, and there is no place for adaptation and conciliation. It is the same in the rest of the world. One of the essential conditions for our own development is the development in China of the revolutionary wing. We do not know the moment of the concrete united front. There are bases for it already. In Uruguay for example there is a straightforward united front; and in Italy and Mexico. But the moment of a concrete united front, an organic front with them has to be sometime afterwards.

It is necessary to follow, observe, daily the evolution of the interior struggle in China, not only the change of policy or the declaration, the evolution of the struggle within China in what way they are advancing but what slogans they put forward. At the moment there is not a true maturing of this crisis because the slogans which reflect the world struggle, the Communist International are absent today. Very softly, they speak of Internationalism, and a United Front, but capitalism dies very slowly. It is necessary to have meetings which have as an objective to impel these slogans, to make an agitation for these slogans. But it is not by measuring these slogans that it is possible to measure the maturity of their movement. Slogans are not raised by chance. Slogans have their own life, stimulate intervention, help to form consciousness and afterwards means are sought, to apply or materialise the slogan.

But inevitably the course of the crisis of growth in China is one of advance. And this does not come simply from the

latest information; nor is the basis of the crisis the struggle between "revisionists" and non "revisionists". The basis of the struggle is that the existence of China is incompatible with that of imperialism; with the Soviet Union yes but with China no. And we reiterate what we have held since 1958 when the first bombardment of Quemoy and Matsu took place. The Yankees have no historic force to co-exist with both the Soviets and the Chinese; and the Chinese workers state has no historic base to be able to develop a bureaucracy to be able to conciliate with imperialism. We argued this in 1958, and we drew the conclusion because the bombardment by the Chinese of Quemoy and Matsu was the prolongation of the permanent revolution in a military form, in the form of bombardments. The leadership of the International at that time, thought this funny but afterwards made a resolution to this effect.

I believe that it is necessary to follow very attentively this process. It is necessary to draw the organisational conclusions with the objectives in each country. The Chinese cannot co-exist with imperialism. There is no basis for it. They have tried to do this but there is no basis. And they have tried to do this not in the form of conciliation of adaptation to imperialism, but in trying to co-exist without provoking great struggles. And the proof that it is impossible to co-exist was shown in Korea. In conditions infinitely worse than now, the Chinese confronted imperialism. Far worse than now! Imperialism has a nuclear strength ten times stronger but the Chinese now have a military and economic power a thousand times superior. Then they had just taken power but nevertheless they confronted the enemy. This shows that the nature of the Chinese revolution, its leadership, its structure and its team do not permit conciliation with imperialism. Today the process of Korea is repeated at an infinitely higher level. For this reason the perspectives, whatever might be the momentary tribulations

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

- ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist).
- ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.
- BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pölet. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30, Nieuw bruckaai Gand.
- BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Oruro.
- BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.
- CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.
- CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.
- FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Rochongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.
- ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.
- MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.
- PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.
- SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).
- URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.
- INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

# WE PREPARE OUR ACTIVITY . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4  
and retreats, are those of the ascendancy of the revolution in China and inevitably the war. We are prepared for this.

And now organisationally we are prepared not to detain ourselves with the pro Chinese groups who are vacillating, fearful, conciliatory, incapable of organising, who do not understand what is happening in each country. We are preparing to develop with the development of the revolution in China but not developing as pro Chinese groups. Our tactic has the object of influencing, of impelling the Chinese. The Chinese know in relation to the Uruguay-China Institute that the Trotskyists help to develop propaganda in defence of China. This interests us. It is the object which we desire. It is a bridge by which to reach the Chinese so that in every way they know that we are there and are impelling the defence of China. Also it helps a series of groups and tendencies in China, those who are going to decide and are deciding already to see the nature of the Trotskyists and that they are not what they formerly thought them to be.

Our objective is to develop ourselves and develop the revolutionary wing in China.

The Chinese are mistaken with respect to the Trotskyists not only because there was a sector with bad motives and there are still some with bad motives—a sector conciliatory with capitalism—but because they do not understand. They cannot understand Trotskyism. It is impossible for them. They have not lived the world political life of the revolution, they do not understand the workers states and they cannot understand Trotskyism. It is logical that now they persist in this. And that for example in the Cuban revolution there exists a mistaken attitude in relation to us. Thus Fidel Castro in 1960 was in contact with what he believed were

Trotskyists and the "Trotskyists" committed monstrous errors. They were in contact with those who had abandoned Trotskyism but continued to function as such. The Cubans believed that the Socialist Workers Party was Trotskyist and it attacked the Cuban revolution. But today this cannot justify them. Six years have already gone by and they have seen the position. But even so it is evident that there remains a serious and firm basis of resistance to Trotskyism, based on the fact that they do not have a comprehension of what the Trotskyists are. And in China it must be the same. With the difference that in China, at the top, in the team of Mao, they cannot justify themselves, for they have the texts of the Communist International. Their resistance to Trotskyism is a combination of historic ignorance, and at the same time of resistance to Trotskyist policy, because they are not sure of themselves and they fear the competition of the Trotskyists. Their references attacking the Trotskyists without mentioning the programme was designed to eliminate Trotskyist competition. Because of this, the abandonment of the attacks on the Trotskyists has an importance today.

Why don't they make them? One writer commenting on art says without any need, that a left wing writer, whom the Chinese defended, was criticised for having sent a letter to the Trotskyists. The person reproaching him was a rightist and criticised him, not for the actual reply itself to the Trotskyists but for having replied to them at all. And at this point came the reference to Trotsky by Mao Tse tung.

This indicates that in those places where we have developed or are developing sections, even where pro-chinese groups exist, if our section is capable of sustaining itself, it has the perspective of assuming and of absorbing the pro-

chinese groups. But as our objective is to develop ourselves and to gain the Chinese, to impel the world revolution, such a position could only be done on the basis of a revolutionary policy which tends to impel the pro-chinese groups. But this is not the prime objective. Part of our task is to try to push them forward, to write articles, call meetings, discussions etc. Our essential objective is to develop ourselves, and to count on the perspective of a revolutionary wing within China, and the ascendancy of the permanent revolution in China. Because of this it is necessary to analyse the objective and concrete situation in each country, in order to be able to intervene and to be able to influence in each country, in a different form.

It is necessary in the next period to launch the slogan of new communist parties, to break with the old CPs, as in Italy, where already by their own nature many have done it. And many have done it. And many groups in the communist parties are doing this. And it is necessary to organise new parties with the pro-chinese and await the opportunity to do this. Or with the Socialists. In Italy and France it is possible to act on both lines and in part in Belgium. There is a very close unity between the policy towards the pro-chinese and that towards the communist parties, but our vital centre of perspective, is our influence and our work towards the fusion with the Chinese.

One of the essential aspects which determines the development of world movement is the united front with the Chinese. Our final objective is the united front with the Chinese. But united front does not mean waiting for the united front to come. It is our own development, as for example in Uruguay, in Argentina, in Italy.

In Peru the support which the comrades gave to the Chinese even at the cost

of our movement, because it pushed forward the class struggle within the university was good. Impelling the struggle by proposing a united front in which we pushed forward such a movement, was to gain authority, but also to push forward the class struggle. In order to gain authority one has to impel the class struggle, but our specific objective was not to gain authority. The more the class struggle is pushed forward the more we develop ourselves, because the class struggle demands a leadership, honest, conscious and above all capable. A movement can advance in limited tasks, but when it has to organise for the taking of power, and develop itself, the party is necessary, and because of this, it is an error of the Chinese not to pose a united front with the soviets, and not to have intervened in the USSR.

Still among the Chinese there is no clear consciousness of what the united front means. They call for a united front with all honest people, and we also, with all honest people. But what is honest? How does one determine the level of honesty of anyone, and honesty for what? In reality they are falling into a tremendous opportunism, and we expect that in a little while they are going to eliminate all 'honest people', and are going to pose instead all those who are against imperialism. This is correct. This is good. We agree. But what about the programme? Many people say "I am against imperialism", but this is an agreement to fight with us if we make a programme which does not effect capitalist interests.

I am going to write on these problems of tactics and objectives later together with the problems of tactics and objectives in relation to the nationalists who are the essential centre of our activity.

J. POSADAS

12 September 1966

## The Soviet bureaucracy tries to sustain de Gaulle

(Continued from page 1)

the standard of life of the masses. The whole economy is dominated by the consideration of the "Force de Frappe". Everything is dedicated to this whilst the consumption of the masses is reduced.

However, the very concentration of French capital is a constant source of weakness for French imperialism. In a period of the wholesale advance of the world revolution, French capitalism is inevitably losing social support because monopoly in industry and agriculture expropriates the traditional props of capitalism, small and medium enterprises, small farmers etc. Imperialism in its last stages finds itself without a stable social base and its only support lies in the forces of repression and nuclear arms.

The political and social crisis of French imperialism is tremendous. The class collaboration of the communist and socialist parties allowed de Gaulle to be elevated to power. He was voted into power with large support from the petit bourgeois masses in reaction against the policies and parliamentary decadence of the Fourth Republic. Simply again because the Communist Party in particular refused to put forward an alternative to de Gaulle, the latter under the conditions of the referendum gained 79.2% of the votes. But by 1962 his vote had fallen to 61.7% and even after the second presidential ballot of 1965, de Gaulle received only 54.5% of the votes. This gives an indication of the magnitude of the crisis of French imperialism and it is in these conditions that the Communist Party of Waldeck Rochet conciliates with de Gaulle and does not even enter into an electoral competition with de Gaulle but opts to settle for giving support to the bourgeois candidacy of Mitterand. In order to shore up his failing social position in France, de Gaulle adopts an "independent" line in relation to Nato and in relation to Yankee imperialism. He condemns the actions of Yankee imper-

ialism in Vietnam and he puts forward great notions of "Europe" playing a great role to balance between the Anglo-American axis and that of the workers states. All this of course is a great fraud and utter nonsense intended only for the consumption of the petit bourgeoisie. It is a histrionic performance to conceal the basic fact that French imperialism like all the other capitalist powers has no other perspective but that of war against the workers states. And it is precisely here that the Soviet Bureaucracy and the Communist Party plays its criminal role. The former conciliates openly with de Gaulle, the CP indirectly but both have the same objective which is that of maintaining de Gaulle in order to block the advance of the revolution in Europe.

Kosygin was received in utter silence by the French masses, a fact which in itself shows the great suspicion the masses have of the arrangements between de Gaulle and the Soviet Bureaucracy. The workers states gained nothing from the visit of Kosygin. The whole visit was only of advantage to de Gaulle who tried to appear as a statesman of "substance" negotiating with a major workers state. Literally de Gaulle leans on the bureaucracy of the workers states to sustain himself.

But the days of French as of world imperialism are numbered. The effects of political revolution in China are making themselves felt. The strikes of large sectors of the French masses over a whole historic period have prepared the basis for the development of a revolutionary current in which the IV International can intervene. The Common Market has entered into an increasing social and economic crisis and with the stimulus of economic factors such as unemployment and the wage freeze, the European and French masses will make the European revolution together, putting an end to the de Gaulles and the apparatuses of the Communist and Socialist Parties.

## TUCUMAN

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tendencies behind the programme and the workers anti-capitalist solution.

It is necessary to plan the economy of Tucuman, to diversify it as it is necessary to plan the economy of the country. It must be done in the interests of the masses. It is necessary to oppose to the capitalist plan the WORKERS PLAN. The programme of the FOTIA, Huerta Grande and La Falda.

Capitalism is powerless to increase the consumption of sugar by the masses. While they argue that there is 480,000 tons of sugar which they can't sell, the consumption of sugar per person has fallen from 32 Kg in 1952 to 24 Kgs per year, now. In Britain the consumption is 52 Kgs per person per year.

The workers and the masses of the Los Ralos mills showed in their mobilisation (the taking of measures of **BLOCKADE OF THE SUGAR AND ALCOHOL companies**) the need to apply points of the programme of the FOTIA, the need to apply workers control over production. It is necessary that the FOTIA CONTROLS AND TAKES INTO ITS HANDS the selling of all products to the masses at cost price.

Today the most important struggle of all for the Tucuman masses is the unconditional defence of the sources of work, the defence of the sugar mills. This is the defence of the work places and the centres of organisation and of centralisation of the masses of Tucuman. The mills are the centres of revolutionary organisation.

This objective must unify all the exploited population of the province. It is necessary to advance a series of points of common struggle to all the exploited sectors. **OPEN THE BOOKS OF THE BOSSES to finish with the commercial secrets. NO worker unemployed, no worker displaced. Pay to the small cane producers the debts of the previous harvest, no student expelled by his intervention in the struggles or by his ideology.**

The only road which the mill workers can take is the expropriation of capitalism. nationalisation without compensation of all

the mills of the country and their functioning under workers control.

It is necessary to call the small cane grower to centralise himself behind the united front posing the necessity of the Agrarian reform, expropriating the landlords land. The Agrarian revolution must organise the collective exploitation of the big plantations, for a plan of credits on a large scale, of seeds, fertilizer, tractors and agricultural implements.

Organise the Agrarian co-operatives.

Organise a workers plan of roads, homes, schools, and hospitals for the masses. Unify the struggle of the students, for universities to be at the service of the masses and of human progress, for the Worker and student Government of the University.

All this struggle demands a national unification and a unification with the industries in conflict; the railways, dockers, the steel workers. Form joint Sugar and railway workers Committees.

The masses feel that the struggles which are coming, that the defeat of the military government will be reached with mobilisation, the intervention of all the exploited population. The workers of the factories, the clerks, the students, the peasants, women, children, pensioners, all are unified in the struggle for the workers Programme.

All this mobilisation demands, on the bases of the sugar mills, the districts, the university, etc. the construction of instruments of struggle, so that these are the centres which will make possible the intervention of the whole population with its opinions and so that these organisms are the Workers committees of the base and the committees of the United Front.

The next struggles will be the open confrontation with the government and capitalism, and it will be necessary to confront all the weight of the apparatus of repression of the government, which although weak will have no other course but to repress in order to survive.

It is necessary to make a call to the soldiers not to fire against the population to organise workers self defense groups, to defend the occupied mills. For the territorial

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## Resist the policy of wage freeze and unemployment

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dence in the power of the committees to prevent sackings. Thus at Rootes in Coventry the workers rejected work sharing and went back to working 5 days a week against the recommendations of the shop stewards. The shop stewards argued that as 400 men had just been sacked this was equivalent to jumping into dead mens graves. But as the unofficial organisation was not powerful enough to prevent these 40 from being sacked in the first place, it was completely pointless of the shop stewards to call for work sharing after the sackings had taken place. The workers saw the futility of this and voted to return to working a full week. It is a glaring example of the weakness of the organisation.

In spite of the treason of the bureaucrats and the threats of the government, the workers are still fighting back in isolated strike actions. Two garages in London were on

### OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polarist and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

strike against new schedules which have been agreed between the London transport board and the TGWU, and dockers at the Millwall dock in London are striking to impose a work rota so that all the dockers will share in a higher wage rate for unloading the ships of the Olsen line. Again this strike is unofficial, and is against an agreement made by the employers and the TGWU, and the significant thing about both these two strikes is that they are not over a wage increase but are to impose workers control over the conditions of work.

Pressures are now building up on the union bureaucrats for new industrial actions. About a million workers of the TGWU either have their agreed wage increases frozen or in process of negotiation. There will almost certainly be industrial action by the 100,000 provincial busmen in support of their claim for an 8 to 9 shilling a week rise which the employers are refusing to pay until there are firm undertakings to increase productivity, and also a work to rule and ban on rest day working is planned by the railwaymen of ASLEF struggling against redundancy. Obviously the trade union bureaucrats will limit the industrial action as much as possible and we call to the busman and the railwaymen to link up their struggle on the basis of unofficial committees and call a GENERAL TRANSPORT STRIKE including the railwaymen of the NUR (which is not supporting the ASLEF) the London and provincial busmen and the dockers. Such combined action is both possible and necessary in the present situation.

Compensating for the temporary lull in the national situation, the world process of the revolution storms on. In China the Red guards, becoming more and more a proletarian formation, demand the purging of the trade union leadership, accusing it of living a luxurious life, and attack one of

## Extract from "Renmin Ribao" of Dec. 26 which shows the process towards Soviets in China

The working class should firmly observe the decision of the Party's central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, and let the masses elect cultural revolutionary groups, committees or congresses that can represent them. Members to these organisations must not be appointed from above nor is behind-the-scenes manipulation allowed. A system of general elections must be instituted in accordance with the principles of the Paris Commune. Full deliberations and repeated discussions must be carried out by the masses and the election conducted in a serious way. The mem-

bers can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses at any time.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of the workers have the right to set up every kind of revolutionary organisation. All workers' organisations should maintain the working-class characteristic of industriousness and thrift and should not set up bureaucratic apparatus or acquire a mass of equipment which divorce them from the masses. In general, the working staff of these workers' organisations should not leave production.

the most conservative leaders of the Chinese revolution Chou-En-Lai. The struggle of the Vietnamese masses continues to win new victories in spite of all the might of U.S. Imperialism. The Soviet bureaucracy, although all its efforts are directed to get the Viet-Cong and the North Vietnamese leaders to the conference table, is unable to stop the process, while George Brown's latest pathetic "peace" proposals have been rejected out of hand by the North Vietnamese. U.S. Imperialism begins more and more to show its hard face, regardless now of petit bourgeoisie public opinion. The statement by Cardinal Spellman that anything less than complete victory in South Vietnam is unthinkable, and the demand by a U.S. congressman that they should "let public opinion fly a kite" and "flatten Hanoi" are the clearest statements of the policy of U.S. Imperialism that have yet been made. All the manoeuvres of the Soviet Bureaucracy in the interests of peaceful co-existence (like the visit that Pordgorny is

going to make to the Pope) are not going to stop U.S. Imperialism from launching the war, and they are not going to stop the revolutionary masses of the world from burying both imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy

The vanguard of the working class must be clear that it is only a short time to the launching of the war. British Imperialism has no perspective of industrial or economic growth, (it is not going to enter the common market) and its only perspective is the war. To counter the present offensive of the capitalist class and to build the revolutionary current for the seizure of power the workers must build and strengthen their unofficial committees, linking them nationally and to the workers of the rest of Europe on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme. The capitalist class is not strong it has only been able to profit from the transient lack of organisation of the working class.

It is necessary for the working class to take the initiative and to go forward with the perspective of workers power on the basis of a programme of anti-capitalist demands. Demands such as no worker to be dismissed, work sharing without loss of pay, 35 hour week, all the profits of automation to go to the workers, immediate 30 per cent increase in wages, workers control in all industries, and the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of the key industries.

## Conference of the British section of the IV International

The second conference and cadre school of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British section of the IV International was held in London at the end of December with the participation also of comrades of the Spanish, Belgian, French and Italian sections, and with the representation of the European Bureau.

The courses of the Cadre School and conference were as follows.

Opening Address	Cde. Claire
Workers states in the world Revolution	Cde. Richard
Colonial Revolution	Cde. Roger
International Situation	Cde. Colin
British Situation	Cde. Richard
Organisational Report	Cde. Roger
Closing Address	Cde. Richard

The political resolution of the conference will be published in the next issue of the paper. Greetings were sent by the conference to

- Our comrades imprisoned in Mexico, Brazil, and Cuba.
- To the section in Chile on its reconstruction.
- To the Bolivian section on its recent success in trade union elections.
- To the Uruguayan section on its intervention in the recent elections.
- To the Argentinian section working in clandestinity and all the other sections working in clandestinity.
- To the Latin American Bureau for its continuous activity in the past period.
- To the European Bureau for its production of the European Marxist Review.
- To the MR-13 movement in Guatemala in the perspective of its re-unification with the IV International.
- To the process of the political revolution in China.
- To the revolutionary intervention of the world masses.
- To the Heroic struggles of the Vietnamese masses against imperialism.
- To all the sections of the International.
- To Cde. Posadas, and the International Secretariat of the IV International.

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3 more  
Trotskyists  
have been  
arrested in  
Mexico

Campaign for  
their release

Tucuman

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

control of the occupied zones.

It is necessary to make assemblies in the sugar mills in which the rank and file committees are organised. It is through these committees that it is necessary to resolve the unification of the struggle of the country. It is the way to organise an extra-ordinary Congress of the CGT with rank and file delegates. It is necessary to push forward the realisation of a congress of the CGT regionals of the North west with these objectives. They are part of the most important tasks to impose the Workers plan of development for the economy and the defence of democratic rights.

Tucuman November 28, 1966

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# 15 MORE TROTSKYISTS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN MEXICO

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

## Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



NO 43

FORTNIGHTLY

JANUARY 25th 1967

SIXPENCE

## For the construction of the revolutionary current. For the United Front to crush British imperialism and capitalism

### Political resolution of the 2nd conference of the RWP(T)

British imperialism is now in the stages immediately preceding its collapse and that of world imperialism. The British proletariat and those sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who ally themselves with the proletariat are now more open to the full force of the world revolutionary process, itself of unprecedented dimensions, than at any other period of history. In 1926 in the period of the General Strike it would have been possible for the proletariat to have taken power but this was prevented by the reactionary role of the trade union bureaucrats, the soviet bureaucracy and its servant the British communist party. But today the soviet bureaucracy and the communist parties in Europe are incapable of seriously blocking the revolutionary process, although they can still delay it and commit monstrous acts of betrayal. And in the world of today the international and national conditions are infinitely more favourable to the advance of the masses.

The struggles of the British masses against Imperialism and capitalism are immeasurably accelerated and encouraged by the advance of the process of the political revolution in China and the heroic struggles of the masses of Vietnam against the enormous military weight of American imperialism. In China the process is going towards the renovation of a socialist democracy in the workers states. It is showing the way to soviets (workers councils) and the necessity for a leadership fully responsive to the needs of the masses. The process in China is an example of a truly revolutionary process whereby the masses feel they are really masters of their destiny even though at the moment the process remains relatively empirical. The mobilisation of the young Chinese revolutionary workers and peasants provides the British masses with a real example of a developing socialist consciousness sure of itself. The repercussions of this in Great Britain cannot be precisely measured but the total effect is going to be enormous. Furthermore a sector of the Chinese leadership has openly said that they know the war with imperialism is coming and they are prepared for it. Such is the type of political education which the British masses are now receiving. Not since the early days of the Russian revolution have they been able to see the full centralised weight of masses seeking the road to socialism. The IV International has correctly stressed that even without a clear centralised world strategy emanating from the workers states, the process in China and Vietnam is centralising the masses everywhere against imperialism and capitalism.

Throughout the world it is possible to see clearly the crumbling of imperialism and capitalism. The crises in India, the inability of Imperialism to stem the revolutionary tide in Africa, Latin America, Asia all show the weakness of imperialism and its ally the soviet bureaucracy. Near at hand, the massive onslaught of the masses in Spain, Greece, Italy and Belgium against capitalism and against the leadership of the Communist and socialist parties and trade unions parallels the struggles of the British proletariat and encourages it. The effects of these struggles would be felt much more in Great Britain but for the class collaboration of the communist parties and the trade

unions in order to control the revolutionary process. All this constantly poses the necessity for a new workers centre in Europe and the European General Strike, opening the way for the insurrection of the masses to take power, forming the United Socialist States of Europe.

The mobilisations of the British masses grew and developed as a result of the electoral victories of the LP in the elections of 1964 and 1966. In both elections it became clear that the proletariat had attracted considerable sectors of the petit bourgeoisie to its side. The victory of the Labour party signalled the enormous social and political crisis in which capitalism found itself. In the midst of all the weakness of world and British imperialism, the capitalist class found that it had to rely as its last means of defence upon the traditional party with a workers vote. And now even the economy of British imperialism enters into crisis.

The existence of the workers states not only reveals the inability of capitalism to sustain a high rate of growth but creates disorder within the capitalist economy. Capitalism is forced to prepare for war. Vast unproductive expenditures prevent expansion for the needs of the population. In Great Britain the actual infrastructure of capitalism decays and the basic necessities of the masses are more and more ignored. Transport, housing, education all enter into decay. And at the same time that the economy is geared to the coming of the final encounter with the workers states, the inevitable process of rationalisation in industry begins to develop under the impact of the enormous inter capitalist competition, with the Common Market countries, USA etc. This further stimulates the opposition of the masses and in its turn further damages the authority of capitalism over the petit bourgeoisie.

At the present stage taking full advantage of a lack of a workers centre in Great Britain, the Labour government has launched a wholesale offensive against the masses, involving the deliberate creation of unemployment and the reduction of consumption. Wilson realises that this is going to stimulate the anti capitalist struggle but the demands of the capitalist war economy dictate no other response. The "balance of payments

crisis" is sheer myth. The crisis is simply caused by the demands of imperialist preparations for the war against the workers states. At the same time the process of capitalist rationalisation and concentration

gathers momentum. And this has been particularly marked in the car industry where BMC in order to intensify its working methods, has with the connivance of the government, sacked thousands of workers.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SEAMENS STRIKE

The qualitatively new stage of the struggle was clearly shown in the course of the seamen's strike. The seamen are not the most powerful sector of the British working class numerically speaking, but the unity and spirit of their strike demonstrated the desire of the whole working class to defend its class interests regardless of imperialist needs. The strike expressed the necessity for a political struggle against the capitalist state. It was a fundamental experience for the working class and the fact that the seamen gained no fundamental demands does not contradict the fact that the struggle of the seamen, like that of the Italian engineering workers, reflects a new stage in the struggle of the British masses which is one of enormous elevation in this period of the revolution-war-

revolution. What was particularly impressive was the extremely firm organisation at the base of the seamen's movement which in some degree at least imposed itself on what proved to be a particularly rotten leadership. Against the sabotage of the communist party and the irrelevance of the various "lobbies", the British section of the IV International intervened in the strike with the workers programme and appeals for unification with the dockers. The capitalist press particularly in Italy and Spain detected the Trotskyist significance of the strike and noted also the direct intervention of the IV International. Although the Wilson government and the TUC isolated the strike, in this

Continued on page 2

## Letter from the P.B. of the party to the Mexican President demanding the release of the Trotskyists

President Diaz Ordaz,

We have received information which shows that a number of Trotskyists have been arrested in Poza Rica and Mexico City. The Mexican government has already arrested eight members of the IV International claiming that the small Mexican section were "plotting to overthrow the government." We protested about this and demanded their release but we were ignored on the grounds that these arrests were entirely the province of Mexican law.

It is becoming clear that the Mexican government is following a line of repression and terrorism against the Trotskyists. We know that your police tortured the first group of our arrested comrades—what have you done with those arrested now?

You claim that Mexico is a democratic state, then why are you trying to stop the free publication of Trotskyist ideas in Mexico? What are you afraid of?

The actions of your government will diminish whatever authority it has and show that it is afraid of democracy. It is afraid of the tradition of the Mexican revolution, of Zapata, of Cardenas.

Our comrades in Mexico put forward views of democracy entirely in accordance with the worker and peasant traditions of Mexico.

An international campaign is being waged to free our Mexican comrades. This campaign will do you no good, it will simply expose the repressive activities of the Mexican government, its fear of basic democratic rights.

We demand that you release the Mexican Trotskyists, that you allow the free publication of Trotskyist ideas.

History will not allow you to succeed in such a policy of arrests and repression. We insist upon the immediate release of all our comrades in Mexico,

Yours,

J. L. DAVIS,

for the P.B. British Section of the  
IV International

# The political resolution of the 2nd Conference of the RWP(T)

(Continued from page 1)

period of revolutionary advance the value of the experience of the seamen vastly outweighs the absence of a tangible economic advance.

In face of the mobilisations of the masses and the necessities of the war economy and capitalist competition, the Wilson government inevitably becomes more authoritarian. The attempt to impose the wage freeze via the Prices and Incomes Bill is an example of the inevitable tendencies of capitalism towards direct repression of the masses. The process is also at work in the rest of Europe. The killing of the miners in Zwatberg, in Belgium, the emergency laws in West Germany, the "personal" rule of de Gaulle in France, the repressions of the Franco regime, the repression of the Greek and Italian governments against the masses, shows the process. But the essential social weakness of imperialism was shown at the last conference of the Labour party. The LP itself is dominated by the bureaucratic apparatus sustained by the TU bureaucracy. It is totally immune to the basic interests of the masses. Not even the beginnings of a revolutionary current can be tolerated in the Labour Party. And yet resolutions were passed which rejected the policy of the government on Vietnam, and the policy of unemployment. This shows that a policy of repression has no future. There is no social basis for such a sustained policy. Everywhere the capitalist policy of unemployment, the imposition of rates and rhythms of work imposed by the bosses meets a strenuous resistance from the masses. Inevitably the polarisation of the masses against capitalism accelerates and prepares the masses to face the final encounter of the nuclear war with imperialism.

The trade union bureaucracy is caught in an enormous vice. As its action has shown in the seamen's strike the TUC retains its strikebreaking instincts and will continue to do what it can to sustain capitalism in its last hours. Nevertheless its unwillingness to give unequivocal support to the line of the Wilson government shows again the degree of the crisis for British imperialism. Recently they felt obliged to demand the full integration of workers in all levels of management. Their way of phrasing the question shows their bureaucratic insincerity but it reveals indirectly that the conditions are preparing for the imposition of workers control. When the trade union bureaucrats are talking of participation of workers in management this reflects the pressure which they are receiving from below and which they wish to tame.

The actions of Wilson have led to the emergence of the abstaining MPs in parliament and the opposition of the "left" bureaucracy in the TUC. The resignation of

Cousins after the seamen's strike showed the realisation of this sector of the bureaucracy that it could not afford to be in any way identified with the pro capitalist policy of Wilson. This opposition has talked about the necessity for a minimum basic wage of fifteen pounds a week and in Parliament it has attacked the prices and incomes policy, but opposition has remained entirely at the level of words. Cousins' demand for a basic minimum wage is not based on an attempt to mobilise the masses but is to be reached by agreement with the TUC, the government and the CBI! And at the same time flying completely in the face of the facts, Cousins talks about the need to raise productivity at the very time that capitalism shows that its only way to raise productivity is to increase the rhythm of work and create unemployment! The left MPs have also expressed alarm at the events in Vietnam and there the case rests. The workers can only rely on their own strength to obtain their demands.

The attempt to conciliate with the workers states has ended in fiasco. The soviet bureaucracy can give no concessions to Wilson or US imperialism and the absurd perambulations of the foreign secretary Brown summarise the total impasse and weakness of imperialism at this stage.

British imperialism is entirely decrepit. It finds itself in a total impasse. In Rhodesia it has found itself incapable of finding a formula to meet the demands of the Smith regime and buy time through a policy of concessions. Wilson was totally prepared to confirm the line of Smith in return for paper concessions. But the racist regime in Rhodesia could not agree even to these. The African masses discern the decomposition of imperialism. The Tory ruling class in this country realise the grim situation and their hysterical attacks on Wilson for the failure of the negotiations shows their awareness that the Rhodesian crisis is a major defeat for imperialism.

Wilson has now entered upon the path of attempting to enter the Common market—a perspective without a future. The effort to enter the market reflects the inevitable tendency of capitalism to transcend national boundaries. American and British imperialism want to invade the common market for political and economic reasons, to strengthen the war alliance and gain direct access to the market. But de Gaulle has already made clear his position. He wishes to follow an independent line in order to consolidate his failing political position. British imperialism could only put on the mantle of an historic initiative because the bureaucracy of the workers states refuses to campaign for the United Socialist States of Europe and prefers the line of alignment with de Gaulle.

## THE MASSES OF IRELAND ARE PREPARING TO INTERVENE ON A MASSIVE SCALE

Inevitably there will be a process of increasing inter-influence between the British and Irish masses as the revolutionary conditions develop. Ireland has a bitter and very recent revolutionary tradition. It is a tradition which lives and is fed constantly by the unnatural division of Ireland into two parts. As with other countries in capitalist Europe, both parts of Ireland have entered upon capitalist crisis, social, political and economic. In the North O'Neill dons the mantle of a reformer and is nothing of the sort; but so weak do the Unionist twisters and thugs in Ulster feel themselves to be that recently there was an attempt to remove O'Neill simply because it was felt that any policy of conciliation with the masses of Ulster (however small) would generate an enormous confidence in Ireland and lead to a situation worse than the riots in Belfast two years ago. In the south more direct mobilisations of the Irish masses have taken place, recently for example the large demonstrations of tenants in Dublin protesting against rents etc and the notable mobilisations of the tenant farmers directed against the big agricultural monopolies and the Policy of the government show that after years of isolation and repression and the constant betrayal of the CPs, LPs and trade union bureaucracies, the Irish masses are preparing again to intervene on a massive scale and go towards a socialist Ireland.

The government in face of the persistent strike action of the Irish masses actually outlawed strikes in the electricity supply industry. But the Irish masses will not be intimidated and the attempt of the proletariat to centralise itself has been shown by the increase in the number of the Labour MPs despite the reformist policy of that organisation. The revolutionary nationalist sectors in this stage of history will be inevitably drawn to the programme of socialism to the programme of the workers and peasant government for a united Ireland.

We have witnessed the pusillanimous and cowardly policy of the trade union bureaucracy but it is very necessary to point out constantly the reactionary role played by the communist party and the lesser apparatus which masquerades as "Trotskyist," the Healy group (SLL). The communist party is entirely geared to the policy of peaceful coexistence and purely verbal opposition to the policy of British capitalism and imperialism. In Finland the communists have actually entered the capitalist government but the CPs collaborate with capitalism whether they are in a government or not. The putrescent, treacherous policy of the British communist party has shown itself at every turn, whether in their alliance with the coal board against the miners by sanctioning closure of the pits, in the seamen's strike in which they allied with Hogarth, in

the car industry where they connived at the mass sacking of thousands of workers. They endeavor to collaborate with the union bureaucracy, as in the Dec 3 Conference, where an enormous amount of wind is produced but no fighting programme results—bar "lobbies." The communist party is in an objective united front with the Wilson government against the masses.

As for the Healy group, it is acting as one of British imperialism's rather tawdry front organisations and this is becoming more and more apparent. Behind a smoke-screen of revolutionary posturing these people follow a line of parliamentary me-too-ism and apparatus arrangement. The latest trickery in this respect is their "united front" tactic which means more monster lobbies with verbal attacks on the policy of Wilson but in practice a line of collaboration with the apparatuses against the masses. They bow before the Transitional programme, place it upon a pedestal and then ignore it. The whole line of the Healy apparatus is that of a more energetic "Tribune." They prefer "lobbies" to direct

mobilisations of the proletariat on the anti capitalist programme.

Long ago these gentlemen in the Healy group capitulated to the pressure of the petit bourgeois by denying the inevitability of the nuclear war. Imperialism, as with the CP, finds in the Healy group another failing prop to confuse the vanguard but capitalism has no hope of stabilising the situation in Great Britain and the line of advance is well beyond the control of any "United Front of the apparatuses" but entirely on the road of the United Front of the workers, students, technicians etc against capitalism. This sinister group has no serious weight among the working class despite the many years of its existence. It has been rejected. It attracts petit bourgeois and lumpen elements, the first group attracted by the prestige and world authority of the IV International, the latter attracted by the prospect of aimless provocations. We denounce these shameful people who drag the name of Trotskyism through the mud, defile it with acts of terrorism and make a mockery of the perspectives of the world revolution, the revolution war revolution.

## FOR THE UNITED FRONT OF THE MASSES AGAINST CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM

In this spectacular phase of the crumbling of British and world imperialism, we see on every hand the decadence of the ruling class, its lack of authority, its divisions amongst itself. The Tory party the traditional all powerful authority of British imperialism is rent with crises over Rhodesia, attitude to the incomes policy etc. The Labour government has no other line but a brutal assault on the standards of life of the masses. In this situation the perspective of the United Front on the anti capitalist programme has the brightest prospects. This is not the CP variant of "unity" of the "left" forces based on left MPs, "left" bureaucrats and the gentlemen of the CP apparatus. The United Front is a front from below, an alliance of the workers who have voted Labour as a means of centralising themselves, the workers who abstained, those militants of the CP who want a genuine struggle for workers power, the vanguard of the white collar workers, the teachers, the radicalised students, the militant sectors of the Welsh, Scottish nationalist sectors etc. who are seeking for a genuine revolutionary centre against capitalism. We will support any initiative from the "Left" T.U. leaders etc. which mobilises the masses, but the united front stems from the masses not the apparatus.

As part of the struggle to overthrow capitalism we have called for a break by the Trade Unions from the Labour party and a break from the Labour Party by the constituency parties. With the perspective of building a new socialist party. We have called for a genuine workers trade union centre—that is a break from the completely undemocratic organisation of the T.U.C. In the absence of such a break caused by the timidity and fears of the bureaucrats of a process which will outdistance any line of theirs, we call for the maximum struggle for the anti capitalist programme in the trade unions, the LP and CP and the shop stewards committees.

History has shown clearly that the chances of waging a real anti-capitalist struggle in the LP and CP is severely limited by the bureaucracy which rapidly expels militants (although opportunities still exist here) but the possibilities for a revolutionary current are particularly rich within the factories when this is linked with a genuine renovation of the life of the factory (shop steward) committees. The latter have shown by and large a great conservatism in the last period, although the workers have looked and continue to look to them as a means of immediate defence against the government and the employers. It is necessary to build these committees, to make them function in a really democratic manner so that they can really find a solid support for the anti capitalist programme and form the basis for defence committees prepared to

seize factories and impose workers control.

There are enormous and increasing opportunities by which the vanguard can intervene to precipitate the downfall of imperialism. In the factories we call for genuine workers bulletins relating their particular struggles to the international and national struggles of the masses against imperialism. Similar publications are possible in the student movement. These are of enormous value as a means of exchanging the experiences of the class and winning a massive support for the anti capitalist programme. It is necessary to lay the basis for the building of a revolutionary current on a national scale and within this the functioning of the shop stewards committees as a leading political force is of fundamental importance.

All the perspectives of struggle take place on the basis of the Transitional programme applied within the perspective of the revolution war revolution. We appeal for the United Front of all the revolutionary vanguard with the cadres of Trotskyism, for the fusion of all the various forces in this country fighting capitalism on the basis of the anti capitalist programme. We appeal for ever greater initiatives of the masses against capitalism, for the mobilisation of the women workers in particular, following the example of the Belgian women in the great strike at the FN factory in Liege. The women workers are a vast force in the struggle of the proletariat against capitalism which the bureaucrats refuse to mobilise. They must be mobilised. They are among the most exploited sectors of the population. We call upon the TGWU which has called for the £15 minimum wage to mobilise the women workers around this programme. We call for demands directed to the European proletariat as a whole, the 35 hour week, joint strike actions throughout industry, for a European TU centre.

Rapidly the world is approaching the final encounter between the Worker States and Imperialism. It is necessary to accelerate the struggle for the revolutionary current so that the conditions can be prepared and the consciousness of the masses prepared for the building of the workers state in the crisis of the war revolution and after. We repeat that the process in China is going to have an enormous impact upon the masses.

Build the revolutionary current to overthrow British capitalism and imperialism.

Build the United Front of the masses against Imperialism. Forward to the General Strike on the programme of workers power.

Forward to the United Socialist States of Europe as part of the World Federation of Socialist States.

Forward to the Mass Communist International.

Resolution on G. Britain. RWP (Second Conference). 1 Jan. 1967

## Bolivia

In a mine in Potosi, a candidate of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) won 350 votes in the trade union elections. The Communist Party won 292 votes.

# The historic significance of the Electoral Class Front between the Revolutionary Workers Party (T) and the Trade Unions of Tumbes

**J. POSADAS**

The electoral united front of the trade unions of the SUCTA with the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) of Peru has the same significance as the acceptance by the November 13 movement of the programme of the IV International. The outcome is not the same but the significance is. It shows that even with our small organisational force we can influence the trade unions to advance the programme which enables the independent struggle of the working class, in alliance with the peasants to intervene politically in the political and trade union struggles.

The party in Peru is very small, it has some influence but is small. The unions of SUCTA, of North Peru are small trade unions but very combative, they are making a Congress, have held meetings in the past year, have made a regional centre which broke the 'Arista' domination two years ago. It has demonstrated a very great dynamism.

It is necessary to salute and congratulate the comrades of Peru for their success, their dedication, their comprehension and their dynamism to intervene in the electoral campaign. The intervention of the party in the electoral front has a very great significance in the process of Latin America in which the trade union movement is in the hands of conciliatory, nationalist tendencies including the communists who are conciliators with capitalism. There are no independent organisms, there are no independent class forces; the proletariat has no leadership nor class organism to be able to express itself independently. The crisis of capitalism matures, the social decomposition of capitalism accentuates but the proletariat has no class organisation. The opportunity to give a socialist character to the struggles is each time greater. For this reason it is of very great importance that the November 13 movement has adopted the programme of the socialist revolution, of the IV International, and it is of similar importance that the trade unions of North Peru have made a united front with the party with this programme which is anti imperialist and anti capitalist. Although it is limited in some ways the points which it contains are those of struggle, anti capitalist and anti imperialist. It is an example and will serve to influence the whole process in Peru.

The size of the trade unions is of no importance, although they are small in number and have little social weight. In a situation of social crisis, proletarian organs which can direct themselves to the class in an independent form with a class programme have an immense effect on the working class. In Peru there is no class or mass party. Trotskyism has only a small party. The Communist Party is of no importance, is very small. The pro-

Chinese only exist, simply as a student group, and only reflect the opposition of the radicalised petit bourgeois against the communists, against APRA and against the government. And they can collect support because they use the prestige of China. The students support them, not for themselves but because they think they are a prolongation of the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party and of the revolutionary wing of China.

## THE PRESENTATION IN A UNITED FRONT OF SUCTA WITH THE PARTY IS GOING TO INFLUENCE THE REST OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

It is going to be a centre of organisation, not only of political orientation. It is of an immense importance because this means a worker and peasant alliance with a proletarian programme with a worker and peasant alliance which fights for the peasant demands; with a programme in which the centre, the leadership is proletarian and the programme includes the principal peasant demands.

For this reason the dedication of our comrades and its dynamism to intervene in this process has meant a very close attention and political comprehension. They are small in number, but in the political comprehension is immense, without the previous political comprehension, they would not have been able to intervene.

The quantity of votes which they collect is not decisive; it has importance if they gain many votes because it increases the ability to influence, but the quantity of votes is not decisive because all the workers and peasants are going to understand—and it must be explained to them—that there is no possibility to collect many votes because of the obstacles: sabotage, fraud, which the comrades cannot control, and police pressure and terrorism. As the Workers Party denounced in its leaflets, they were not able to compete because the police occupied the zone deployed with armed police to intimidate the peasants or to denounce them and afterwards threw them out of work. But even so the peasants were there. And this fact the rest of the proletariat is going to observe, is going to see and is going to be attentive to the results and the conclusions of this campaign. Independently of the votes, it is going to be attentive to the dynamism, to the vigour with which the party has intervened in the electoral campaign and it is going to see that a United Front is possible between trade unions and political parties. It is going to see that a United Front of peasants, workers, Trade unions and parties and class parties is possible, and it can develop in this period as Fertziza developed for the class centre in El Callao.

It is a very great weakness in our sections that they have not utilised such con-

clusions for their campaigns; whether in the Argentine, Uruguay, Brazil, or Bolivia. Undoubtedly this electoral class alliance is not new. The first to make this experience was the Bolivian section in 1946 when the United Proletarian Front was presented in alliance with the trade unions. And the party put forward four candidates, two senators and two deputies. But after this experience of Bolivia there was no other in Latin America, until the experience in Peru. It is the second time that they have done this. The first time that the party presented itself in Peru, in the same alliance with the SUCTA, it was very weak, very limited, without experience. Our cadres were very timid and met a certain resistance among the peasants who feared that that the alliance with the party would provoke police and military repression. Now they still have this preoccupation but they are not afraid; they confront the government. They know that repression is coming and that they can be dismissed but they intervene. And this shows a very high level of maturity. And it is the party which has allowed this experience.

We reiterate that whatever might be the electoral result, the Peruvian masses are going to see that it is possible to repeat such an experience and already they have a source and guide for the later task. And there is the base for the workers party based on the trade unions. Without awaiting the workers party based on the trade unions there is already a beginning for this in the united electoral class front between the trade unions of SUCTA, of North Peru and the Peruvian Trotskyists which is the expression of what is possible in a very short stage; the workers party based on the trade unions.

I believe that after the elections, the party must draw a balance, and direct an appeal to all the workers movement, and issue a series of publications reporting on these experiences. This is necessary in order to go forward, for the Electoral Class Alliance, for the Class Alliance for all the other tasks of the workers movement, for the mobilisations, for the strug-

gle for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme, for the Workers-Student-and Peasant programme. And it is necessary to call to the students also to incorporate themselves into the struggle for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme and for the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions. This must be the campaign the comrades must make, to raise the political understanding, the political maturity and the political experience of the exploited masses of Peru, about the forms of organisation which their independent organism must adopt.

We repeat: an independent class organism. It is the only living expression of an independent class action which the Peruvian masses possess in all this process. Neither the communists nor the socialists have any strength nor are they independent. Their programme and their policy are bourgeois. They are independent parties in form, but their policy, their programme and their objectives are bourgeois; they are fighting for the reform of capitalism, it does not matter what name they give themselves, be it Communist or Socialist, they are bourgeois. While on the other hand, the Trotskyist party, in alliance with the SUCTA in an Electoral Class front, is independent and has independent objectives, because it fights for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme.

The Peruvian Party, our Peruvian section, must make a whole campaign to analyse, draw the conclusions and generalise the experience among the exploited masses; the workers, peasants and students of Peru. And the rest of the sections of the International must also do this generalising this experience, applying it in their sections.

One thing stands out clearly; the maturity of the peasants to intervene in the United Front and in the worker and peasant alliance. The Peruvian party shows this. One can say that in the mature circumstances, it is possible to do this because already the section has built a tradition. This electoral class alliance does not emerge by chance, but because the party has already built a tradition. It has an authority through its activity for many years in the trade union field and in the political field. It shows how the peasant is already ready for the worker and peasant alliance and for the fight for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme.

It is the same for the rest of the peasants of Peru. If it has not been made (the electoral class front) with the rest of the peasants it is because the Party does not have authority over them, does not have weight, or the material means, and does not have the possibility of gaining the confidence in a short time of the whole of the peasantry. But the peasantry of Tumbes is the expression of the Peasantry of the whole of Peru. They are an example which shows all this process, in the whole of the north of Peru, in the last years, the fundamental work of the peasants was the struggle for their trade union organisations, and confronting the police, meeting death, they have imposed trade union organisation. They imposed it where the landowners are the most brutal, the most brutal in Latin America; yet nevertheless they imposed their trade union organisation. It is this which shows the process of the peasant political maturing. They are agricultural workers, but of peasant origin, and whilst they live as peasants, they are also wage workers, working in the sugar mills, cotton plantations, the rice fields. But they are of peasant origin and some of them have a scrap of land which does not have any value. And between those who have none and those who have a small amount of land there is no difference, they have the same sentiment, the same decision to struggle. This is a very great experience for Peru and the rest of Latin

America which shows what this activity can do.

It is a form of struggle which organises and elevates the security of the peasant class, the security of the agricultural workers, of the agricultural worker-peasant alliance and at the same time influences the rest of the peasantry, which sees it as a leadership. Because of this, the intervention in the elections is very important, because the workers programme is the basis for the worker and peasant alliance. And the authorities allow it because it is in a very distant zone which they hope does not have much importance and because the other time the comrades won 150 votes. The comrades calculated that they won 220 votes which would have been the majority. They calculated that they won the majority, and that it was suppressed.

The general conclusions for the rest of the sections is that, even being small parties, with only a little weight, the circumstances, the maturity of the objective process allows an intervention with such weight and such decision. It is not necessary to be a big movement nor for the masses to be mobilising, to be in activity; on strike or occupying factories or in a general strike. There are enough small possibilities, small actions which allow us to intervene, without expecting great events, but taking whatever event which allows the independent action, the class action, and moreover with a programme which is flexible and which can centralise important sectors of the peasantry. This programme of the Electoral Front does not propose to overthrow capitalism now, it proposes to fight for a series of claims which can be reached and are accepted by the peasants, workers and students. In the rest of Latin America the situation presents itself.

Without expecting great events, or having big parties, a great influence, weight or great material means, the decision and the political comprehension is sufficient and the objective conditions favourable as in Peru, to present the party and to be able to be a centre of education of maturing and of attraction to influence the independent organisations of the class, of the exploited masses. This is the most important example of Peru. It is not the weight which is important but the conclusion. What is going to influence and is going to decide is the independent action which is going to influence the rest of the movement. All the more votes they win, all the more success they will have, because they influence more directly more rapidly. In consequence, the party has a more vigorous dynamism; it has a quicker rhythm. But independently of the electoral results, it sees what it is possible to do. The peasants, the workers and students intervene on an equal plane in a United Front, but the programme is proletarian. There is a proletarian united front. They are workers, peasants, and students but the programme is proletarian, the objectives are proletarian, because they are anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist.

There it is shown; the masses of Peru have shown in this example, which is not going to pass in vain, how it is possible to make a United Front with a anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme, for the worker, peasant, student alliance. This is a very great experience and it is this which is going to exert quite an influence. And to the party it is going to give assurance, and strength, it is going to make it feel that the number is not a difficulty to develop an immense influence, that the essential condition is political security, political decision and dynamism, vigor and a speedy rhythm in the activity. This is the conclusion for all the sections. And each section must learn from this experience.

J. POSADAS

3rd November 1966.

## The bureaucracy of Yugoslavia prepares its own downfall

Yugoslavia has led the Soviet Union and the workers states of Eastern Europe in the decentralisation of the economy, the introduction of economic reforms which allow enterprises to produce for the market and compete with one another, and in the weakening of the state monopoly of foreign trade. As a direct result of this, today Yugoslavia is the first workers state to feel the most profound effects of these reforms on the economy. The chaos which is an integral part of the capitalist economy is being reintroduced into the workers state.

Prices of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods went up by 5.6 per cent in one month recently. Strikes have become commonplace, while at the same time self styled experts are saying that approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  of all the industrial enterprises may have to close down this year to stabilise the economy. Many mines in Bosnia will be closed down because in contrast to the Slovenian

mines further to the north, they are "old and expensive to work." Also their remoteness, which is a factor determining their high cost of production, will make it extremely difficult for the displaced miners to find new jobs. Unemployment and underemployment is widespread particularly among the unskilled peasants who have left the land to look for jobs in industry in the towns, and who, unable or unwilling to return to the countryside are suffering great hardship. The solution of underemployment in the countryside can only be solved by the collectivisation of agriculture, and this solution has been abandoned by the government in spite of the lessons of the Chinese Communes which have shown to the world the enormous progress which can be made when the peasant masses collectively intervene.

The much vaunted measures of workers management in Yugoslavia, which have gone hand in hand with the process of decentralisation are no more than an attempt to build up a workers aristocracy as a counterbalance to the growing strength of the factory managers. Workers management is not a socialist measure in the situation where each factory produces independently of a central plan, and in competition with other factories to produce the maximum profit, for this exalts the individualist consciousness of groups of workers. It means in fact the building up of a workers aristocracy with a direct interest in the commercial success of their own particular enterprise, and not in the economic and social development of the whole of society. A socialist measure would be WORKERS CONTROL over the managers and technicians of a factory producing according to the norms of a central state plan formulated by the soviet of worker and peasant deputies.

The reason for these reforms do not arise from economic problems in the workers state. For example the USSR has been expanding economically at a far greater rate than the Western capitalist powers and yet it has introduced these reforms. Why? They are introduced to satisfy the needs of a sector of the bureaucracy (the managers, technicians etc.) which has no interest in the further development of the workers state, for a further development demands the intervention of the Soviet masses. Thus a further development endangers the existence of this sector of the bureaucracy. But at the same time the communist party bureaucracy does not stand to gain from these reforms, it yielded to it under pressure because there was no other way to maintain the united front of the bureaucracy. But from now on the strains within the bureaucracy, the struggle between the different sectors is going to increase. We see this clearly in Yugoslavia, where within the party there is a very important opposition to the reforms, which showed itself under the leadership of Rankovitch at the last congress of the Yugoslavian C.P. in December 64. Tito himself has had to use his authority to overcome this resistance, and in a Central Committee meeting in July, communist party members were instructed to resign from their government posts or resign from the communist party. In this way the control exercised by the C.P. over the Yugoslav state machine has been seriously weakened, and as a result of this meeting

## The betrayal of the busmen's struggle indicates the necessity for the organisation of unofficial Transport Workers Committees

The series of one-day strikes which had been threatened by provincial bus workers in support of a pay claim have now been called off. The original proposal was used by the union officials as a means of holding back the struggle of the bus workers. The fact that the date for the commencement of the strikes was set some weeks ahead was designed to give the union officials time to come to some kind of agreement with the employers. In any case this form of partial strike is itself very limited and does not allow the full weight of the workers to be felt. The agreement which gives the bus workers a rise of 3½ per cent (8/3d. for Conductors, 8/6d for Drivers and 9/7d. for maintenance men) includes an extension of the joint agreement on so-called restrictive practices to cover part-time labour. In fact, in exchange for a rise which does not even cover the cost of living the workers are expected to accept part-time labour and, possibly, one-man buses. At very least, the union bureaucrats have accepted yet another "productivity agreement," but it is doubtful whether the provincial bus-workers will accept the cuts in the labour force that one-man buses will entail. The fact that the officials of the six unions involved have undertaken to "do everything within their power to get their members to carry out the terms of the new agreement" shows how aware the bureaucrats are of the feeling of the workers.

The high level of unemployment is forcing workers to take this uncongenial, and badly paid employment and, at the same time, the bus workers are saddled with an agreement which will mean a possibility of redundancy. No doubt the bureaucrats will "do everything within their power," but the provincial bus workers have, in the past, shown themselves prepared to take unofficial action. Another factor in this situation is, of course, the fact that the government will possibly insist that the pay increase waits until after the "period of severe restraint" in July.

Rankovitch once second in command to Tito was sacked, and later imprisoned. However from the very nature of the workers state, Tito has had to resist the reintroduction of a bourgeois democracy.

Thus the reforms have sharpened the conflicts between the different sectors of the bureaucracy, have stimulated the class struggle against the bureaucracy as the strike actions have signified, because the reforms have introduced chaos into the economy inflation unemployment etc. Although they are an attempt to return to capitalism, in the world situation today where capitalism is obviously going down hill economically, socially, and politically, where half the colonial world is in arms against capitalism and imperialism and where the political revolution is surging forward in China eliminating the conservative leaders, these measures will only accelerate the downfall of the bureaucracy and the establishment of genuine workers democracy in the Yugoslavian workers state.

The employers had insisted on July 1st as the date on which the increase should be paid and conceding to the union officials demand that it should be paid on March 1st was no concession in these circumstances.

We see in this agreement the block to the workers struggles by the employers and government. The same unholy alliance was in action recently to prevent the railwaymen taking action in the form of a work-to-rule and a ban on "rest day" working. In this case the employer, British Rail, conceded a point and, in fact, the result was a limited victory for the workers. It was agreed that single manning of "short haul" freight trains should be covered by a previous agreement which allowed for a gradual introduction of single manning through natural wastage. In other words it means that there would be no redundancies resulting from single manning. However, there is still no settlement on the parallel demand for an incentive bonus for footplatemen working "short-haul" freight trains. British Rail gave a small concession to avoid any action by the workers and this was grasped by the "relieved" ASLEF officials. This minor concession given by British Rail enabled the bureaucrats of ASLEF to call off action by the railway workers which could have developed into a general transport strike.

Thus, in both cases, the independent action of the workers has been, for the time being, blocked. This conciliation by the union officials with capitalism against the interests of the workers becomes more blatant as they desperately try to prop-up a collapsing capitalist system. Cousins, of the TGWU, stated the role of the bureaucratic leaderships of the trade union when he said "We should not underestimate what can be done by genuine co-operation between the Labour Government and the progressively minded in industry and the unions." In this context the verbal opposition to the Labour Governments "wage freeze," the talk of a minimum wage and of social justice by unions like the TGWU is seen for what it is, pure hypocrisy!

The workers oppose, as did the Milwall and Cardiff dock workers recently, the productivity agreements made by the bureaucratic leaderships of their unions. This process of rationalisation is also going on, with the help of union officials, in the Motor Industry and in Transport. The similarity of the process in these industries gives the workers a great unity of purpose. But they still lack a real alternative centre for the struggle.

The actions of London busmen and London Transport inspectors, the demands of railway workers, and provincial busmen all show the necessity for a general transport strike. The conditions exist for this kind of action by transport workers, but it is necessary for transport workers to organise and strengthen their own committees.

These transport workers committees must be combined nationally around an anti-capitalist programme. The national basic minimum wage, to rise with the cost of living, and shorter working hours, and enhanced pay for work before 8 am and after 6 pm are demands which will unite all transport workers. The production of a journal containing the programme and information on the struggle of transport workers will accelerate the formation of the National Committee of Transport Workers. The nationalisation, under workers control and without compensation to the former owners is an essential part of this programme. The strike of London busmen against the schedules agreed between the TGWU and London Transport was essentially a struggle for workers control of a section of the London transport system. In the same way the refusal of many provincial bus workers to accept single manning of buses is a result of the determination of the workers to impose their own control on the transport system in which they work.

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.
22. For a workers government.

## The sentencing of Trotskyists in Spain

On the sixth of October last the Court of Public Order of Madrid judged and condemned for organising the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) in Spain, several comrades who had been arrested in June 1964 in Barcelona and Seville, and then provisionally released after six to seven months in prison. Nicole Boyer and Gabrielle Hildenbrandt were amongst them. The sentences were for six months in prison and 10,000 pesetas fine for these two, and six years and 25,000 pesetas fine for those comrades given the heaviest sentences.

The Spanish press has given great publicity to the facts, mentioning the activity of our Trotskyist comrades, the edition and the distribution of the organ of the POR(T) "Lucha Obrera" and of the distribution of leaflets calling for the struggle against the Franco regime and for the establishment of the workers and peasants government. It mentioned how this work was coordinated on an international scale. It denounced that the POR(T) had been constituted in clandestinity in 1963.

The repercussions of this trial in Spain mark the fear of capitalism confronted with Trotskyism. The Press emphasised all the facts and tried to show that this repression had succeeded in disorganising the organisational activity of the POR(T).

But the fight of our comrades at the side of the Spanish masses for the programme of the socialist revolution, the proletarian united front, the workers and peasants government, is of fundamental importance to this stage of development of the mass movement, for the revolutionary orientation and for the class struggle against Franco and the Spanish capitalist regime.

# CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF THE 24 MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

## Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



NO 44 FORTNIGHTLY FEBRUARY 10th 1967 SIXPENCE

### EDITORIAL:

## BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY CURRENT UNITING THE STUDENTS AND WORKERS STRUGGLE

The Labour government continually reveal their complete inability to make any real pretence of solving the problems of British Imperialism. The recent talks on the Common Market with the Belgian Government simply show that the Belgian Government differs only in emphasis from the other governments of the capitalist "common market." They appeared to be a little more favourable to the entry of British capitalism into the "common market," but the net result of these latest talks was exactly the same as the result from the talks with the French, Italian and German governments: nothing. The opposing interest of American and British versus particularly French Imperialism, makes it impossible for there to be any agreement on this subject. De Gaulle, representing French Imperialism, to retain any authority over the French petit bourgeoisie, has to separate himself from American Imperialism and to show himself as the great European leader who can negotiate with the Workers States—hence the crisis over NATO. The entry of British Imperialism with its complete identification with American Imperialism, would destroy the myth of "Mon General" completely. Also there is the question of inter-capitalist economic competition and sectors of European Capitalism are wary of this competition of the Anglo-American bloc. However, in the present situation these trips do provide the Labour Government with the means of giving an impression to sections of the petit bourgeoisie in this country that it is actually capable of providing a new perspective for British Capitalism.

In fact the crisis in British Imperialism continues and, no sooner has the unsolved problem of Rhodesia been pushed into the background, than British Imperialism is faced with a crisis in another area, Malta. British capitalism is incapable of keeping pace with the cost of the preparations for the war against the Workers States and it is forced to make economies in less important bases like Malta. The fact that an island as small as Malta feels strong enough to attack British Imperialism, again emphasises the ineffectiveness of British Imperialism at this stage in history.

The crisis within the Labour Party apparatus, with a large group of labour MP's opposing the government's attitude to the war in Vietnam and its support of American Imperialism, is continuous. At the same time the Trade Union group of Labour MP's have warned the government that they will oppose any further legislation along the lines of the existing Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act, ie any compulsion on the question of an incomes policy. Wilson and Callaghan have made it clear in recent speeches that the government hopes for a voluntary incomes policy from the bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions, but their line has shown that the government are prepared for a repression against the working class. For their part the trade union bureaucrats would dearly love to produce an "incomes policy," but they are forced to react to the pressure of the workers at the base of the unions. Now we see the Pottery Workers Union withdrawing, as a protest against the freezing of a wage

rise, their financial support of the Labour Party. But they propose nothing more than this, they make no call for militant industrial action. In the same way the Stoke-on-Trent branch of DATA have a motion at the unions' annual conference calling for a break from the Labour Party without making any other proposals. At least one London branch of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) have already withdrawn financial support from the Labour Party and many individual workers are also taking this step.

The loss by the Labour Party of what may be as high as £60,000 in contributions from the trade unions, is not as important as the effect that the withdrawal of some workers from financial support of the Labour Party will have on other workers. This withdrawal of financial support, like the rising number of workers who abstain from voting for the labour party, reflects a rise in the level of consciousness of the working class, particularly its vanguard. This is the beginning of a process which will pose the question, for the workers, of another organisation to replace the Labour Party. In the past, despite the traitorous actions of the Labour Party, the British working class have continued to attempt to push the Labour Party into action. Now sectors of the vanguard of the working class feel themselves strong enough to disregard the Labour Party.

This confidence can be seen in the continual industrial activity of the vanguard of the British workers despite the repressive

Continued on page 2

## Resolution of the I.S. of the IV International on the issue of "Voz Proletaria" of the Argentine forged by imperialism and the world counter-revolution

The falsification of "Voz Proletaria" is aimed at showing to Fidel Castro above all, that the Chinese are plotting his overthrow and that we support this violent overthrow by armed force, by the counter revolution. This is the objective of the forged "Voz Proletaria"

The central objective is to intervene to create confusion and provoke a reaction on the part of the Castroist groups of Fidel Castro's supporters or part of the base of Fidel Castro's movement, against the Chinese and against us. This is the objective of such a forgery. It has no other objective. It is not in order to introduce misunderstandings about this or that problem, but about the whole of the programme and the perspective. It is an attempt to try to oppose and create difficulties between the line of the centre-left to which Fidel Castro is going, with the Chinese. It appears at this moment in order to impede, to hinder or to try to prejudice and create confusion, doubt, insecurity between the development to the left of the centrist line of Fidel Castro, and the revolutionary line of the Chinese.

*Por Venderse a los Revisionistas y Reaccionarios Castro ha Llevado a Cuba al Borde del Desastre. Pekin Revolera su Política para Hacer del Pueblo Cubano Vanguardia de la Revolución Marxista-Leninista en Toda América Latina*

EDICION ESPECIAL

**Voz Proletaria**  
PROLETARIOS DE TODOS LOS PAISES UNIDOS!

ORGANO DEL PARTIDO OBRERO (TROTSKYISTA)

### China Revisa en Secreto su Política Hacia la Cuba de Castro:

Pekin desea ver en lugar de Castro, Sendero-revolucionario, a un genuino Marxista-Leninista. No obstante los Besvartios e Insultos de este Falso Marxista, Pekin no se propone iniciar un Rompimiento Formal, ya que Cuba, hasta con Castro, constituye la Única Base Diplomática de Pekin en el Hemisferio Occidental. La Meta de Largo Plazo de China: Hacer que Cuba Sirva de Centro de Exportación de la Revolución a Toda América Latina.

EDITORIAL  
El movimiento revolucionario en América Latina, y en particular en Cuba, ha alcanzado un momento crucial. La revolución cubana, que comenzó en 1953, se ha desarrollado en un proceso constante de profundización y expansión. Sin embargo, el imperialismo norteamericano y sus aliados en Europa Occidental han intentado frenar este proceso mediante una serie de medidas represivas y diplomáticas. En este contexto, la política china hacia Cuba adquiere una importancia fundamental. Pekin, que se declara un fiel seguidor del marxismo-leninismo, ha mantenido una postura ambivalente hacia el gobierno de Fidel Castro. Por un lado, reconoce el carácter revolucionario del movimiento cubano, pero por otro lado, muestra reservas sobre su orientación política y su capacidad para llevar a cabo una revolución socialista exitosa. Este artículo analiza la evolución de la política china hacia Cuba, desde la época de Mao Zedong hasta la actualidad, y examina las implicaciones de esta política para el futuro de la revolución cubana y del movimiento revolucionario en América Latina.

## Demonstration for Hugo Blanco

THE COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE VICTIMS OF REPRESSION IN PERU are organising a public meeting and demonstration as part of a world campaign for the release of the guerrilla leader Hugo Blanco and all other political and trade union prisoners in Peru.

The meeting will be held on February 19th at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. Immediately after this at 3.15 the demonstration will leave and march to the Peruvian Embassy in Sloane Street.

We appeal to all working class and student militants to support this demonstration bringing the banners of their organisations.

# GERMANY: THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM DEEPENS

The economic crisis which is occurring in Germany is part of the crisis of the whole of world and European capitalism; the "German miracle" has already ended. This Christmas, thousands of workers from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece and Turkey who normally work in Germany were sent home not to return, and thus the German crisis is going to have repercussions in the less developed countries of Europe. The three largest car works in Germany, Volkswagen, Opel, and Ford are either closing for a period or working short time and unemployment in Germany is rising steeply. Already it has been suggested that as many as 700,000 will be unemployed. Also, in common with this country, France, Belgium and Holland there is a crisis in the coal and steel industries, with many pits being closed down as uneconomic and with about 60,000 to 80,000 miners about to lose their jobs shortly. In the past, exports used to grow even when the home market stagnated. Now increases in exports will not compensate for the slackness in the home market. All this is in addition to the growing social and political weakness of German Capitalism.

The Christian Democratic Party which has ruled since the war, and which under Adenauer had maintained a hard anti-soviet line, has now lost so much support among the petit bourgeoisie that it has had to allow the Social Democrats to participate with it in a grand coalition government, while its chancellor Kiesinger adopts a soft conciliatory line towards the workers states. This does not mean a change of heart of German capitalism towards the workers states but it is a measure to use the authority of the workers state to bolster their own sagging prestige before the German petit bourgeoisie, and at the same time to exploit all the economic advantages of trade with the workers states. This is the same as in the rest

of Europe where capitalism is more and more leaning on the soviet bureaucracy for economic and social advantages. The contracts awarded to Renault and Fiat to build factories in the Soviet Union are examples of this process.

The entering of the Social Democrats into the Coalition with the Christian Democrats is yet another example of the way in which capitalism, maintains itself with the support of the traditional workers parties. The Labour Government in Britain, the Centre-Left government in Italy, and the entering of the Communist Party into the Finnish government are all a part of this process whereby the degenerate leaderships are doing their best to sustain capitalism and extend its lease of life. But even though the intentions of the social democrats are to block the struggle of the masses, their entering the government will, as it did in this country, stimulate the German workers to increase their anti-capitalist struggle, and at the same time will inevitably cause repercussions among the Social Democrat supporters, as we have already seen when the socialist students demonstrated against the formation of the coalition. This shows, as the International has analysed, the students are today expressing the revolutionary will of the German masses, at a time when the workers because of their bureaucratic trade union and Party leaders, are not able to do so, to the same extent.

The proposed meeting between Ulbricht of East Germany and Brandt the leader of the Social democrats (the meeting never actually took place) reflects the desire of the German masses for unification and at the same time is an attempt by the capitalist class of the west and the bureaucracy of the east to support each other against the masses. There is however no possibility of re-unification while the bureaucracy and the capitalists exist. Re-unification will

only come during and after the process of the overthrow of these two obstacles to the progress of humanity, as a part of the war revolution. The bureaucratic East German regime, makes no appeals to the German workers, to demonstrate, strike or show their opposition to German capitalism. The Ulbricht regime, as the building of the Berlin Wall signifies, has no confidence in itself, in socialism or the working class. It rules by terror and intimidation.

The C.P.'s constantly ignore the West German working class, they talk always of the struggle against fascism in Germany as if there is something inherent in the German personality which breeds fascism. This is a racist argument, which ignores the social, economic and political factors in the emergence of fascism, and it ignores the fact that the German proletariat tried but were betrayed by their leadership, to prevent the rise of fascism. Germany would be a workers state to-day, if it were not for the Stalinist alliance with Imperialism against the revolution after the war.

The recent German elections do not, as the C.P. and Imperialism have proclaimed, signify a danger of fascism in Germany, but show how the Nationalist right wing vote has been centralised around one party, the National Democratic Party. In the election in Hesse the N.D.P. collected 7.9 per cent of the poll, this had previously been chiefly divided between the Bavarian Party and the all German party; two right wing groups. The two major parties, the Christian Democrat Union/Christian Social Union led by Kiesinger and the Social Democrats led by Willy Brandt both increased their percentages of the poll.

The N.D.P. didn't campaign with a fascist programme but with a nationalist almost Gaullist one, their main points being that they are against giving any aid to underdeveloped countries, against N.A.T.O., and

support costs to foreign troops, and for a reunited Germany going back to the frontiers of 1937. But even with this programme when the N.D.P. tried to hold a rally in Munich on the eve of the elections they clashed with students, and police were brought in to break up the fighting which resulted. Certainly authoritarianism and repression are on the agenda in Germany—but that is quite different from fascism.

It is impossible for fascism to grow or develop in any country in this period of history. The time when Hitler or Mussolini could grow strong are gone for ever. They were given historic opportunity because then there was a world situation where many revolutionary opportunities had been missed by the working class due to the betrayals of their existing social democrat and C.P. leaders. And thus they could organise the petit bourgeoisie—who were ruined in the economic crisis—to smash the working class organisations. Now instead of the Soviet Union being isolated, we have the workers states of China, Cuba and Eastern Europe which give confidence to the working class. The colonial revolution which did not exist in the 1930's is triumphing and the masses of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are fighting not merely for independence but socialism. And most important—and because fascism bases itself on the petit bourgeoisie and the demoralised working class,—the petit bourgeoisie is influenced by the struggle of the proletariat and is more and more taking the workers forms of struggle and using them for their own objectives, thus we can see doctors on strike in Italy, school teachers on strike in Sweden etc.

It is necessary to unite the Struggles of the British with the German and other European masses with the full anti capitalist programme, for a 35 hour week, factory occupations, workers control, etc.

## EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

actions of the present Labour government. A small group of maintenance workers at the Birmingham Aluminium Company defied the government and the owners of the company by striking for what was a 12½ per cent rise in wages. The officials of the TGWU were forced to support the strike by making it official and the workers at BAC gained a victory. The company did not actually pay the £2 increase, they are obviously waiting for the government to intervene through the Prices and Incomes Board (PIB), but the fact that local TGWU officials have to publicly deny that the BAC men had "walked out" in protest against the non-payment of the increase means that these workers are prepared to impose their demand for an increase of wages. The award of a 12½ per cent increase to a small group of workers poses problems for the agents of capitalism, the labour government. If they allow this increase it will act as an encouragement to the rest of the working class. The lesson will not be lost on, for example, the 22,000 or more workers who were directly affected by the strike at BAC. Nor will the million workers in the TGWU, who are waiting for negotiations, or have wage increases "frozen," be slow to note the situation. If, on the other hand, the government refuses to allow this increase to the BAC men, then this will stimulate the militancy of the workers. This is the dilemma of the government which cannot allow workers to raise their standard of living because the war economy will not allow it and, at the same time, fears the militant reaction of the working class. In any case the masses must not wait on the PIB, the only way to guarantee a decent wage is workers' control now!

It is the "unofficial" shop stewards committees which provide the only means of immediate expression the workers have in this country. The struggle of the British working class is centred around these organisations and any action taken by the official leadership of the trade unions stems directly from the pressure on the union bureaucrats from the workers organised around these committees. This is shown by the fact that a strike like that of the BAC workers was, for the first two weeks, unofficial. If it had not been for this the bureaucrats of the TGWU would have done

nothing. These bureaucrats feel the pressure of the workers and are forced to take action, but at the same time they look for ways of blocking the struggle of the workers. Thus we see the leaderships of the TGWC, the AEU and the NUGMW signing an agreement to set up a "joint relations committee," such a committee is designed to control the process of centralisation from below, but the Trade Union bureaucracy show already that they cannot do so, whatever their manoeuvres. The government are aware of the weakness of the trade union bureaucrats and, despite talk of a voluntary wages policy, they are prepared to take repressive action against workers. Capitalism always has some law which it can use against the workers and, in the case of workers on strike at the Sunley building site in London, the law is being used to prevent picketing. Capitalism is prepared to use every means to block the struggle of the workers.

The shop stewards committees provide an expression for the worker, but the struggle is still uncoordinated and there is a need for a real workers' centre which, as yet, has not been created. The building of a new trade union centre, with a programme of workers' demands, is an urgent task which is absolutely necessary for the development of the workers' struggle in this country. In fact conditions demand a European trade union centre as the workers' struggle develops in every country in Europe. The level of the struggle of the workers on the continent of Europe is shown by the fact that French capitalism was forced to lock out 1,700 workers from the three factories of Dassault Aircraft in Bordeaux. This action was taken after workers had occupied one of the factories in support of a demand for parity of wages with workers in other areas. The process is, of course, more rapid in Spain where, despite the repression of the fascist state, the Spanish workers have embarked on a whole series of strikes and demonstrations. In Madrid recently 14,000 workers were involved in sit down strikes and strikes have developed from Barcelona, to Seville, Valencia and, as always, to the militant miners of the Asturias who closed eight pits by strike action. The Spanish students have followed the example of the workers in militant action against the repressive Spanish state and, in fact, there has been a complete fusion between the students and workers.

In this country the students have shown themselves prepared to take militant action

and the formation of the Radical Student Alliance (RSA) recently is an important development in the student movement. The immediate reaction of the students against the government's proposal to treble the fees for overseas students is a sign that there is a real desire for a militant anti-capitalist struggle. The students in this country, like the Spanish students, are influenced by the anti-capitalist struggle of the workers, but students are not strong enough to gain their demands by themselves. These demands such as democracy within universities, students control of the universities, can only be permanently achieved by the overthrow of capitalism and this task can only be undertaken with the workers. However, the programme of the RSA shows an awareness of this by calling for closer working with trade unions, and the struggle will go beyond this programme and any CP infiltrators into the Radical Alliance.

The development of the RSA within the National Union of Students in some ways parallels the creation by the workers of the shop stewards committees in that both show the need for a genuine alternative to the bureaucratic leaderships of the unions.

The emergence of a radical wing of the students and the breaking from the labour

party by sections of the workers vanguard is the beginning of a process which leads to the posing of the necessity for a new mass revolutionary socialist party. However, the rapid development of the world process means that there is little time left before the final clash between the advancing world revolution and Imperialism. The mass revolutionary socialist party will not be created by the workers and their allies until after the third world war, until after the destruction of Imperialism. It is not incorrect to pose the transitional demand for a new socialist party based on the unions and the factory committees and it is necessary to call for a break from the LP by the trade unions and the constituency parties, and the establishment of a Democratic trade union centre linked with the European trade union centre. However the emphasis must be on the building of national unified shop stewards committee based on the anti-capitalist programme and the construction of a revolutionary current to centralise the struggle of the British masses. We cannot wait upon the possibility of wholesale splitting from the L.P. leading to some transitory left socialist formation. Build the revolution current! Unify all the workers' struggles!

## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). *Die Arbeidertrijid*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla J. Segund Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.

**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc'hongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.

**INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay. *Rivista Marxista Europea*, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

# The forging of "VOZ PROLETARIA"

## I. S. Resolution

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

They have forged 'Voz Proletaria' because they take us as part of this process. They could have used any other periodical, it would have had the same significance, but they used 'Voz Proletaria' because imperialism considers that the Trotskyists, the Chinese and Fidel Castro are taking the same road. Even if this is not totally so, because we do not know if Fidel Castro's tendency is going to persist because centrism has no assurance, is not a permanent phenomenon. It is possible that the attitude of Fidel Castro, is influenced, by

### THE FALSIFICATION HAS FOR ITS OBJECTIVE, THE HINDERING OF THE MARCH OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE PROGRAMME OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The language of the periodical is an imperialist language. It is not the language of the Chinese. They have taken some parts of the Chinese approach and have mixed them up with the rest, all written by a swine, an official of imperialism who has added his own conclusions. They have taken some criticisms and general objections made by the Chinese but which have nothing to do with Fidel Castro, and deal with other problems and they have transformed this into an attack on Fidel Castro.

The language, the arguments, the policy and the objects are reactionary. This forged number is reactionary, and aspires to make the revolution retreat towards a form of bourgeois democracy, this is their objective. The conclusions apparently, are calling for the socialist revolution, but if one analyses what is written, analyses their conclusions one sees there, a desire to return to bourgeois democracy.

We declare that we are totally against and we fight any attempt to overthrow Fidel Castro. We are against the fight which wishes to weaken or attack the government of Fidel Castro. What we want is a public polemic on the revolutionary road which it is necessary to adopt. The imperialist agents who have written the forged 'Voz Proletaria' have seized on this necessity for a public polemic. There is a polemic between the Trotskyists and the Chinese and the team of Fidel Castro, on what concerns the roads of the socialist revolution, the organisation, the programme and the perspective. These agents of imperialism seize on this polemic and try to present it as if the Chinese had arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary to overthrow Fidel Castro. When in fact the opposite is the case.

They produce this publication at a moment completely different from the intervention of Fidel Castro after the Tricontinental Conference. In the Tricontinental, Fidel Castro attacked the Trotskyists and after this the Chinese, where as in July Fidel Castro, without saying it specifically, supported the programme of the Trotskyists. In the Tricontinental, Fidel Castro attacked the MR 13 of November and the comrade assassinated in Guatemala, Francisco Amado, by accusing him of being an agent of imperialism.

A little time afterwards Francisco Amado was assassinated by the dictatorship of Guatemala, for having fought for the socialist revolution. Even if Fidel Castro had not made any self criticisms for this slander, the policy which he adopted later came as a correction to the previous declaration, and he adopted the position of the MR 13 and the Trotskyists, that is to say the programme of the socialist revolution.

"Voz Proletaria" forged by imperialism, does not come out at this particular time to combat these positions for a struggle directed to weaken the government of Fidel Castro. But it takes this polemic as a pretext to try to create confusion in the United Front which is developing on a world scale, not an organic United Front, but a United Front nevertheless.

In his last declarations, Fidel Castro adopted some left positions. In his speech on the 15 September, there was a turning towards the left. Although this does not correspond with a later political position, his criticism of members of the Cuban

or tends to stabilise a wing of his own team which is in agreement with the conception of the socialist revolution. And in consequence, imperialism, which must have noted this, sees that he is going towards a Trotskyist — Chinese — Fidel Castro front. And to try to destroy this front imperialism has brought out this journal. The objectives which is proposed is the attempt to demonstrate that the Chinese are against Fidel Castro and want to overthrow him, and are using the Trotskyists for this end. This is the sense of the falsification.

government, in Korea and Vietnam, are directed as much towards the Soviet leaders, as towards the Chinese. But there is a greater accentuation of the criticisms of the Soviet leaders which indicates an inclination towards the left, which shows that within Cuba there is an immense pressure by the Cuban masses to change the policy of Fidel Castro.

The declarations of Fidel Castro vary and change. The last ones are more to the left. Imperialism sees that a left wing is developing, within Cuba, which obliges Fidel Castro to change his policy. Imperialism sees this. And it sees that Cuba is going towards a Trotskyist position. Not Chinese; Trotskyist, that is to say the line of permanent revolution, of the struggle for the socialist revolution. It is not true that Turcios had fought before for the programme of the socialist revolution. The programme which the Guatemalan Communist Party addressed to the MR 13 November in December 64 and January 65, and signed by Turcios made an appeal to fight for the programme of the bourgeois democratic revolution, and criticised the MR 13, Yon Sosa, and the Trotskyists for believing in the illusion that one can fight for socialism in Guatemala, when people there don't know what Socialism is.

These are the textual declarations of the document of the communists and of Turcios. One year later, Turcios accepts the programme of the workers and peasants government as does Fidel Castro. That is to say, Turcios and Fidel Castro are the ones who have changed, and they are going towards the programme.

Imperialism sees this change, sees this advance and inclination, even though it has not been confirmed by the day to day policy, but it sees the change, it sees that Fidel Castro supports the revolutionary line of the guerrillas in Columbia and Venezuela. Imperialism sees, the influence of the world revolution, of the Trotskyists, of the MR 13 of November of Guatemala, of in part the Chinese, on the team of Fidel Castro. It sees this. And it sees it within Cuba. A United Front, not organic, but programmatic and what predominates is the Trotskyist line, the fight for the socialist revolution, a programme which neither the Chinese nor Fidel Castro have but which now they approach closer and closer, the programme which both of them accept, the inevitability of the war, and consequently the necessity to prepare to confront the war, in the final settlement of accounts, and to reply with the revolution. Instead of preoccupying oneself with preventing the war, it is necessary on the contrary to prepare for the inevitable war and to organise the forces to launch immediately into the socialist revolution. This is the difference between having the conception that the war is coming, and having the conception that it is not. The policy of the bureaucracy is disarmament in the face of the preparation for war and the atomic war which imperialism is going to launch. It disarms! It does not give any perspective nor programme, because the perspective of the war is not to wait for it to break out, but to struggle now to prepare to take power later.

The Trotskyists, the IV International are the only ones who have fought to organise the attention, the preoccupation, to prepare for the inevitable atomic war. It

prepares to take power now and immediately when the war breaks out. This is the preventative war; to take power now. And the Chinese and later Fidel Castro adopted this programme, the programme which Turcios fought against and later accepted. And when Turcios was obliged to accept and seek discussions with the MR 13th of November on the basis of the programme of the socialist revolution, they assassinated him. The communist party assassinated him because they saw the danger. As they had murdered the Trotskyists of Guatemala before, the comrades Estafano and Paco in the first place, then later, David Aguilar, Eunice Campiran, Francisco Amado and the brother and the niece of Yon Sosa, and the others.

Imperialism takes account of this change and sees that it cannot prevent it. The Soviet bureaucracy has not the strength to prevent this change. The Soviet bureaucracy and the communist parties have as much interest as imperialism in preventing it. Imperialism tries to alter the process and in trying to alter it, indicates its preoccupation because it must take account of the elements which it feels are rising, which are organising, and which are trying to lead the struggle for the revolution under an unequal form. Fidel Castro is not identical with the Chinese, with the Trotskyists because Fidel Castro is inconsistent, his positions are not consistent, but nevertheless he is forced to take this line. Within Cuba one sees that there is an enormous pressure which forces Fidel Castro to change. The policy which he supports now is not the policy he supported previously.

Now it is a policy which tends to respond to the necessities of the revolution. Previously he opposed it, and for this reason Castro attacked the MR 13 of

### THE FORMS OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION ARE DIFFERENT IN CHINA, IN CUBA AND IN THE SOVIET UNION

In the forged "Voz Proletaria" the Trotskyists are presented as fighting to overthrow the revolution of Fidel Castro. This is totally untrue. The Trotskyists are against such a policy. We are for the support of the government of Fidel Castro in its revolutionary struggle and in everything which supports the revolution. We criticise the government of Fidel Castro, Fidel Castro himself, for his inconsistent opportunist policy. Nothing more. This is resolved with polemic and discussion. We call for socialist democracy in Cuba, as a means of elevating the revolution, while imperialism calls for the overthrow of Fidel Castro by force. This is what they could not do in 1962 at Playa-Giron, it is trying to do it now; it is in process of showing that these are its intentions.

This falsification of imperialism, in one aspect, seeks to hurl the Cuban government against our comrades in Cuba, but this forgery has already been in existence for two months and the Cuban government has not take any measure, which indicates that it is conscious that this forgery is a forgery of imperialism. It is necessary to follow attentively the action of imperialism because new forgeries are possible, not only using the name of the Trotskyists, but of the Chinese and even of Fidel Castro. Imperialism is going to try to use all these methods, not in a haphazard way, but in preparation for the war, trying to create confusion, doubt, uncertainty to try to strike in its sinister intention of the counter-revolution.

We call to the world workers movement to reject this forgery of imperialism. It is the first attempt which is going to be followed by others. The intention of imperialism reveals and reflects that it feels the force which the international possesses. If not, it would not have used the name "Voz Proletaria" of the Argentine to falsify the thought and the positions of the Chinese and the Trotskyists. They would have used any other journal. When they use "Voz Proletaria" of the Argentine and make an edition very similar—they have taken the trouble to find a way to make it look almost the same

November. It is because of this that he attacks the Trotskyists, it is because of this that he has said that the IV International is 'pestilential'. And now he is defending the programme, the struggle for progress. This is the programme of the IV International! The struggle for the socialist revolution the guerrillas, the militias combined with the guerrillas, and the struggle for socialist power. This is the pestilential programme of the IV International, and it is the programme which they are adopting, the Chinese are adopting. Previously, neither of them had it. It is the struggle of the Trotskyists which has impelled it. And imperialism sees that the ideological theoretical centre, which organise the struggle for the programme, and influences it, in spite of its numerical and organic smallness, is the IV International.

It is because of this that imperialism uses this journal which has the greatest circulation, the greatest authority of the International, the journal "Voz Proletaria" as the vehicle to try to make believe that the Chinese are basing themselves on it to attack Fidel Castro. This is to say that imperialism indicates that it notices the objective world front which is in process of organising itself in the struggle for the socialist revolution. It is because of this that imperialism has intervened, making this forgery. Imperialism has made a forged edition of "Voz Proletaria" writing an article which they attribute to the Chinese, which is false—the Chinese have not written it nor the Trotskyists either—to try to create confusion and provoke a reaction of the Cubans against the Trotskyists and against the Chinese. This is the objective of this forged "Voz Proletaria".

as the real paper—it is because it tries to use the paper with the most influence and the most weight in the International.

But at the same time, the language in which this periodical is written is not the language of either a Trotskyist, a revolutionary, or a South American. It is enough to compare this paper and the language in which it is written, to know that the writer is not an Argentinian nor a Uruguayan, nor a Bolivian, nor a Chilean, nor a Peruvian. It is an individual far from the revolutionary struggle and far from the River Plate. The language, the texts, the titles, are of a Central American, or of a Cuban, an agent of imperialism. It is not Trotskyist language nor the language of a revolutionary militant. It is the language of a journalist agent who writes politics. It is not the language, the structure of Trotskyism. Even those texts which they attribute to the Chinese—because all these texts are attributed to the Chinese, they present them as the Chinese—do not have the language of the Chinese. Only in parts which they have taken from the Chinese and have joined to the texts written by the imperialists themselves, only in parts does it reflect the language of the Chinese. But they refer to other problems, which they have used as if they were against Cuba.

It is sufficient to see in the periodical that they speak of the "reactionary dictatorship" of Fidel Castro. This signifies that the workers state is a reactionary dictatorship. This is against all the thought of the Chinese and the Trotskyists, because the Chinese have greeted the Cuban revolution as the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Trotskyists also. On the other hand the language makes it seem that it is not Fidel Castro who is wrong, but the workers state. This is against all the thought of the Chinese and the Trotskyists. It is enough simply to see it, to see that it is against the workers state. All the language shows it. In spite of the pretence, it is against it. It says—as we can read on the first page—that

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# The forging of "VOZ PROLETARIA"

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there are two revolutionaries who have been to Peking and who have given a secret report. When they say 'secret' report they are trying to make it appear that there is a secret alliance between the Trotskyists and the Chinese against Fidel Castro. To give a secret report to the Trotskyists, means that the Chinese have confidence

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

in the Trotskyists, that there is an alliance, an organism which functions. They try to make it appear before the proletariat, imperialism, the bourgeoisie and Fidel Castro, as if there is a Chinese-Trotskyist alliance to overthrow Fidel Castro. It is completely untrue. Such an alliance does not exist and the Trotskyists would never make such an alliance to overthrow Fidel Castro. We discuss, we are discussing in Cuba.

The Trotskyist have already declared that there is a very great difference between the political revolution in Cuba and in China and the political revolution in the USSR. We have said that the political revolution in Cuba will be 'sui generis' (of a particular or special kind) because there is a process which has not allowed the bureaucracy to build itself an organic structure, as in the Soviet Union. Consequently some changes are possible as is happening in Cuba at this moment by means of socialist democracy. This is shown. And it is the same in China. On the other hand, in the Soviet Union we maintain and reiterate that it is necessary to overthrow Brezhnev, a political fight is necessary to overthrow the bureaucracy for the political revolution. And Brezhnev and Company will use violent counter-revolutionary means allying themselves with imperialism to prevent the triumph of the political revolution.

### THE PREOCCUPATION OF IMPERIALISM IS TO CONFUSE THE PROCESS LEADING TOWARDS THE WORLD UNITED FRONT

Imperialism in consequence sought a vehicle to try to struggle to provoke an internal struggle creating difficulties for the world united front in process of developing. Cuba is not in the same position as China. In Cuba now there are no groups who appeal and sustain a programme as in China. In China there is a much higher development. Recently Chen Yi declared to Uruguyan visitors: you must make it known everywhere that we are preparing for the nuclear war which is inevitable and that our struggle is for world communism, and we have confidence that the working class and the revolutionary masses of the world during and immediately after the war will take the world to communism. This is the declaration published in part in the newspaper "Epoca" and in part given in the conference which Porta gave, the Uruguyan professor recently back from China, at the Sino Uruguyan Institute. This is the thought of the Chinese. It is not the thought which imperialism attributes to them, which is that they wish to overthrow Castro by force. This is totally false.

The recent declarations of Castro giving support to the revolutionary guerrillas for socialist power in Colombia and Venezuela show a modification and change in his former policy the product of an interior struggle, of interior pressure. The changes within Cuba in which a considerable body of the bureaucracy of the communist party were liquidated, the internal discussions, the preoccupation of the Cuban people to make the revolution advance, are causing changes. This is forcing the process. There is no coherence in the form of programme and of policy but there are changes. Imperialism sees that in China the cultural revolution is having as a result the organisation of a left revolutionary tendency and this is organising the programme of the socialist revolution. This is Trotskyism, as much in Cuba as in China without actually crystallising in one or the other side. There is a beginning of a development in which

At no time have the Trotskyists said that an insurrectional uprising was necessary in Cuba—or in China—for the re-establishment of socialist democracy. We have never said this. We have said that in these countries the political revolution is 'sui generis' that is to say that there are conditions which allow the ascendancy of socialist democracy without the necessity for the insurrection, this is Trotskyist thinking. On the other hand in the Soviet Union as in Hungary it is impossible to do it without the uprising of the masses, because the bureaucracy dominates, and has bureaucratic interests, it is perverted—as in Yugoslavia. This is the thought of the Trotskyists. The proof is what is happening in China. If in the Soviet Union such a process was going on we would support it unconditionally as well. That is to say what is happening in China and Cuba, a movement to the left.

In China and in part in Cuba there are points of support to influence, to be able to weigh and decide on the changes in a short time; the changes necessary for the political revolution. Fidel Castro himself is obliged to change. We reiterate that the programme which Fidel Castro announced on the 15th of September has nothing to do with the speech after the Tri-continental conference, or of those before that in which he wanted peaceful co-existence. It has nothing to do with this.

Trotskyism intervenes in a revolutionary polemic to impel these groups in China and Cuba. And Imperialism sees that it is a process which cannot be contained.

For this reason it is trying to smash the process. And part of this attempt was the action to invade Playa Giron, the attempt of 62, the war of Vietnam against the Chinese. They are all attempts to impede the revolutionary world front and the development of the revolution. The falsified publication of Voz Proletaria on the part of Imperialism has the same function; to try to contain, make difficulties, block the development of the revolution, and at the same time to try to block or contain the World United Revolutionary Front which is objectively showing itself in action. It indicates that they feel and assess the development of the IV International as a force which increases constantly its authority and its strength. If not they would not utilize "Voz Proletaria". They utilise the name of "Voz Proletaria" as the Trotskyists publication of the greatest weight and authority.

According to the Cuban comrades this paper was sent from Uruguay. They have used communication via Uruguay to try to give the appearance of being genuine. Imperialism with its assassin agents has tried to make believe that this number has a real origin. It is a lie. From some years ago the Uruguyan section have sent no more papers to Cuba because they did not arrive because of capitalist interference in the postal service. And if this paper came out of Uruguay and arrived, it is because within the apparatus, whether of Uruguay, or of world imperialism there was someone concerned that this paper did reach its destination. It is not excluded that the apparatus of the Communist Party collaborated in this task. Perhaps even in the elaboration of the document. This is not excluded. This is the work of Imperialism, but it has the same interest as the Communist Party—to prevent the revolution. It is possible that the Communist Party by means of its agents and relations through the soviet bureaucracy might have been able to intervene to allow the paper to reach Cuba. We reiterate that the Uruguyan Trotskyists have for some years sent no publication to Cuba because they did not arrive. All the efforts made to arrange delivery had no result. It is Imperialism (directly) which has arranged this delivery.

### REPLY TO THE IMPERIALIST PROVOCATION BY AGITATING FOR THE PROGRAMME OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Imperialism does not work in a casual way. In Mexico they arrested a Trotskyist team not for the intervention in the student strike in the University but because

Imperialism has just intervened in this counter revolutionary action forging "Voz Proletaria". It is doing this because it is preparing increased counter revolutionary activities for the preparation of the war. This falsification is directed at disturbing the anti imperialist anti capitalist United Front to prevent the influence of the ideas of the IV International over the development of the world revolution in those centres where it is advancing in its most concentrated form, China and Cuba. But it has done this because it is preparing actions of greater betrayal, preparing greater decisions. It is doing this because it feels that the world revolution is in an ascendancy and that it cannot contain it.

This forgery is a stupid bourgeois measure. It is sufficient to compare what is said there, with the positions of Trotskyism, to see that it is a forgery. The language is not Trotskyist, or marxist, or the language of a worker militant; it is the language of a functionary of a newspaper agency. The insults, the denigrations and the calumnies against Fidel Castro are those of an imperialist political functionary. It is simply enough to compare not only the language but the line which it puts forward. What it proposes is the overthrow of Fidel Castro to impose a bourgeois democracy. It does not say so in a textual form but that is the logic of the argument. It tries to camouflage it by means of the statement "liberty of the people". What "liberty of the people"! Imperialism desires the "liberty of the people"! We seek the development of socialism in Cuba. When in this newspaper they refer to the "liberty of the people" it is the thinking of imperialism not revolutionary thinking, nor that of the IV International nor of the Chinese. All this is because Imperialism has it in mind to intervene in a very general form. To direct the counter revolution with material means which are much more extensive than this forgery has involved. It means that in its mind it realises that the stage towards the nuclear war is very short and that it feels the necessity of intervening to contain the world ascendancy of the revolution in those centres which are going to lead; the Trotskyists, the Chinese and in part the Cubans.

For this reason it intervenes with the newspaper. It has not come out by chance at this moment, to make discussion more difficult but it has come out foreshadowing the development of very important actions in the world course of the revolution and in their preparation of the nuclear war. They are announcing that major events are in preparation. It is possible that they cannot fulfill them. The action of the world masses shows that they are forcing Imperialism to defer its plans and to restrain themselves. But to defer until later and to be restrained does not mean to annul. To defer and to be contained means that Imperialism is obliged through the world action of the masses to intervene, to prepare and to realise the nuclear war in the worst conditions for itself, because the action of the masses constantly weakens Imperialism and will allow the most rapid triumph of the world revolution. This shows that imperialism sees already the war and prepares it. This is an action which indicates that within the team of Imperialism they are prepared to launch the nuclear war at any moment. A newspaper is not forged and such a task made to intervene, prejudice or block a discussion or a political polemic without more profound objectives being in question. Imperialism wishes to create confusion to allow them to work in a much more developed and more rapid form, to be able to realise the counter revolution and the world war to avoid the reactions and the revolution with which the masses will reply and are replying. And it indicates in its turn the danger offered to them by Trotskyism.

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

# The forging of "VOZ PROLETARIA"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

the programme and the policy in the mobilisations of the students and a part of the Mexican masses. With a small number of Trotskyists, it was Trotskyist ideas, the programme and the policy and the action of Trotskyism which determines these mobilisations and organises them. It is the same in Brazil. And for this reason they assassinated the comrades also in Brazil.

Imperialism sees that in spite of our small forces the Trotskyists have the historic capacity to lead. And this is because the objective development of the revolution has forms, a road and objectives for which the Trotskyists are fighting, for which they are preparing their teams, for which they are appealing to the world working class, to the leadership of the workers states, to the leadership of China, to develop the struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution. Imperialism sees that the objective course of the revolution takes the form, the road and the objective ascendancy for which the Trotskyists are struggling. For this reason they have forged "Voz Proletaria", to try to confound, to block and impede the influence of "Voz Proletaria". This means that very harsh repressions and reactions will come against the Trotskyists and against the revolutionary movement in general, against all the tendencies which even without being Trotskyist take the road of the revolution whether in Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico or Latin America.

The reply to this falsification by imperialism is to develop the revolution. It is the best way to reply to the provocations of Imperialism; to develop the revolutionary struggle for socialism, for the taking of power, for soviets, for a combination of soviets and communes for socialist democracy and proletarian democracy, for the expropriation of imperialism and capitalism, for the world worker and peasant alliance in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe, for the Soviet Socialist Federation of Latin America, for the unconditional support to the Cuban revolution, for unconditional support to all the resolutions, measures, appeals and positions of the Cuban government to impel the socialist revolution in Cuba and outside Cuba. Unconditional support for a public polemic, a public discussion on the policy and the programme which is necessary. For complete workers democracy, the right of tendencies to speak and discuss; for the generalisation of the world experience of the revolution! For the discussion of all the aspects which impel the socialist revolution and to discuss in each workers state how to apply the programme and develop it. It is necessary to bring the experience of each country to the rest of the world revolution as the way in which the socialist world thought of this epoch is created; the generalisation of experience in order to apply them at each stage. And the essential guide of this world experience is the ascendancy and the intervention of the masses, workers control, militias, communes, soviets, the struggle for the taking of power, as the masses of the world are doing.

For this reason recent appeals of the students in China have a fundamental and decisive importance. The appeals of girls of Secondary school No 1 and the Secondary School No 4 of Peking (published in Peking Review 29 June), to eliminate, to finish with entrance and final exams and to give participation to all the students, only by their capacity are fundamental. And this is because the entrance and final examinations are a means of selection favourable to the bureaucrats. This is the political revolution! The students must do this against all the bureaucrats of China and the other workers states. And the students should propose that if it cannot be applied on a national scale it should be applied in Peking now. And they are already applying it. This is part of the political revolution. The cultural revolution is not merely to learn better, but the elimination of the social selection which the bureaucracy establishes through entrance and final

examinations.

And the Chinese students propose the elimination of all the obstacles to study. This is not only in order to learn better but to be able to weigh socially. These ideas must generalise themselves whether in Cuba or the rest of the workers states. And the Chinese must do it. We support this. Imperialism sees what is happening in China and feels that this mobilisation of the students is not merely contingent but is the direct expression of the will of the Chinese people to impel the socialist revolution. It is necessary to generalise this experience throughout the world. This is proletarian internationalism. Generalise this experience, proceed on this basis and apply!

We call upon the world workers movement, the Cuban government, Fidel Castro the revolutionary tendency, to reject and condemn this action of Imperialism to publish a forged "Voz Proletaria" to reject and condemn this attempt by Imperialism to confuse and to slander and we appeal as a reply to this, for the taking of power, the expropriation of Imperialism, the overthrow of capitalism, for the struggle for the socialist revolution; for communes, soviets for the proletarian democracy, for the right of all revolutionary tendencies to speak and discuss.

Imperialism tries to confuse and presents the Chinese in a counter revolutionary role. This is false. And it presents the Trotskyists as agents of the Chinese for this supposed action. Imperialism as also Capitalism has to make use of those in one way or another who can serve it as vehicles, as direct or indirect agents. Supporting themselves on individualist pretensions, on fear of the revolution, on insecurity in the programme, in lack of consciousness of the role of the proletariat, of the proletarian revolution of the necessity of the experience, of theory and of the programme, supporting themselves on the absence of a world marxist centre of real weight as an orientator of the revolution, imperialism is always finding in one way or the other, those who can be the vehicle and medium of its intentions, to make attacks on the Trotskyists showing them as adventurers, as sectarian agents and servants of Imperialism. Fidel Castro tried to do this and failed. Now Imperialism tries to attack the Chinese in the same form. And tomorrow it will try to do the same thing with Fidel Castro. To impede the crisis in whatever way it can, Imperialism utilises all these people of the petit bourgeoisie basing themselves on individualist interests, arrogance, individualist egocentrism of one or the other tendency, in the conservative interest of the leadership of the Communist Party. The reply to all these attempts of imperialism, to its direct or indirect agents, is the appeal to the struggle for the revolution and the action to overthrow Capitalism. There is to be found the loyalty, the security in the struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution.

We appeal to the Chinese, to the Cubans, to all the leaders of the world workers movement, to all the tendencies of the nationalist movement, to the peasants for the formation of the anti Imperialist, anti Capitalist front for the struggle for the liquidation of capitalism and the installation of a workers and peasant government; for the organisation of marxist revolutionary parties in the world with the anti Imperialist and anti Capitalist programme as part of these parties; for the United World Front to overthrow what remains of Capitalism on a world scale for unconditional support to the workers states, for unconditional support for the Cuban revolution and the Cuban workers state; for the revolution and the workers states in the rest of the world. We call for a mass communist international; for the workers and peasants alliance; the expropriation and handing over of the land to the peasants; we appeal for the peasants to take the land themselves and to secure this by proletarian power as Lenin and Trotsky did in 1917, as the programme of the IV International outlines and this has been in the programme of the IV International from the start. We appeal for a public discus-

sion of the experiences of the development of the world revolution, we appeal for unconditional support to the tendencies which in China are trying to push forward the programme of the socialist revolution; and we appeal in Latin America for the organisation of the programme for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist United front, for the worker and peasant alliance, for workers parties based on the trade unions, based on the programme of the socialist revolution for the objective development of the mass communist international. The objective development means that the activity for the mass communist international is the appeal to overthrow Imperialism, calling for the taking of power all over the world, supporting the struggle of the masses, organising the struggle for the taking of power. We call for intervention in defence of the interest of the exploited masses with the programme for each country based on their immediate demands, with the organisation and revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants. This is the way to defend Cuba and China; this is the way to confront the nuclear world war which Imperialism is preparing. It is necessary to reply to the nuclear war with the world revolution. Imperialism is preparing the war: it has no other way out. All the attempts of conciliation with the soviet bureaucracy have not succeeded in stabilising Capitalist power anywhere in the world; on the contrary the decomposition of capitalism increases and the revolutionary struggle of the world masses advances. Vietnam is the decisive example despite the million men of Imperialism and its immense nuclear power, the Vietnamese masses are not restrained or paralysed; on the contrary. They are extending their struggles and are preparing to overthrow Imperialism and are enduring the burden of the war until the re-

volution is generalised throughout Asia. We appeal for this, as the answer to the forgery of "Voz Proletaria" on the part of Imperialism which has tried to create confusion and weaken the world front of the revolution. This forgery by Imperialism means that it has decided upon much more significant actions on the road to the nuclear world war and the counter revolution. This forgery of "Voz Proletaria" on the part of Imperialism shows that they are preparing blows against Trotskyism: assassinations of Trotskyists. And it will rely on the support of the leadership of the communist parties as it relied on them before to assassinate Trotsky, the Trotskyists of Indo-China, the Trotskyists of Greece and Guatemala. And it is going to find also the support of the bureaucracies of the communist parties in a united front to betray, denounce and assassinate the Trotskyists. This forgery of "Voz Proletaria" indicates this. The preparation of blows against the Trotskyists, against the leadership of the Cuban government and against the Chinese also is on the agenda. And it will try to create confusion. It will try to confuse and deliver blows in the application of its sinister intentions. They are sinister intentions but the Imperialists will be buried as the Vietnamese masses have demonstrated. The reply to this provocation of Imperialism is the development of the united world front, for proletarian democracy, for the discussion and open polemic to generalise the experiences of the revolution, and the world programme of the mass communist international to overthrow what remains of Capitalism and to confront the nuclear war with the development of the world socialist revolution.

International Secretariat  
of the IV International  
5th November 1966.

## Defend the Mexican Trotskyists

### 24 COMRADES NOW IN JAIL IN MEXICO

Earlier this year we published details in "RED FLAG" and produced and distributed a number of circulars concerning the arrest of 8 trotskyists in Mexico City, in connection with the strike and occupation of the University. These arrested comrades Oscar Fernandez, Terese Confreta, Gilardo Isla Carranza, Ramon and Marta Helena Vargas Salguera, Francisco Zapata, Sergio Garces Estrada, Adolfo Gilly, are still being held in prison.

Now we have been informed of new arrests in Mexico, chiefly in the Petroleum centre of Poza Rica. On the 2nd December 1966 two comrades of the Partido

Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista) the Mexican section of the IV International were arrested; Tito Armando Dominguez Lara, (doctor) and Genaro Jonjitud, (lawyer), and a close sympathiser of the party Fausto Davila Solis (doctor). Later two more comrades were arrested, released and then arrested again, and lastly 7 comrades (5 students and 2 workers) have been detained. There were demonstrations in Poza Rica in protest at the arrests and demanding the release of the comrades, and a resolution of protest was passed by 3,000 to 4,000 oil workers. The government has tried to present the Regional Committee of the POR(T) of Poza Rica as being responsible for setting fire to the oil storage tanks even though a technical commission appointed by the government itself has already stated that the fires were caused by the lack of inspection and the poor state of the tanks.

In Mexico City four members of the party were arrested on the 15th of December and they have not been seen since. We fear that the government has either killed them, intends to kill them, or has tortured them so badly that they don't want anybody to see them.

The comrades have been arrested for their struggle for trade union rights, democratic liberties for the masses, a programme of expropriation of capitalism and imperialism, land to the peasants, workers control and the workers and peasants government. While the government claims to inherit the revolutionary anti-imperialist traditions of the Mexican Revolution, it shows quite clearly by this repression of the Trotskyists that it has betrayed these traditions.

The arrests are a part of a campaign by the Mexican government backed up by US imperialism and supported by the gangster bureaucrats of the Mexican trade unions to repress and intimidate all militant workers, students and peasants, in a vain attempt to stop the process towards the revolution.

We appeal to the workers movement the student movement, to the petit bourgeoisie and the intellectuals to protest against these arrests and demand the liberation of all the Trotskyists comrades and all other political and trade union militants. We appeal for the defence of the democratic rights of the Mexican masses and the right of the Trotskyists to function. We appeal for the passing of resolutions of protest which must be sent to:

The Judge, Judge Eduardo Ferrer Macgregor, Juez Primero de Distrito en Materia Penal, Burcarelli 24, Mexico DF Mexico.

The Mexican Government, President Diaz Ordaz, Government Palace, Mexico DF.

To the Mexican Embassy, 48 Belgrave Square, S.W.1.

If copies of resolutions are sent to us we will publish them in Red Flag.

We also make an appeal for money to be sent to us to help meet the expenses of the trial.

## Struggle for the programme of students and teachers control of education

Text of a leaflet distributed by the Party at the meeting of the Radical Student Alliance at the LSE in London at the end of January

Great Britain is now seeing a new stage in the struggles of the workers and students in this country. There is no question that the mobilisation of the workers in this country against the capitalist class and their own moribund trade union leaderships parallels in a much more powerful way, the struggle of students against the university apparatuses and against the conservative bureaucracy of their own union, the NUS.

In order to see this struggle in perspective it is necessary to realise that the struggle of the students for a genuine student democracy and for a control of the education process is being waged on an international scale. And all these struggles take on a clear political complexion. The seizure by the Mexican students of Mexico City University, by the Italian students of Rome University, the struggle of the students of the Argentine against Onganía, the enormous struggles of the Spanish and Indian students against their governments are clear demonstrations that whatever the nature of the government, we are seeing major struggles by students on an international scale against the usual type of university administrations sustained by capitalism. And it is impossible to isolate these struggles from the advance of the world struggle by workers and peasants against capitalism and imperialism. For example the struggle of the students at Berkeley University is again not only a symptom of a desire for a democratised university but it is the indirect expression of the influence of the world revolution in the United States and an anti-capitalist spirit, the desire for a world without property owners and without bureaucrats. The struggle of the L.S.E. students against their Director is symptomatic of this new stage of struggle in Great Britain.

The struggle to dispose of imperialism and capitalism is complicated by the actions of the Soviet bureaucracy which collaborates with imperialism. But the days of this bureaucracy are numbered as can be seen by the events in China where despite the lack of a conscious leadership, the Chinese masses are advancing all the time towards a genuine socialist democracy and this encourages the workers, peasant and student masses of the world. The vital importance of seeing the student struggle within its international aspects is indicated by the fact that of itself the student movement will never obtain its demands. To transform the capitalist system of education means to smash the capitalist state and that can only be done by the alliance with the proletariat. It may be possible to extract minor concessions from some particular institution but capitalism will never allow a dual power to exist any length of time in the educational system. The students movement must work in the closest unity with the struggles of the workers. They must link all their struggles with those of the teachers for better conditions etc. and for a real control of the education process. They must establish a close network of student groups with a regular journal to centralise their objectives and thereby accelerate the struggle nationally and locally. A journal is of the highest importance as a means of giving confidence to students in their struggles. In a country such as Great Britain with conservative traditions and large numbers of privileged strata—and this is reflected in the student body itself—to sustain support in colleges where groups of militant students may be to some degree isolated, a journal is of the greatest importance—a journal which relates student affairs to the national and international situation and the struggles of the workers.

The demands of a really audacious student movement cannot be geared to the C.P. policy of peaceful co-existence which means using student pressure on the authorities to extract some trivial reforms of phoney student "participation" in university and college administration. The withdrawal of financial and organisational support by the Labour Party from NALSO shows how in this period the leaderships of the traditional workers organisations are not prepared to allow the smallest amount of democracy or criticism within its ranks.

We support the general tendency of the demands of the Radical Student Alliance, particularly their refusal any longer to be hauled by the miserable conservative elements in the NUS. The students must orientate themselves towards a programme on the following lines.

- For a completely democratic students union with the right of immediate recall of student representatives.
- For a completely independent students organisation in the various colleges and universities which can operate its own programmes and ideas free from any interference from the educational authorities.
- Students and teachers must control the whole educational syllabus and the whole process of student selection.
- Students should have the average working wage which should rise with the cost of living and they should support all the wages demands of teachers which should also rise with the cost of living.
- Students should struggle for a massive programme of educational improvements, etc. more buildings, staff, etc. on the basis of the expropriation of all key industries, banks, etc. under workers' control.

Direction of educational institutions: students, teachers and representatives of workers and professional bodies should alone have the right to representation on college and university councils.

### FEBRUARY 22nd STRIKE

Full support from all students in Universities, Colleges of Education, Technical Colleges etc. for the student strike planned for the 22nd of February.

## The European Marxist Review

The European Marxist Review whose publication by the European Bureau we greeted in the last issue of RED FLAG contained the following documents.

For the organisation of the masses in all the world with the programme of the Socialist Revolution and the Mass Communist International. (Editorial).

J. Posadas

### Addition to the Editorial

The disintegration of the Socialist and Communist parties and of capitalism in Europe, the "Cultural Revolution" and the struggle for workers power.

J. Posadas

On the 26th anniversary of his assassination, the ideas, the objectives, and the revolutionary policy of Leon Trotsky, of Trotskyism and the IV International are the basis which guides the conscious ascendant development of the world socialist revolution.

J. Posadas

Functioning and structure of the International.

J. Posadas

Manifesto of the I.S. of the IV International

90 years of the Communist Manifesto.

Leon Trotsky

The review also contains news of the world campaign for the liberation of imprisoned Trotskyist and revolutionary militants.

Documents on Uruguay—Cuba—Spain—Guatemala.

Life and development of the International.

In the March issue of the paper we will publish the editorial of the EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW.

## No British troops in Malta full support for the masses of Malta

The uninterrupted, if empirical, advance of the world revolution has shown itself in an extremely explosive manner in the crisis over British bases in Malta. British imperialism lacks the enormous resources to conduct an effective military defence against the continuous advance of the world revolution. Fundamentally the defence of imperialist interests depends upon nuclear arms and that means Yankee imperialism. British resources inevitably play the role of auxiliary to this. British forces in Malaysia, Aden, Indian Ocean etc only have a very limited effectiveness. They play the role of a terrorist adjunct to the various rotten regimes still sustained by imperialism. But essentially Imperialism has shown that it is incapable of preventing the advance of the world revolution. Already the advance of the revolution in Vietnam is creating enormous social and economic problems for American imperialism. Similarly British imperialism which is far weaker than its Yankee rival, finds that its military expenditures have to be kept in check, although the fundamental military burden will remain for the British masses because the preparation of the war is the only strategy for imperialism.

British imperialism is caught in hopeless contradictions in relation to Malta. It wishes to retain its base but at less cost. Its proposals to reduce expenditures have frightened the bourgeois leaders in Malta and encouraged the masses enormously. Borg Olivier has to say in so many words at least "British imperialism must get out," and at the same time moans "by reducing your expenditures you are creating unemployment and stimulating the social revolution." The masses of Malta want British imperialism out. Their spirit is the direct result of the whole process of the world revolution, of the process in China and the revolutionary processes at work throughout the Mediterranean basin in Greece, Italy, Syria, Spain. The attitude of the Malta government shows the fantastic decrepitude of British imperialism, it cannot even control a small economically insignificant island. Malta in microcosm shows the confidence of the world revolution in face of imperialism.

In this situation the leaderships of the workers' states should take full advantage of the situation. They should offer military and economic aid and call for soviets and communes in Malta. But what is the Soviet bureaucracy doing at this stage? Instead for example of appeals directed to

the European proletariat for a revolutionary offensive in Europe around the programme of nationalisations, workers' control, a united socialist Germany etc, these counter-revolutionary trash claim that Nazism is marching again and that "parliaments and peoples must ally to stop this." What cretinism! Such a view is putting forward entirely unrealistic perspectives before the worker masses of Europe and is aimed particularly at disorientating the petit bourgeoisie. And what else does the soviet bureaucracy do? It gives contracts to Renault, Fiat, etc to bolster capitalist industry and satisfy the needs of the earthworms of the soviet bureaucracy for their private transport. This is the criminal role of the gangsters in the leadership of the soviet bureaucracy.

Petit bourgeois sectors of the Maltese population such as civil servants may march under the banners of "Britain must honour her treaty obligations," but the situation plays into the hands of the revolutionary vanguard who want Britain right out of the Mediterranean, and Tory MPs have been quick to observe that Malta has a "Cuban" potential.

Within a sector of British imperialism a defeatist current can be clearly seen. Thus Mayhew who resigned from the Labour government over the question of military expenditure has come out quite openly for a pruning of all commitments east of Suez. Within the Tory party, Powell has made similar remarks. They recognise that in one sense the presence of British troops is a constant incitement to revolution. On the other hand, capitalist leaders realise that a too precipitate withdrawal will really encourage revolutionaries and were against the announcement that Britain intends to leave Aden. Imperialist strategy is caught within hopeless contradictions. Whatever it does, is disastrous.

In these circumstances the initiative of the Chinese comrades would be of inestimable value. A correct intervention in Macao for example—seizing it from the Portuguese without the compromise now being arrived at, plus the propounding of a correct world strategy and the offer of aid to the Maltese masses could have an enormous effect.

We call upon the trade unions, upon the student organisations and the factory committees to demonstrate against British bases in Malta and we appeal to British troops to refuse to serve in Malta or in any other areas under the occupation of the imperialists.

## CRISIS FOR THE IRISH LABOUR PARTY

The expulsion of the Vice-Chairman of the Irish Labour party Proiasias MacAonghusa, is an indication of a far-reaching crisis in the Irish workers' movement. MacAonghusa is reported to have stood for the perspective of a Workers' and Small Farmers' Republic and was critical of the failure of the party to intervene in the last Presidential elections—elections which revealed the enormous decline in the authority of de Valera. Clearly his expulsion at this stage is an indication of the increasing maturity of the Irish workers' vanguard who are seeking for a line far beyond the perspectives of the social democrats and class collaborators in the Irish Labour party. The fact that MacAonghusa (we do not attach the greatest significance to him personally) wished for what amounts to a class intervention in the Presidential elections reflects the pressure of the vanguard who are seeking for a direct intervention of the proletariat against the bourgeois parties in the "Republic."

The Irish masses have no centre around which they can centralise themselves. In a very limited degree there has been an increase in votes for the Labour party in the South and the electoral victory of Fitt in Northern Ireland shows in face of all the gerrymandering and the terrorism of the Ulster government that the vanguard is seeking a way forward. Nevertheless unification is lacking. It is vital that the factory committees and the socialist revolutionary sectors in the Irish nationalist movement act as centres of concentration for the

vanguard in Ireland. It is necessary to emphasise above all that the end of the partition in Ireland can only come about by the efforts of the Irish masses themselves on the basis of the revolutionary programme. None of the apparatuses in Ireland, L.P.s, C.P.s, trade unions etc are prepared to confront their governments.

All over Europe the capitalist class advances towards repression. Emergency decrees have now been passed in Belgium, violent battles between the masses and the police have taken place in France, Spain and Italy. Whatever lies O'Neill puts forward in N. Ireland, the logic of the process in Ulster with increase in unemployment etc is repression. The Southern bourgeoisie have already shown repression by outlawing strikes in the electricity industry.

The activities of the Reverend Paisley in N. Ireland show clearly the repressive intentions of the Ulster capitalists. This is the source of the disharmony within the Ulster ruling them, how much repression, how much conciliation.

The workers must be prepared for brutal repression—which has no social basis—and the only reply as for the masses of Europe will be workers' defence committees and a workers' militia to assure the establishment of the Irish workers' state where partition will be a thing of the past.

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Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything.  
— Trotsky

**Workers of the World, Unite!**

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



NO 45      FORTNIGHTLY      FEBRUARY 25th 1967      SIXPENCE

## OCCUPATIONS OF FACTORIES AND WORKERS CONTROL NOW, TO SMASH THE POLICY OF WAGE FREEZE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

In spite of the passivity of the trade union bosses, the conciliatory attitude of the Communist Party and the lack of a centre, with the programme for workers power, the workers resolutely struggle against the policies of British capitalism and its servants the Labour government. There are constant strikes and mobilisations, the most important being still within the car factories, especially at Vauxhalls where the workers simply disregarded the management demand for overtime, and went home. Similarly at Rootes (Coventry) the workers have forced the management to abandon for the time being at any rate its attempts to impose a complete control over the rhythm of work. All these battles are inconclusive but they show quite clearly that despite all the misleadership and passivity of all the traditional leaderships, including those in the shop stewards committee, the workers continue to resist and not always unsuccessfully the policies of the government and the employers. And in the course of these persistent struggles, the struggle for a new leadership and a new programme is constantly being posed. The seamens struggle, the recent struggles in Vauxhalls have shown that in an indirect form dual power is present and this demands that the workers centralise their strength around the programme to appropriate capitalism in order to resolve dual power in their favour.

The working class shows its confidence in the uninterrupted succession of strikes and in its total refusal to accept the line of the government which its votes put into power. And this feeling of confidence is shown by the readiness of sectors of the workers to break from the Labour Party. The seamens union have spoken of the need to abandon the payment of the political levy, five small textile unions have contracted out and Grimsby fishermen have followed suit. All this shows increasingly the fragmentation of the base of the Labour Party. Vanguard sectors have shown no fear in breaking. All this reflects only the tip of the iceberg, that is an enormous dissatisfaction with the policy of the government and the search for new solutions to the problems of the working class. All those imbeciles who think the Labour Party is Gods gift to the working class are hopelessly confounded by the process and moan at the workers for abandoning what is in effect a capitalist party. We are seeing the beginning of a process which is going to reduce the authority of capitalism and imperialism to zero.

Kosygin's visit reflected the appreciation by the bureaucracy that British imperialism was very weak and needed sustaining at all costs. It was a criminal blow against the British masses but its intention which was to shore up British imperialism has failed. No injection can revive this dying man, not even the aid of that corpse to be, the soviet bureaucracy. The confusion and disarray in the Tory Party is sufficient testimony to the plight of British imperialism. At one time the Tory Party was the

expression of all the arrogant authority of a powerful exploiter class, now it is no less the representative of a predator ruling class but it can no longer command authority and is in a pitiful state of ceaseless party disagreement. They are all finished and they sense this, whilst the British masses although they may not understand the precise course of events feel in themselves a strength sustained in part by all the events in the world, China etc which are reducing imperialism and capitalism to perpetual defeat.

The hopeless confusion and lack of perspective continues to show itself in the Labour Party. Here the left MPs protest against the American policy in Vietnam in increasing numbers, and Wilson, defending the interests of British imperialism, of monopoly capitalism can offer no other perspective but continued support of the Americans. The degree of opposition to his policy is no indication of the fighting spirit of these MPs who are professional bourgeois politicians but such opposition is a distant echo of the powerful rejection by the masses of this line and such an opposition further undermines the authority of imperialism. The opposition to Wilson's line over the Common Market again has no direct significance for the struggles of the workers, but it shows that a whole sector of LP pro capitalist politicians see no perspective in the ultra capitalist policy of Wilson. The Douglas Jays of course have similarly no perspective but the disagreements show that British capitalism has no certain future and nothing goes right for it.

But as Wilson said at the last confer-

ence of the Labour Party in face of motions which rejected defence and economic policy, he intends to govern and that means, as he has quite clearly said, and the needs of the war economy dictate, there can be no relaxation in the control of wages. The TUC wishes to operate its own policy because the TUC bureaucrats realise that their days are indeed numbered when not only do the workers ignore them but even the Government wishes to deprive them of their bargaining function. Nothing more can be expected of the TUC than verbal criticism of Government policy, but the

fact that the relations between the Unions and the Labour Government have never been worse shows the continuous paralysis of capitalism because Labour bureaucracy no longer is able to play its former role of balancer between the masses and the bourgeoisie. Capitalism can offer nothing in the way of reforms and hence the social basis for reformism is eroded away. The two classes, workers, capitalists face each other with no real intermediary. All delusions are over. The State stands openly for the exploiters ready to use repressive measures and the social democrats support them.

### CAPITALISM IS STAGNATING THROUGHOUT EUROPE

Until recently it could be argued, not very successfully, but it could be argued that the economic structure of capitalism was so strong it could satisfy the needs of the masses. But this is manifestly no longer the case. Factories close down, pools of permanent unemployment appear and where unemployment is already severe it becomes worse as in Ulster. There is no dynamism in investment. Military expenditure increases. And in face of

this, sectors of the petit bourgeoisie that is the teachers actually make claims for a 30% wage increase. Furthermore, the economic stagnation of capitalism becomes clearer all over Europe. Swedish unemployment goes up by 45% and German unemployment goes over the half million mark. Ultimately all this means the rich get richer and the poor poorer.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## The police try to intimidate the Italian Trotskyists

We publish this information from the recent issue of Lotta Operaia Reply to the repressive action against the party by intensifying militant activity.

On the morning of 24 January at about 12 midday, the police entered the home of the Editor of "Lotta Operaia" Piero Leone under the pretext of seeking for "arms, munitions and other explosive material."

The search carried out by three agents in the service of the political police of Rome lasted for over an hour without finding "arms, munitions, or any other explosive material."

We appeal to the proletarian revolutionary vanguard to protest against these police methods of a fascist character.

The action of the police in Rome takes place within the framework of the repressive action which capitalism and American imperialism is conducting throughout the world against the IV International and which has shown itself in Guatemala, Uruguay, Brazil, Argentine, Spain, Peru, Bolivia and most re-

cently particularly against the Mexican section of the IV International, already reported in the newspaper. And on the other hand this is part of the repressive action which the Italian bourgeoisie has been conducting for some months against the revolutionary vanguard as the events in Trieste and Genoa demonstrate. The objective of the Italian bourgeoisie is to repress, intimidate, terrorise the revolutionary vanguard.

The Italian section of the IV International, as the whole of the International will not allow itself to be intimidated by these police actions and launches an appeal to its own militants and to all the proletarian vanguard, that all the resolutions of the party are rapidly applied, that the sale of Lotta Operaia and of the Marxist Review is trebled, that recruiting to the party is accelerated with audacity, that they intensify their action in the development of the revolutionary tendency in Italy with the objective of the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the workers and peasants government.

## Arrests of Spanish Trotskyists

On the 30th January 5 student militants of the Spanish section were arrested and are now in prison. Also the artist F. Cuadrado has been arrested again.

Campaign for their release!

Send as money urgently needed for their defence.

# The visit of Kosygin is a counter revolutionary manoeuvre aimed at sustaining British Imperialism

The diplomacy of the soviet bureaucracy is now aimed primarily at European objectives. It has become clear that the Vietnam crisis has severely limited any horse dealing with American Imperialism. The co-operation with American Imperialism is conducted indirectly, that is by the attempted "isolation" of China in the World Communist Movement and by the refusal to intervene massively in Vietnam. On the other hand two factors impel the soviet bureaucracy to take an interest in a European diplomacy. In the first place it is essential that it takes some diplomatic steps to shore up or pretend to shore up the collapsed policy of peaceful co-existence, and alliance with de Gaulle is one way of doing this. But the wave of mobilisations of the European proletariat in Europe provides yet another important motive to intervene and sustain European Capitalism.

At the very time that de Gaulles prestige is falling among the petit bourgeoisie and the French proletariat is beginning to mobilise with factory occupations etc., Kosyguin visits de Gaulle to propose ridiculous notions about "European co-operation" etc., as though the irreconcilable antagonism of workers states and capitalist states did not exist. On top of this Podgorny rushes off to Italy to shake hands with President Saragat and the Pope. At the very time again that Italian Capitalism is in crisis, social, political and economic, the soviet bureaucracy ignoring the struggles of the Italian masses, speaks to the Papacy as though it were an institution which carries great weight in the world and could actually remedy the situation in Vietnam.

And now Kosyguin has come to Great

Britain, at the time when the Wilson government is trying to intimidate the unions and the factory committees as the inevitable result of following a line of preparing the counter revolutionary war against the workers states. The line of Kosyguin is counter revolutionary. It is an attempt to use the prestige of the workers states as a support for British Imperialism. The soviet government ignores the struggle of the British masses against Capitalism, on the contrary it subordinates revolutionary policy to the line of commercial transactions with British Imperialism. When British Imperialism is in acute economic difficulties, the soviet bureaucracy attempts to offer a market and Kosyguin actually speaks of planning such a trade arrangement over a considerable period of time. He follows the same line as he has followed with Renault and Fiat—only even more indulgent to capitalist interests.

And at the same moment he puts forward the cretinous idea, with some force, that the Soviet Union is perturbed at the reappearance of German neo Nazism, again as though this opened yet a new chapter in the ability of Capitalism to survive. The soviet bureaucracy thus gives a totally false view of the historic situation. The neo fascist forces which have appeared in Germany can never obtain a mass basis in this stage of history when the world revolution is in constant ascendancy and the petit bourgeoisie sees the workers states and the world revolution constantly advancing and the forces of Imperialism in constant retreat. The emergence of neo Nazism certainly means that the German bourgeoisie realises that the parliamentary game is near-

ly over and that in future the forces of repression will be necessary to hold back the inevitable advance of the proletariat. But that is quite different from saying that the forces of fascism are strong in Germany. It is the centralised force of the proletariat that is strong, not the forces of German capitalism, which as the entry of the Social Democracy into the government shows, is very weak. Kosyguins speech gives a totally false perspective and is designed to deceive the petit bourgeoisie. It is as though he were saying British, French Imperialism and the Soviet Union must take measures together against this German menace!! And all this results in giving European Capitalism and in this case British Imperialism in particular an appearance of historic importance which it does not possess. It is a disgusting manoeuvre, a vile betrayal of the European Proletariat.

He does not raise the perspective of a united socialist Germany, but on the contrary wishes to maintain the gross and highly artificial situation of a divided Germany. He wants a pre capitalist solution! It is madness, such a notion. It is utterly stupid and counter revolutionary. It is an historic necessity for the German masses to be united in one socialist Germany and to be united now with the present day struggles of the European masses to overthrow Capitalism. The existence of a workers state in East Germany is objectively an enormous support for the masses of Western Germany, but Kosyguin and Ulbricht issue no revolutionary appeals for reunification, conduct everything on the basis of maintaining the division of Germany and politically repress the workers of East Germany.

Thus we see clearly that the visit of Kosyguin was designed to give the authority of a workers state to British Imperialism. It was intended to be part of the utterly utopian schemes for a European alliance system to compete with Yankee Imperialism! It is utter stupidity. Even so Kosyguin whatever his delusions could not conceal the impasse over Vietnam or the fact that the interest of the Soviet Union and China cannot allow an armed conflict between them. And the warmth of the reception he received from the British masses was not for his policy, but for him as representative of the workers states.

The soviet bureaucracy, like Imperialism is in hopeless situation. The myth that the western Imperialists put around that the soviet bureaucracy is "liberal" minded against the "illiberal" Chinese is contradicted by the new repressive laws in the USSR against strikes, meetings etc. The Imperialists paint a rosy picture about the "changes" in the Soviet Union and the bureaucracy talks about the great influence "Britain" (ie the Imperialists) can have in the world. The two types of scoundrels endeavor to make believe they are angels of light.

Whatever the manoeuvres against them the struggle of the European masses against Imperialism will continue. Kosyguins sepulchral countenance is merely an advance warning that the bureaucracy already feels itself about to be delivered to the undertakers. We call upon the vanguard militants to discuss the significance of Kosyguins visit and to reply to it, with the programme for workers power and the linking of the struggles of the British workers with those of the rest of the European workers.

## The car workers must act as the vanguard of the working class by forming a combined Shop Stewards Committee for the whole industry

The workers in the Motor Industry continue to be in the vanguard of the workers struggle in this country. The car workers have shown themselves determined to resist the attempts of the motor companies to increase the rate of exploitation. The British car manufacturers are greatly effected by an ever decreasing market, intense inter-capitalist competition and, with the rapid development of monopoly are attempting more ruthless rationalisation of the production process. And the Soviet bureaucracy seeks to sustain this vulnerable and strategic industry, by projected contracts with Leyland Mt. Co. and British Motor Holdings (BMH).

However, the attempts by the Rootes company — recently taken over by Chrysler of American — to bring in 'scientific methods' of production at the Ryton, Coventry, assembly plant was met by an immediate strike by the workers. The lessons of Ford and Vauxhall have been learnt by the workers in the car industry and they are determined to resist the 'measured day-work' method of payment. This method means the introduction of an hourly rate and leaves the speed of production completely in the hands of the management. It was this method of super exploitation used by the American management of Vauxhalls which caused the immense explosion of anger and frustration from workers at Luton last year, during which the demand for the nationalisation of Vauxhalls was put forward.

At the moment the workers at Vauxhalls are in action against the managements attempts to produce car bodies on the

night-shift in order to keep the flow of production running at the highest possible speed during the day-shift. To combat this workers have been leaving the factory an hour early each day and, in this way, the entire production of the night-shift has been negated. The Vauxhall workers had gained the reputation of being the most 'well behaved' in the industry, but this reputation has been completely shattered in the last few months. As one shop steward put it, it would be no surprise to see a repeat of the "October risings" at Vauxhalls in the near future.

The Rootes workers returned to work, after a six-day strike, having gained a partial victory. The concession given by Rootes management was a 'mutual' agreement on track speeds and labour loading, or, in other words, an agreement on the speed of production and the number of workers employed on the assembly tracks. This means that the workers have gained some control of the actual running of the factory. However, the whole question of 'measured day-work' as opposed to the present 'piece-work' is still very much an open one. In spite of the fact that the workers at Rootes have recently suffered a defeat, when they were unable to prevent many workers from being sacked, they still continue to be extremely militant. The workers at Rootes, and this is generally true of the whole industry, lack a real programme of demands and, it is essential that the demand that all profits of automation should go directly to the workers is put forward. The defence of the old 'piece-work' system of payment is not good enough! It is true, of course, that at

one time these rates represented gains by sections of workers, but, at the same time, it was also a method used by capitalism to create divisions among workers. At this stage in the struggle, when capitalism itself is intent on finishing with the 'piece-work' system, it is necessary for workers to demand a high level of wages and control of the speed of production. At this stage of history with the increasing advent of automation and the weakness of the aristocracy of labour the maximum demand all the profits of automation to the workers can be put forward with greater success than before.

The struggle of the car workers also lacks an organising centre and this leaves various actions of workers isolated in one factory, or even in just one section of a particular factory. Capitalism takes advantage of this weakness and, of course, of the conciliatory nature of the trade union bureaucrats. This can be seen in the case of the BMC workers at Cowley who were suspended for one day by the management after returning to work from a strike. BMC feel strong enough to do this kind of thing only because they are dealing with a comparatively small section of workers. However, a leaflet has been distributed by shop stewards at Cowley which states that 'tough action by the BMC management against 'unofficial' strikers will inevitably mean tough action by union members.

The workers in the motor industry do not lack militancy, in fact, they are involved in a constant series of action on a whole range of basic demands. But, militancy is not enough! The organising of a

workers centre in the industry based on a anti-capitalist programme of demands, nationalisation under workers control and without compensation — equal pay for men, women and youths engaged on the same work — a 35 hour week etc., is essential. The nationalisation under workers control is an obvious demand at this stage in the development of the workers struggle in the motor industry. Workers at 'Rootes' have gained a partial control of production, Vauxhall workers have decided that production will stop at 4 pm instead of 5 pm each day by walking out of the factory at 4 pm, internal transport drivers at Pressed-steel Fisher, Coventry and at Austin Birmingham have refused to allow the management to decide how their labour is to be used by refusing to accept 'mobility' within the works. This is the process! This is the process that demands complete workers control!

The bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions have lost what little authority they once had over the workers and, while they talk of voluntary wage restraint, a group of workers at the Birmingham Aluminium Company stage a three week strike on a demand for a 12½% wage increase and gain complete victory.

A combined committee in the industry, based on the existing shop stewards committees, would give the necessary leadership for the imposition of a workers programme of demands and of complete workers control over the whole industry. This is the task of the workers in the motor industry now and in doing this they will give a leadership for all industrial workers in Britain.

### Demand the release of the 24 Mexican Trotskyists

# PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY, SOVIETS AND THE UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION WILL FINISH THE 'MONSTERS' AND 'CAPITALISTS' IN THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

**J. POSADAS**

The appeal of Mao Tse Tung for the independent intervention of the Chinese army as a centre of pressure and of political and social authority in the "Cultural Revolution" the Chinese words for the political revolution, expresses the uncertainty and the hesitations of the tendency which is leading the 'cultural revolution', the absence of a programme, and the intention to restrain the development of a wing more to left. He should have mobilised the proletariat, the peasants, the students, to call meetings, and assemblies on the basis of concrete slogans, definite slogans: proletarian democracy, right to discuss, right to resolve the problems in assemblies, revocability of elected representatives, equal wages, soviets. It is not possible to hold demonstrations without their being based upon and tending to advance revolutionary objectives and slogans. It is the proletariat, the peasants, the students who must be mobilised with these slogans. And the mobilisations of the army must be submitted to this movement because if they are not the army tends to surpass the class organisations, the proletarian organisations, through its weight and force.

## THE ARMY DOES NOT FEEL THE STRENGTH OF THE WORKERS, THE PEASANTS AND THE STUDENTS. IT IS AN APPARATUS

The independent mobilisation of the army is erroneous, it is a conciliatory step and it is an attempt to conciliate, because it wants to restrain the forces which are tending to elevate the political revolution, that is the proletariat, the students, and the peasants. All mobilisations without slogans are lost in the void. The proletarian mobilisations are important but without slogans they are lost in the void because what unites, attracts, elevates and decides the struggles are the slogans. The slogans are part of the programme. And the slogans must be: proletarian democracy, the right to elect, to discuss, to decide; the revocability of elected representatives, equal wages, workers control; organisation of communes and soviets, unity of the struggle to expell imperialism and the direct intervention in Vietnam to do this. These are some of the slogans.

And the utilisation of all apparatuses comes very close to conservatism and conciliation. On the other hand the utilisation of the force of the apparatus of the army submitted to the workers trade union organisations, to the Soviets, is correct. Then the apparatus obeys the pressure, the influence and the determination of the masses and not the decision of the apparatus, which by its very nature whatever the apparatus, is further from the masses and does not feel as the masses, is less aware of the advance of the revolution or how the masses feel in their place of work, in their discussions, in their trade union work.

When the leadership of the 'Cultural Revolution' resorts to mobilising the army, it is because it is frightened of mobilising the masses. It does not have a programme, nor an ordered or coherent policy. It strikes at the right wing. Together with these workers who are demanding equal wages, the elimination of the differences in wages between administrators and workers, demanding workers democracy, this is the means by which to mobilise the army. In itself it is not incorrect to mobilise the army, the incorrect thing is that they don't mobilise the masses. Thus in order to carry out a correct policy; they should not mobilise the army independently of the masses, because this is to make the army prevail over the masses. They should mobilise the soldiers through committees of workers, peasants and soldiers. This is another slogan, but the mobilisation of the army, of the soldiers, must still be as members of the soviets, which mobilise themselves in defence of a policy. But what policy? It has to be the policy proposed by this group of workers of Shanghai; equality of wages. It is a veritable political revolution! Equality of wages is the political revolution. One cannot demand equality of wages if there is not an advanced social consciousness and level of security. When they demand this, it is because there exist already the conditions for it.

If the demand for equal wages is made, it is because already there is a social

structure, a social force which feels capable of demanding it.

Why is it not demanded in Cuba? If it is demanded in China, it is because the conditions are already there. Because of this it is going to influence the rest of the world revolution.

The mobilisation of the army does not have a reactionary character, but is a substitute for the mobilisation of the masses. They are mobilising the army with the intention of apparently restraining the right wing, against those who want to maintain the difference in wages, the peasant privileges, the privileges of the workers aristocracy and of the administrators. They are trying to contain these sectors but at the same time they seek to contain also the workers of Shanghai who have reached the highest level singing the 'Internationale' and demanding equal wages, and these are the norms which are influencing the political revolution. But the leadership conciliates, it is not reactionary, but it seeks to conciliate.

The army can mobilise itself as soldiers, as members of the soviet, or of the trade unions, not as the army, not as a structure because then it weighs as an apparatus. We are against this. We reiterate that the administrative apparatus of the army, as of any other apparatus the party included, does not receive the direct influences of the class struggle, except through the party. And the apparatus is a long way from this. In as much as it does not live a full political life, of soviets, of councils, of demonstrations, of organisations, it is a long way from the influences of the revolution. It acts as a static and conservative apparatus.

It is not the army which has the most advanced social and political ideas. The workers have the most advanced ideas because they influence society by their weight in society. Because of this, the intervention of the army, even without being reactionary, tends to restrain the process. And does not impell the most progressive aspect leading towards soviets in China, which is the workers of Shanghai who have formed factory committees, removing and eliminating the administrators. It is this which is going to have an immense influence.

This shows the confusion and the indecision of the leadership which directs this process. It still is not organised, and its desire to contain the left wing is expressed through its defence of itself by the army. Because of this the attack on the Trotskyists without labelling them counter-revolutionaries, is an attack in order to restrain, to block, and to separate themselves from us. And this shows the great progress of the revolution. Before they presented Trotskyists as enemies, as adventurers, while on the other hand now they keep at a distance from them, which is to say that the Trotskyists have an influence and weight to prevent them from killing them or accusing them of being counter revolutionary agents, they have a force and weight because already

the revolution is mounting and already important layers of the population, of workers, peasants, students, professors are taking this road. It is necessary to mobilise assemblies of workers, demonstrations, meetings, which agitate on the programme of the political revolution: equal wages, proletarian democracy and

## IN CHINA THERE IS NO CHAOS BECAUSE THE MASSES WANT TO ELEVATE THE REVOLUTION

Already the forces of the revolution are on the march, there is no chaos. Everything is on the march and the process is harmonious. There is no chaos. Chaos occurs if the masses did not have social objectives. This is the sole condition for chaos. There is chaos in capitalism because it does not know how to obtain, how to impose its stability, and from this comes the chaos. For example what Imperialism is doing in Vietnam is chaos. On the other hand in China there is no chaos, because the masses want to elevate the revolution. The actions are unequal, of different levels and grades, but the objective is common. All the actions, the sense of the movement is to elevate the revolution, because of this they pose equality of wages and out with the administrators. They are not weakening production, they are raising it. And also they are going to win over the army. Chaos only results when there is a contradiction and an antagonism between on the one hand the action and the movement, and on the other hand, the objectives. This is chaos. But when the action, as that of the masses who want to impel the revolution, and the objective are both necessary in order to progress, then there is no chaos.

The forms which the struggle takes are different but the objective advances. A conscious objective cannot produce chaos, and the masses have a conscious objective. They are already succeeding because they are elevating the action of the revolution to the level which they impose; equality of wages, out with the administrators, revocability of elected representatives, proletarian democracy. Where is the chaos? Capitalism sees chaos because the process is going against it. There is no chaos. There is an immense elevation of the revolution; immense. This is the stage of transition where, at the same time they restrain the conservative wing, a struggle and discussion exists between those sectors of the left which want to advance, between the sectors who want to restrain the scope of the revolution, and the sector which wants to go further. This is the struggle which exists.

The leadership of Mao Tse Tung and Lin Piao do not reject the process but do not feel it with force and confidence. Because of this they appeal to the army. They feel the influence of the left. We repeat, when the workers of Shanghai sing the International, it just does not happen by chance at this moment. They are expressing a common sentiment of all the masses of China. If not, where does the force come from of the workers who say: "out with the inequality of wages". It is not the product of one or two factories. It is the sentiment and certainty of what they can achieve. And the present leadership of the Chinese revolution (whether it is Lin Piao, Mao Tse Tung is not precisely clear) is not remote from this. The leadership is not bad but it does not feel certain. It sees Vietnam, the Soviet Union and the nuclear war. And it does not feel certain. It is not against the process but it does not feel sure of itself to really advance. Because of this it tries to contain the left, among them the Trotskyists. On the other hand to the others, the right, it delivers hard blows. But it strikes on both sides.

soviets. Resolutions from the soviets are the most fertile, most stable and most powerful means, because the soviet influences through its social weight, not as an apparatus but through its social weight because they weigh, dominate the economy and they attract the peasantry. Inevitably it is going to go along this road.

The forces which are pushing this process forward are not theirs. It is much deeper than this. It was the workers of Shanghai who decided, who made these historic acts for human progress: "Out with the inequalities of wages! Out with the administrators! We will administrate", and "Long live the International", singing the International.

The mobilisation of the army tries to put pressure with an inferior social force to contain the masses. It is not against the masses but it wants to restrain them. It has no objectives. They run an enormous risk that from the right, the conciliators and from among themselves, a new conciliatory and conservative tendency will emerge. The process must not be cut short when those who are pushing it forward want to go further than the wishes of this leadership. Among the fundamental slogans which are going to emerge immediately and extend themselves are the soviets. The workers of Shanghai who have formulated such slogans: "Long live equality of wages, proletarian democracy, out with the administrators, revocability of elected representatives" do it with a force and certainty, with conviction and certainty, because they feel that the whole of the population is with them, they feel that they have authority. This is the expression of the revolutionary left, which is not Trotskyist. It is the conscious tendency which wants to push forward the revolution. The leadership tries to contain the Trotskyists so that we do not become the conscious organising centre of this.

This leadership of Mao Tse Tung and Lin Piao is of the left, it is not a centrist one, it is superior to the centrism of Fidel Castro. It is left of centre because they have invited the intervention of the workers and the masses. The resolution of the 16 points of the Central Committee of the 8th of August 1966, is where Lin Piao and Mao Tse Tung call for the masses to intervene. Because of this we say that this leadership is not against this process. It does not feel sure of itself. The problem is to make this team feel sure. They are adopting a flexible attitude towards the Trotskyists. They draw back from them but quietly without making them parade, as they have done with those who they accuse of being of the right, carrying placards of accusation. Moreover, they do not want to make much fuss, so that people do not learn very much about who the Trotskyists are.

The masses are living all this process. In one way or another they are discussing it, and they have it in front of them, they apply it, they try to generalise it in the limited way possible for them. When they find the field to develop they erupt with tremendous force. They are doing this in China. Because of this it is important that this Belgian paper of Grippa, of the pro-Chinese tendency says: "long live the Soviets of Workers, Peasants, soldiers, students of China". And it says this because the Soviets are already in the spirit and the will of the Chinese masses, and the workers council of Shanghai are the beginning of their concrete organisation.

J. POSADAS

23 January 1967

# Only the programme for workers power will solve the problem of poverty

The slogan which Frank Cousins is raising at the moment for a £15 a week national minimum wage is obviously in reply to pressure from the base of the T.G.W.U. of which he is the leader. This union represents over a million of the poorer paid workers of this country, and it is these workers who are most affected by the wage freeze. Frank Cousins proposes to get the £15 a week minimum wage by talks between the trade unions, the C.B.I. and the government. This is sheer waste of breath. With the government operating a wage freeze with no end in sight, they would be the last to agree to a £15 minimum wage. The only way the working class in this country will gain any concessions from the ruling classes and their prop the Labour

Government is by militant actions, strikes, works to rule, occupations of mines and factories etc. Nothing will be gained by Cousins proposed talks.

We are now in a period of 'severe restraint' when wages are completely frozen and yet the cost of living is rising by about 3-4% a year. In July when the 'freeze' will have been effective for a year the purchasing power of wages will be almost 1/- in the pound less than a year ago.

There are 10½ million people in Britain earning £10 a week or less, a large percentage of these are women who are one of the most exploited groups of workers in the country, often doing the same job as men but receiving only a proportion of their wages. Apart from these, 15% of male adult workers earn less than £13 a week and a further 23% earn between £13 to £16 a week. There are in Great Britain between 7 to 8 million people living at poverty level, — using the 'official' description of poverty as being a National Assistance level of income or less—. But there are thousands of other families living in conditions of poverty just above this level which is defined by the N.A.B., (an institution of capitalism)—and which therefore keeps the official description of poverty level at rock bottom.

In thousands of families there is a high percentage of diet deficiencies of both protein and calcium two most important constituents of childrens diets. Thus in a recent government paper, it was stated that 1 in 10 of the entire population of Great Britain was suffering from malnutrition and that 1 in 7 adolescents between 15 and 20, children who grew up in the so called 'affluent 50's and 60's', either had rickets or had suffered from a deficiency of Vitamin D at some stage of their lives. It is also shown that the gap between the poor and the rest of the community is widening mainly for three reasons, because average earnings in many low paid industries rose less between 1960 and 1966 than the general average, because the value of the family allowance has fallen (e.g. for a family with 4 children allowances in 1956 were equal to 12% of average earnings but in 1966 this had fallen to 6%) and social security benefits have not risen. And now wages are frozen while prices continue to rise, and despite the name 'Prices' and 'Incomes' the government is obviously not as interested in the 'Prices' as the 'Incomes'. Not only food prices rise but many councils have put up rents for council houses and flats

by as much as 15% and no attempt has been made by the government to stop this.

At the same time that figures are being published on poor nutrition of children, moves are being made within the government to justify a rise in the price of school meals and to reintroduce a charge for school milk. The school dinners—although invariably poor—provides thousands of children with a main meal of the day yet already some children from poor families don't have this because their families can't afford it. To raise the price further and to charge for the now free school milk would simply be to deprive more children of a basic diet. The school meal and free milk are two conquests of the working class and two basic essentials for school children of the working class and poor petit bourgeois and must be maintained as a social service. Teachers and students must demonstrate and hold meetings putting forward these demands and at the same time linking them to demands for all round improvements in the education system.

Apart from children, the next section of the community which suffers in the so called 'affluent society' are old age pensioners, who have to struggle to exist on their meagre pensions—which lose value every month because of the rise in the cost of living—or go begging to the National Assistance Board for a few extra shillings a week. Many old age pensioners die each year simply because they cannot afford to keep warm in the winter, and many are admitted to hospitals suffering from malnutrition. These pensioners have spent their lives working for capitalism. Under capitalism as soon as you reach 65 you are finished, put on the scrap heap. Under socialism there will not be this great gulf between the working population and those of the population who are retired. Everyone will be integrated into the organisation and administration of society.

Poverty in this country is not only shown in the individual families, but it is startlingly evident in all the social services. For example there are hundreds of out of date schools. Overcrowding is common in most of them, and there was the example of one school where as many as 58 children were crowded into one class. Recently children were kept away from a school because rats frequented it, and another has had to be closed because it presented too great a risk of fire. In Luton 5 year olds could not start school because there were not enough places or teachers for them. All this in one of the most 'advanced' capitalist countries.

In housing the country is in an equally bankrupt situation. There is overcrowding in all the large cities in Britain which are gold mines for any potential 'Rachmans' who can cram 6 or more families into one insanitary crumbling house. Thousands of people live in slum conditions—each year the number of slum dwellings becomes greater. Over the past couple of years the building of private houses has steadily increased at the expense of council houses, and the waiting list for council houses gets longer and longer, (and now the government makes things easier for the private builder). For those who are literally homeless, the out-look is sheer hell, with either the prospect of the children being taken into care and the parents finding a room, or the mother and children remaining together in a hostel and the father visiting at certain hours! Families living in council houses or flats are relatively fortunate in this period of the collapse of capitalism, because on the whole these are kept in reasonable order by the councils, although in some parts of the country these too border on slums. Many poor families especially immigrant families who have not been in the country long enough to qualify for a council house have to live in inhuman conditions, in old houses falling to pieces, ceilings falling in and paper peeling off walls because of the damp. Often they are charged £5 a week for one room and a shared toilet. The following is an extract from 'the National Plan' "There are over 3 million homes without either a W.C. cold water tap, hot water supply or a bath. There are today 3 million houses which ought to have been replaced."

So Mr. Cousins we support your demand for £15 a week minimum wage, but it is not sufficient, it should be at least £20. How can a worker pay rent and support a family on £15 a week, they can exist yes, but live no! It must be £20 a week, and must rise with the cost of living. Pensions must be the average workers wage and must also rise with the cost of living. Family allowances should be increased by 100% so that they once again represent a reasonable proportion of the income. These demands will never be achieved by talks, but only by the working class fighting in every possible way for a decent wage.

**FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL MAJOR INDUSTRIES THE BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION.**

Only this will achieve decent conditions for the working class.

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harrassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

## EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

But however strong and more centralised grow the monopolies, the social strength of capitalism declines so that it becomes more and more obvious "we are many, they are few". In this process the petit bourgeoisie more and more identifies its struggles with the proletariat. This has shown itself with the Radical Student Alliance, in the student movement, and hence the violently hostile attitude of the student bureaucrats in the NUS who realise that a new and dangerous force has appeared which can mobilise students on an anti capitalist struggle.

The British masses with every day that passes are less and less isolated from the world revolution. We urge the vanguard to pay particular attention to the events in Spain. The struggles in Spain today are one of the finest examples of the effective working of a united front of workers and students on an anti capitalist programme. They influence and support each other continuously. Only by a total involvement of the students in the proletarian struggle will it be possible for the students to remove the incubus of capitalism, the principle obstacle to a real education.

Whatever postures the Trade Union bureaucracy take in relation to the Governments policy and whatever forms

of opposition the left MPs may develop, basically the workers have to fight their own battles because none of the existing leaderships have a real programme or seriously intend to mobilise the masses. Cousins prefers diplomacy, after the workers have already fought and won—as in British Aluminium. He has refused to wage a really serious struggle for the busmen. The workers must follow a policy of factory occupations as the Argentinian, Spanish and recently French workers have done. And they must impose workers control over the whole process of production, rhythm of work and including control of the quality of goods. The employers are trying to follow a policy of imposing new forms of measured day rate as against the older piece rates. It is ridiculous to defend the latter, it is necessary to impose wage rates and conditions decided by workers with the object of all the profits of automation to the workers, all the profits of rationalisation to the workers. The employers are not strong. They hide behind the Government to repress and dismiss workers. We appeal for the maximum mobilisation of the factory committees around the anti capitalist programme, with the object of preparing factory occupations and using such occupations to appeal to the rest of the working class

to support them by strike action with the object of co-ordinating actions with the perspective of a general strike as in 1926, but with a clear programme of nationalisations under workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, equal pay for women etc. And we urge the vanguard to press for complete withdrawal from the political levy to the Labour Party by the union branches, putting forward the need for a new revolutionary party and a new European workers centre to co-ordinate the demands of all the European workers with the perspective of the United Socialist States of Europe.

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## Demand the release of the Spanish Trotskyists

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

NO 46

FORTNIGHTLY

MARCH 10th 1967

SIXPENCE

## Only the independent organisation of the workers can combat the repressive measures of the Government

The fact that the TUC was obliged to hold a Conference to discuss a possible alternative to the Government's Prices and Incomes Policy, and the latest uproars in the House of Commons, are two symptoms of the crisis of capitalism in this country. This together with the fact that the economy is practically stagnant, output has actually fallen over the last six months, unemployment is still rising, and that despite the "Prices" and Incomes policy, the cost of living still continues to rise at about 3 per cent to 4 per cent a year, gives a clear indication of the enfeebled state of capitalism.

This Conference held by the TUC was a farce. The Trade Union leaders feel their positions being eroded away; from above by the government who ignore their role as negotiator—with the PIB, this part of the bureaucrat's job has been snatched away,—and from below they see the development of the unofficial committees as a direct threat to their positions. As we have said before 90 per cent of the strikes in the country are unofficial, the remaining 10 per cent which are eventually made official usually begin as unofficial and are only made official by the unions in order to stop them spreading, and this in itself shows the anti-working class nature of the TU leaders. George Woodcock proposed that each autumn the TUC would issue a report on the economic situation in the country and this report would apparently give the Executive Committee of the TUC a basis on which to decide which sectors of which industries could receive a rise and how much this rise would be. (How superfluous can you get?) The majority of the TU bosses voted for this buffoonery, but a significant minority not only do not want the government's Prices

and Incomes Policy (P.I.P.) but do not want the TUC's proposed PIP either. Considering the totally bureaucratic nature of the unions, this shows the pressure against the Incomes Policy, from the rank and file.

The TU leaderships constantly feel the pressure from the workers at the base and they are forced to manoeuvre to maintain some influence. We see Cousins leave the Labour Government and put forward the slogan of £15 a week minimum wage. He has done nothing to achieve this, but nevertheless he had to put it forward. And at the TUC Conference Hogarth the leader of the National Union of Seamen made the most militant speech since before the seamen's strike began last year saying that the strike had only been adjourned for a year and not called off, and that if the seamen didn't get their 40 hour week by July then the strike would be resumed. Hogarth is warning Wilson and at the same time endeavours to maintain the control over the union by assuming a militant role. But the seamen were sold out once and they will not be sold out again.

### The Labour Left must break and form a new Socialist Party

In the Parliamentary Labour Party the government ministers have received more heckling and opposition from their own back benches than from the Tory party (whose policies in fact they are carrying out). In the debate on decimalisation of the pound—unimportant in itself—Crossman was booed by the Labour back benches while they cheered Heath! All of which shows the total incoherence and decadence of parliament. On the Defence Bill when the government again announced it was to spend £2,000 million on defence, 63 Labour members abstained. This is the biggest number so far to abstain and caused a vicious attack to be made on them by Wilson. He attacked them ruthlessly saying they represented nothing but themselves as individuals, and were not a united left wing or a potential new left wing party, he went so far as to threaten that if they carried on abstaining he would dissolve parliament and call a new election with "loyal members." Wilson knows his opposition. But he expresses in part a fear of the consequences of their continued opposition. His speech was marked by a dictatorial arrogance but also by insecurity. And the fact that these members do abstain is in itself a distinct echo of the masses. Although we do not place our faith in these left MP's but in the masses we nevertheless say to them, break from the Labour Party on a programme of mobilising the masses around a serious anti-capitalism programme.

The other capitalist parties—Tories and Liberals—continue to show their hopeless bankruptcy. Capitalism is totally dependent on Wilson's government. The speech which Lord Thompson made in Australia when he said that although he was a Tory he fully supported the Labour Government and what it was doing, and that it was running the country in the only possible way, and he wished more newspapers would support it, shows clearly that the bourgeoisie fully supports Wilson. He is after all one of their last hopes.

Faced with the pro-capitalist policies of the Labour government, and the TU leaders supporting some form of wages policy and the inability of the left MP's to oppose in more than words, it is clear that the only way the workers can advance towards socialism is by means of their own unofficial organisations. The unofficial committees are the only organisations of the working class that in this period correspond directly to the needs of the workers. The workers at BAC were a good example of this when they went on unofficial strike for two weeks demanding an 11 per cent pay rise; after two weeks, the union was forced to make this strike official and the workers went on to get their full 11 per cent rise, whereas if they had waited for the Union to call a strike they would still be waiting now. This is of course an isolated incident but it proves that what concessions are made to

gained by the actions of the workers themselves. And such concessions are quickly eroded by rising prices.

All over Europe the pattern is the same with unemployment rising, and the various governments coming out with more and more anti-working class policies. The period when capitalism could make major concessions to the working class is gone, and all over Europe the workers can see that the only way to achieve anything in this period of the utter collapse of capitalism is use their own working class methods of

struggle. So we see in Spain which was for many years after the civil war apparently socially stable, the workers constantly striking from Seville in the south to the Asturias in the North. In France we see the fragmentation of the bourgeoisie shown by the intervention of four bourgeois parties, while the French C.P. (who under the pressure of the working class are from time to time forced to call short general strikes) support a conciliatory line with de Gaulle, but all the time there are enormous strikes

Continued on page 2

## J. Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir demand the release of the Mexican Trotskyists

Copy of the telegram sent by Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, 26 January, 1967 to Diaz Ordaz, President of the Mexican Republic.

"Informed arrest 24 Trotskyist militants, tortured, we strongly protest, demand respect democratic rights and release."

This telegram is enormously important. It is the first time that intellectuals like Sartre and Beauvoir have demanded freedom for our comrades as Trotskyists. It reflects the immense influence of the Chinese revolution which reaches everywhere and all the social sectors and it is a sign of the authority of the In-

ternational over very extensive layers of intellectuals, artists, writers, scientists in France and throughout the world. This opens the way together with the declaration of Cardenas and of Russell to extend and impel enormously the world campaign for the liberation of our comrades. It is necessary to bombard the Mexican government, and the embassies with notes, letters, telegrams from trade unions, university, student, artistic, scientific, literary groups organising telephone appeals to the Mexican embassies throughout the world demanding the freedom of our comrades.

(EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM THE I.S.)

## Jailed Trotskyists demand freedom for Hugo Blanco

We also publish a most important letter from our Trotskyist comrades arrested in Mexico demanding the release of Hugo Blanco. It shows enormous spirit and confidence, a feeling of victory, a complete lack of concern with the conditions of their own imprisonment. What is also extremely important is that this letter is a united front between the Trotskyists in gaol and the comrades of the MRP (Popular Revolutionary Movement), left sector of the Castro movement. The letter is published in No 161 in the first fortnight, January 1967 issue of the left review "Politica" (of a Castroist tendency).

(Extract of letter from the I.S.)

Letter of the comrades arrested in Mexico demanding the release of Hugo Blanco.

The arrested political revolutionaries in the Prison, Crujias "M2" and "P" denounce the intention of the Peruvian government to shoot the peasant leader Hugo Blanco and the arrested comrades, as part of the repressive plan of imperialism and the Latin American bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movements of the exploited peoples of the whole continent. The counter revolutionary repres-

sion in Mexico and our imprisonment is part of the repressions and political assassinations in Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Brazil, Argentine and other countries. All repressions fail and will fail in their ability to contain the struggles of the exploited masses against imperialism and capitalism.

We demand the immediate release of Hugo Blanco, Pedro Candela, Hector Bejar and other guerrillas, workers and peasants arrested in Peru and we appeal to the democratic and revolutionary forces to denounce and repudiate the "legal" assassination of Hugo Blanco to whom we express our solidarity.

crujia I

Bonifacio Perez Hernandez, Carlos Aguilera Delgadillo, Fausto Davila Solis, Filiberto Balm Pereyra, Gumersindo Gomez Cuevas

(From the cruja "M2")

Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez Bruno. Genaro Jongitud Lara, Gonzalo Santillan Esquivel, Isaial Rojas Delgado, Jose Navarro Lopez, Miguel Cruz Ruiz, Gildardo Islas Carranza, Ramon Vargas, Oliverio Juan Perez Galicia, Rolfs Meiners Huebner, Raul Ugalde Alvarez, Tito Armando Dominguez Lara, Leocadia Zapata M.

# SPAIN

## On the road to the new Spanish revolution

Despite the brutal intimidation of the Franco regime, a continuous and successful mobilisation of the Spanish masses, students and workers takes place. It is necessary that the worker and student vanguard in Great Britain and the rest of Europe take particular notice of these mobilisations because in fact they anticipate larger mass mobilisations not only of the Spanish but of all the European masses. It is a struggle not just against "Franco" but against capitalism. The events in Spain show conclusively that the basic democratic liberties of the masses can only be defended with the programme for workers power. There is no such thing as a "liberal" or "third" path for Spain which is the line of the Communist Party...

The workers are continuously demonstrating and struggling against the police. Thousands of workers from the Barreiros car factory in Madrid marched recently to the Atocha railway station as part of their protest demonstration in favour of free trade unions. Workers stoned one of the factories. Workers and armed civil

guards met in violent conflict outside the Perkins Hispania diesel motor factory. And in the Asturias thousands of miners are involved in continuous strike action.

Similarly the students have been in continuous dispute with the police in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia, leading to arrests and suspension of students. Just as the workers have organised their own clandestine organisations to ignore the official fascist unions, so the students have ignored the official fascist student unions and instead of confining their criticisms to demands for modest reforms in the university structure, they have linked their struggles with the workers and their union FUDE have put forward a revolutionary programme involving demands such as the total abolition of any form of private education, teachers and students control of the universities, and of the curriculums, full support for the struggles of the Spanish masses against the Franco regime, participation of the students in support of strikes, elimination of the big monopolies and big capitalist estates, for a workers and peasants state.

## News of the workers movement from Spain

Apart from the fairly well publicised demonstrations in Madrid, Barcelona etc, there are constant mobilisations of the workers in many parts of Spain. We publish a few examples below from information direct from Spain. In Seville on the 31 Jan. there was a meeting of 2000 engineering workers. Afterwards they went on a demonstration to the trade union headquarters where the police intervened and dispersed them by force. On the pretext of this demonstration they detained various workers and others and fined them 5,000 pesetas each. Among them were student leaders. On the 1st Feb. in solidarity with the comrades of Huelva and also for their own demands, the workers of the Termoca centre of Guadaida occupied the factory and refused to leave. Afterwards they demonstrated in the city.

In Burgos on the 31 Jan., 2000 workers demonstrated before the trade union headquarters during the stay in the latter of the minister of labour, Lopez Bravo.

## Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

in the factories in Lyons, in the north, and frequent occupations of shipyards in the south of France. In Italy we see the collaborations of the Christian Democrats and the Socialists of Nenni vainly trying to block the Italian working class who make constant strikes, with the petit bourgeoisie and do not allow capitalism to stabilise itself.

As was shown in the TUC Conference the role of the TU leaders in this stage of history is to block by all possible means the struggles of the working class; for example the building workers who have been on strike at the Barbican site in London for the past 19 weeks have been pleaded with by the leaders of the AUBTW to return to work! And it is clear that the only way for the working class to defend its position and standard of living in these conditions is to fight with their own factory committees. It is necessary to build up the unofficial committees and to link them from factory, to factory, and from industry to industry, and from country to country and to build up a new Workers European Trade Union Centre for the problems facing the British working class are not unique to Britain but are common all over Europe. In this period when the bourgeoisie are getting more vicious and cannot possibly make any more concessions to the working class, the workers must organise independently to avoid repressive measures by the ruling class, and they must go forward with factory occupations, workers defence committees, all wages to rise with the cost of living, nationalisations under workers control, for democratic trade unions, with the right of recall and no official to have more than the average wage.

Several casualties resulted.

Asturias. After an impressive demonstration on the 23 Jan. in which almost 10,000 miners assembled, it seemed that everything had returned to normal. But before the recent developments, particularly in Madrid, all the mining communities went on strike. One of the newspapers said that they were on strike "responding to slogans which have not been identified." And among many other newspapers it has been said that the strike is not simply a labour struggle since there is no wage demand. They particularly emphasise that the strike is not concerned with wage demands, but has a political character. They say that there is a great difference from the strike of 1962, where they asked for a number of wage demands, now they appear as a reply to all the problems of the proletariat in Spain, as an act of solidarity with the arrested workers. This great strike of the Asturian proletariat has been accompanied and supported by demonstrations every day in all the main miners centres, particularly in Mieres where the civil guard organised special detachments and patrolled the streets armed to the teeth. The tension was enormous, given the fact that it is known that the miners are armed and ready. There were various incidents and many were arrested, although we do not know exactly how many nor what level the demonstration reached. Thousands of miners demonstrated every day in Mieres in solidarity with all those recently arrested, in solidarity with all the strikers and with all the Spanish proletariat.

## Nationalisations in Tanzania

Under the pressure of the world revolution and particularly the events in China, Nyerere, President of Tanzania has put forward new proposals which indicate the advance of Tanzania towards a workers state. A few weeks ago Nyerere revealed the contents of a declaration drawn up by the Tanganyika African National Union executive, which said that land, minerals, trade, industry and agriculture, oil, electricity and financial institutions should be "in the hands of the people" through co-operatives or the state. In the next week banks, insurance, many industrial enterprises, and import and export companies were nationalised, but this is only part of the way towards a genuine workers state, the independent organisation and intervention of the workers and peasants is still absent. Now Nyerere says that the process

Continued on page 5

## Arrest of Spanish Trotskyists

On the 30th of January several militants and sympathisers of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista) the Spanish section of the IV International, of the FUDE (Spanish Democratic University Federation); of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party (pro-Chinese) were arrested and kept at the police station for 6 days. On the 8th February, the judge of the Tribunal of Public Order of Madrid rejected the demands to free them on bail, and decreed the opening of the trial and transferred them to the prison of Carabanchelle where they are held at present.

The accusation against the militants of the POR(T) was that they played "the principal role of instigator of the events which broke out on the 27th January at the University City and the ATOCHA in Madrid," which were reported in the Spanish press. The arrested militants are; Maximo Loizu Fernandez "organiser of several unauthorised assemblies," Jose Maria Borrás "also a delegate of the FUDE and one of those who violently burst into the office of the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science," Rafael Morales "under delegate of the autonomous syndicate of the Faculty of Political Sciences, which as is known is not recognised by the academic authorities," Isidro Bravo "secretary of the FUDE" and Francisco Valasquez Lopez bakery worker who had been arrested and sentenced in 1964 for belonging to the POR(T).

We have also learned that the painter Francisco Cuadrado from Seville, already arrested and sentenced in 1964 as a member of the POR(T) has been arrested again.

On the 30th of January during a search in the course of which the police found (among other papers) the clandestine organ of the POR(T) edited in Spain "Lucha Obrera" the police announced that the student Rafael Guijarro Moreno had committed suicide by throwing himself out of the window of a sixth floor flat. All the prisoners have been violently beaten, and the death of Guijarro shows that this repression does not stop before such crimes.

It is necessary to act quickly in the international campaign of protest, and for financial solidarity to pay for their defence.

We appeal to all the working class to the students and intellectuals to send protests to the Spanish Embassy, demanding the release of the comrades, and to send us money for the organisation of the defence.

## Trotskyism is intervening in the French elections

In the elections shortly to take place in France, the proletarian masses are electorally disarmed by the policy of the French Communist Party. That organisation has entered into a form of electoral pact with the Federation of the Socialist Left and offers no revolutionary alternative to the Gaullist candidates. Kosyguins visit was part of the same double game. The visit was aimed, as we have explained previously, at buttressing the prestige of de Gaulle in front of the petit bourgeois masses, sectors which feel increasingly alienated from the policy of monopoly capital and are logically drawn to the side of the proletariat. The French Communist Party "attacks" the government of de Gaulle but in a purely academic non revolutionary manner.

Waldeck Rochet pointed out in his electoral address that although industrial productivity had risen by 60% the purchasing power of the masses had remained more or less stationary. He pointed out the extreme segregation in education ie the exclusion of workers from education, and the fact that the latest French economic plan accepted a high level of permanent unemployment. What he did not explain was how it was French capitalism had been enabled to do this in face of a strong Communist Party. It is true Rochet presented a programme of nationalisations with "trade union" parti-

cipation to ensure a democratic functioning. It was necessary to wrest the state from the monopolies! Again he failed to observe that trade union officials are quite pleased to be integrated with the running of industry so long as the workers have no real control and in any case how do you wrest power from the monopolies and the state save by the preparation of the revolutionary insurrection? Rochets speech is a monstrous smoke-screen for the utter bankruptcy and criminal counter revolutionary policy of the French Communist Party.

The recent congress of the FCP did not reflect a preoccupation of the leadership of the Communist Party with a militant line reflecting the great strike actions of the French masses but rather with a line violently hostile to the line of the political revolution in China. Whilst French workers occupy an aircraft factory in the Bordeaux region, the French CP is allied with French parties in the electoral campaign which accept the line of the "Western" powers alliance against the workers states.

It is in these circumstances that the comrades of the French section of the IV International are intervening with a candidate in Saint Denis to act as an encouragement to the French masses to centralise their struggles around the anti capitalist, anti imperialist programme.

The alliance between the French Communist Party and the Police against the Trotskyists, against the propagation of revolutionary ideas is brought out very clearly in

in the communique issued by the POR(T) the French section of the IV International after the attack on them by the CP in St. Denis, which we publish below.

## Communique

On Sunday the 26th of February communists attacked the trotskyist candidates in St. Denis (2nd constituency) and the distributors of their propaganda. The police of St. Denis have arrested Marie Anne Roc 'Hconggar, Daniel Ischer and seven other militants.

On Sunday morning the 26th of February at 10.45 at the market at St. Denis, a group of distributors of Trotskyist electoral propaganda and the paper "Lutte Communiste" were violently attacked by some members of the communist party at whose head Marcelin Berthelot supplementary candidate of this party in St. Denis, was to be found. Some papers and leaflets were torn up, different trotskyist militants were brutally attacked, thrown to the ground and beaten.

The police, in large numbers, did not intervene against the communist party attackers but against the trotskyists with the direct collaboration of the members of the CP who even went as far as putting the trotskyist distributors into the police cars stationed there. Then nine people arrested were trotskyist militants, people of the population who had come to their aid, Marie Anne Roc 'Hconggar candidate and Daniel Ischer supplementary candidate.

We denounce these attacks perpetrated against democratic rights. We denounce this collusion of the police with the French CP against our candidates. It is necessary to make known that several days ago some leaflets of the FCP and some articles of the paper "St. Denis Republicain," organ of the FCP of St. Denis accused our candidates of being paid by the police department and by the Chinese Embassy. Printed stickers have been stuck on the electoral posters of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) with the legend "candidate of the police department."

These Stalinist methods, which are rejected and condemned by the population, are permitted and covered up by the authorities, the police, and the mayor who up till now have not taken any measures against these violations of the recognised rights of the candidates and democratic rights.

Paris 26th February, 1967

## The European Marxist Review

# Organise the advance of the masses throughout the world with the programme of the Socialist Revolution and the Mass Communist International

**J. POSADAS**

This forms the editorial to the first issue of the European Marxist Review.

The fundamental characteristics of this stage of history are the concentration of the process of the world revolution, the centralisation of the revolutionary will of the masses towards anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist objectives; the ever greater crisis of capitalism—social and economic crisis. The social crisis in the principle capitalist countries of the world, is determined by the struggle of the workers and of the petit-bourgeoisie, their uninterrupted struggle for wage increases, for political liberties, for nationalisations and for anti-capitalist measures, and for measures which defeat the attempt of capitalism to place upon the backs of the masses all the cost of the preparation of the nuclear war; and there is economic crisis in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There is not one of these countries which is not burdened with unemployment, high cost of living, inflation, increase in the cost of living. There are enormous and constant struggles, mobilisations of the masses. These are the consequences of the world development of capitalism. What characterises this phase of history is the will of the masses to advance in their struggles to overthrow capitalism and construct socialism. And the most notable and characteristic aspect of this process is the combativity of the masses of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, of the proletarian masses in Europe and the development of the political revolution in the workers states. There is a concentrated process in which the various sectors inter-influence each other mutually and the directing line—it does not have a conscious objective but has a direction—is the attempt to advance; and it advances despite the absence of a centralised and conscious leadership towards anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist objectives.

This is the essential course of history. And this course advances in an empirical manner, without a conscious leadership, without a programme, without a leadership which directs and organises, which is able to utilise and which can base itself on the world crisis of capitalism, on economic and social crisis, on the crisis of the leaderships of the workers states, on the crisis of all the communist and socialist parties, the crisis of China. This uninterrupted crisis, in its entirety, whether in capitalism or in the workers states, and in the communist parties, shows that we are close to great historical events which are crystallised in two ways: imperialism which is preparing for the nuclear world war, and the organisation and world development of the revolution which is advancing in an irresistible manner. Of these two lines, the one which shows with all its power that it will conquer, is the line of the world revolution. It is imperialism which is on the defensive, it is not the force which is attacking, it is imperialism which seeks to defend itself from the world revolution and which does not have the force to smash the world revolution.

What characterises this essential phase of history, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and Europe, is the unanimous will of the masses, their mutual comprehension, their mutual revolutionary influence, without being connected with or directed by a centre or by parties or united to trade unions, and without a common party or programme. Throughout the world, the masses influence each other reciprocally, those who achieve a higher level in struggle tend to influence, and influence objectively other masses and other revolutions. This is the characteristic point of this stage of history. All advance without a centralised leadership, without a prepared programme, and without a prepared leadership; they advance empirically. But it is the enormous force of the revolution, the enormous weight of fourteen workers states, the enormous weight of the Chinese revolution, which succeeds in giving stimulus and making the masses advance uninterruptedly.

In this concentrated and centralised process small partial aspects, of the development of the world revolution, show their maturity and their progress, such as the revolutionary movement November 13th of Guatemala. The M.R.13 of Guatemala began as an empirical guerrilla force, without a programme, without an objective. In full crisis, it was influenced by the IV International and adopted its programme and its policy. In the process of functioning as a party, an inevitable crisis developed. But the inevitable crisis in passing from a guerrilla group to a party, demanded the superior centralised collective organic conception of the party which the guerrilla movement did not possess. Before this happened, the counter revolution had assassinated the principle political leaders of the M.R.13. The world reaction, the con-

centration of the world counter-revolution in one way or another, leaning on the conservative interest of the communist party and on the leaderships of the workers states, succeeded in eliminating the political leadership and then went over to the offensive to eliminate the influence of the IV International in the M.R.13. The essential objective was that of eliminating the programme, the socialist objectives of the revolution, they succeeded in breaking temporarily the direct organic influence of the IV International but they did not succeed in eliminating the essential vital centre of the process of the Guatemala revolution: the programme, the policy and the revolutionary world objectives of the IV International, which are the programme of the socialist revolution and of the workers and peasants government in Guatemala.

In this small episode can be seen the enormous force of the revolution; all the concentration of the conservative and conciliatory forces of the counter revolution gathered together against the programme of the permanent revolution have failed. A little movement such as the M.R.13 has succeeded in resisting the blows of the concentrated world forces of the world counter revolution, the conservative leaderships of the workers states and the conciliatory and centrist leaderships of the revolution, of the workers states such as Cuba. The course which this process has taken shows the characteristic of this phase of history. And it is this course which decides. Without a leadership the revolution advances and in this advance the programme, the objectives of the revolution, coincide, and their progress coincides with the objectives, with the programme and with the policy of the IV International, which is the struggle for the worker and peasant government, the armed struggle to overthrow capitalism, the necessity of the world unification of the revolution and of a single world leadership; the mass communist international.

This objective goes forward in an empirical manner, but it advances seeking to acquire unity and consciousness. The IV International has a fundamental role to play in this phase of history. The struggle for a programme and the objectives of the IV International is based on the fact that unconscious objectives in history pass through the stage of becoming conscious. And if the MR 13 has been able to resist the blows of the world counter-revolution and persist in the programme of the socialist revolution which is the Trotskyist programme, it is because already there exists a world base which accepts this programme and will transmit it and will prevent any retreat.

At the same time immediately, a year after the M.R.13 accepted the programme of the IV International, Yon Sosa declared that he would continue to struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution, for the "hard" line of Peking and for the programme of the IV International; accord-

ing to information from AFP and AP.

This is accompanied by the political crisis in China. The political crisis in China is a crisis of growth of the Chinese revolution. After the empirical policy of "four classes," conciliatory with capitalism, the development of the Chinese revolution can no longer tolerate the existence within it of elements of leaderships, of bases which allow the introduction, the influence or in one way or another the pressures of ideas, thoughts, sentiments, objectives of a bourgeois order. This does not occur consciously, since it does not arise from a programme, the conscious and objective programme is not present, and the crisis of the Chinese communist party in the measure in which it is not overcome, is limiting the progress of the world socialist revolution. The development of the Chinese revolution will reach its peak when it launches itself into the struggle for the mass communist international based on the programme of the world socialist revolution. The present "cultural revolution"—which has originated in a timid way although its essential objective is that of advancing the world socialist revolution—when it develops consciously will have enormous repercussions. Between the Chinese revolution, the M.R.13 of Guatemala, the persistence of the M.R.13 in the struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution, the political crisis in Cuba, the crisis in the workers states, the crisis in the communist parties and the development of tendencies, the groups and sections of the IV International, the enormous combativity of the European proletariat—among which is the Spanish proletariat—all indicates the enormous concentration of the will of the masses to struggle for power. Capitalism has not got the strength to oppose this pressure. The crisis of capitalism develops constantly and it is a general crisis. The bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, particularly in Latin America tend to propose measures and programme to seek to save themselves from the world crisis of capitalism, and runs to military governments, as in Brazil and the Argentine to seek to sustain capitalism and the result is to accelerate the crisis of capitalism, not from the point of view of time but of depth.

The countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia if capitalism remains for another 10 years, would inevitably enter into an enormous crisis in confrontation with the world market. Capitalism is disintegrating constantly. The European Common Market, if capitalism existed and remained, if it happened to exist for another decade, would enter into conflict with all the countries of Latin America. Wheat, coffee, wool, meat, fruit, metals are the essential products of the economy of Latin America. The European common market in order to survive has to reduce the import of all the articles which it imports at the present moment. It is doing this and will do it inevitably more and more profoundly because it is the condition of its existence. To establish a European Common Market, which is the association of the principle centres of the finance monopolies of Europe, they must reduce imports and seek substitutes from their own production. The same is the case for Asia, and Africa. There is no future for any country of Latin America from the capitalist point of view.

Capitalism is preparing for the nuclear world war, it is conscious of this situation. The struggle of the masses in Europe, the strikes of the French and Italian proletariat, the occupation of the University of Rome on the part of the students (the expulsion of a fascist rector,) is an important event in the history of the struggle of the European masses, all this indicates the fighting spirit of the petit bourgeoisie, which expresses the fighting spirit of the European proletariat and in particular of the Italian proletariat. It is the direct influence of the great struggle of the Italian masses. The

great strikes of the French proletariat, the strikes of the Belgian proletariat, the strike of the proletarian women in Belgium, which we salute with all our revolutionary pride and emotion, the strikes of the British proletariat, the victory of the British proletariat in the elections and in the strikes, all this indicates a process of concentration, of elevation of the revolutionary struggles of the European proletariat which has not obtained greater successes because their leaderships impede it. But an echo of these great struggles is the crisis of the communist parties of Europe, Asia and Africa of the communist and socialist parties. The crisis of these parties is the direct echo of these struggles.

The communist and socialist parties base themselves on a policy of alliance with capitalism, of reforms, of conciliation with capitalism and capitalism cannot do anything more. It has already exhausted the possibilities of making concessions, of yielding to the demands and the requests of the masses, each demand of the masses diminishes the social margin of the existence of capitalism and there is little remaining that capitalism can concede. It yields at the cost of its own social basis for existence to the petit bourgeoisie and as the world market is contracting, the possibility of further concessions is disappearing.

In the United States, the vital centre of Imperialism, the struggle of the masses shows that they receive the echo of the world revolution. With the lack of a worker's party, of a revolutionary workers party, of workers centres which respond to the interests of the masses, the masses of the United States do not have a centre to receive the influence of the world revolution, to reproduce it, and to develop it in the form of a class movement. But the student movement, the movements of the negroes do not have a simply student, or negro character. In an ever more elevated way, the student movement and the negro movement in their separate struggles show that they are a direct echo of the world revolution. The North American masses even without a class party, without mass trade unions and without the possibility for independent action and independent class organisms are represented by the negro and student movements, but also by the great strikes which the masses of the United States have made in the most recent months in particular in the transport strike. The continuity of the strike and the extension of the strike even on a small scale, shows that the population of the United States is not concerned with the interests of American Imperialism, but its own interests. The appeals of Johnson to the American people to support the foreign policy against the supposed communist danger in Vietnam have no interest for the masses. The masses make strikes and struggle for demands which endanger the whole financial and military apparatus of American Imperialism. And this is also the case with the struggles of the negroes and the students. It means that the masses are moving under the influence of the revolution and are not guided by the influence, the leadership or the political authority of the American bourgeoisie.

The recent declaration of the airline mechanics of New York who called upon the central leaders to form a party which would defend the interests of the working class, shows the influence of the world revolution. And the next unification, in a short stage, of the negroes in the Trade Union organisation and the workers party based on the trade unions, will be the centre of the unification of the white and black workers, in the struggle for the liberation of the exploited masses of the United States which is the true basis for the progress of North America.

The development of Trotskyism and of the IV International is the basis of this world process. The methods of struggle of the masses, the programme and the objec-

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# Editorial of the European Marxist Review

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tives are the programme and objectives of the IV International, of the permanent revolution towards the socialist revolution. They are the programmes of nationalisation, of the expropriation of imperialism and capitalism, workers control, workers militia, a single class centre, the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist world united front, unconditional support for the revolution, mass communist international. United front of the workers states of the trade unions of the workers states, with the workers organisations of the capitalist countries; direct intervention of the masses, control of the masses over their leadership, struggle for nationalisations; struggle of the students throughout the world with the fundamental programme based on the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle.

The students of Brazil have decided in a congress to oppose the military government of Castel Branco, to condemn imperialism and to express solidarity with Vietnam, to demand the withdrawal of troops from Dominica, agrarian reform, the right to vote, democratic liberties, independence of the

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade, Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

trade union organisations, which are points which answer the interests of the struggle against capitalism and not to the particular interests of the student sections.

The "Cultural Revolution" in China has been undertaken not in order to change the methods and curriculum of study but the conception of studies. It is not designed to elect this or that director, but to determine the general orientation, a revolutionary teaching on whose basis, they pose the objective of the struggle against capitalism on a world scale, the development of socialist sentiments. This is the political revolution, Chinese comrades!

In the Soviet Union, the struggle among the bureaucratic layers, the military stratum, the administrators, the technocrats, the party functionaries is intensified. If this is not reflected in the recent meeting of the Central Committee, with the re-election of Kosygin, this is simply because of a temporary agreement. In the communist parties the crisis is more and more profound, whether in Italy, France, Belgium or Latin America. The crisis of the Communist Party of Chile and of the Cuban Communist Party show this.

The crisis between the Chilean Communist Party and the Socialist Party, the crisis between the Chilean Communist Party and Fidel Castro indicate the enormous pressure of the revolution. They indicate that the Cuban revolution in order to advance needs to discover positions, conclusions, which go against the conciliatory policy and the peaceful co-existence of the communist parties. The centrist policy of Fidel Castro combines the denunciation of the Trotskyists, calumnies against the Trotskyists (which served the purpose of the Communist Party of Guatemala who handed them over to the police) with a differentiation from the Communist Parties. Despite the fact that Guevara may have been assassinated, they have not been able to suppress the Guevarist tendency which indicates the development of the revolutionary tendency in Cuba. If Castro attacks the Communist Party, it is because the Trotskyist tendency is developing or a tendency close to Trotskyism. Hence the present centrist attitude going towards the left of Fidel Castro.

The development of the struggle of the masses when the masses can impose their initiative is Trotskyist. It is the programme that we have put forward. They are the points of this programme.

The recent military coup in the Argentine has not intimidated the masses. These have remained firm and decisive. The Students of Brazil have confronted the whole military apparatus of the Brazilian bourgeoisie and have held a congress against the will, against the repressions of the military government which indicates a state of growing revolutionary will. The students of Mexico City in the recent direct mobilisation at whose head stood the Trotskyist comrades of the Mexican section of the IV International, have changed their University rector, a new rector was installed and established a new course of studies with a revolutionary democratisation of teaching and this is due to the revolutionary leadership of the vanguard. They have acted as a revolutionary vanguard of the exploited Mexican masses and not as students in defence of this or that programme of studies. The Mexican bourgeoisie has imprisoned and tries to put on trial seven Trotskyists in Mexico: three Argentinians and four Mexicans. The panic of Mexican capitalism is enormous. The Mexican party is small in number but it has an influence, a perspective and an importance which is very great. They have been imprisoned and the trial is being prepared because of the fear of the Mexican bourgeoisie of the force of Trotskyist ideas; because the revolutionary conditions in Mexico and Latin America are mature for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the workers and peasant govern-

ment. The fear of the Mexican bourgeoisie is a fear of Trotskyist orientation. Not only of the activity of the Mexican Trotskyists but of the importance and the force of the Trotskyist organisation.

In Peru the Peruvian masses, without a party and without organisation are centralising and mobilising themselves supported by the students in the struggle for a revolutionary programme. The activity of the Trotskyists is a centre which influences and encourages revolutionary currents. The new party formed in Peru, The Front of Popular Forces, has a programme similar to that of the Trotskyists. The pro-Chinese tendencies, the tendencies which break with the Communist Party and the nationalist tendencies which advance on the road of revolution, adopt programmes which show extracts from or points of, or in general line, the Trotskyist conception of the revolution, that is: popular militias expropriation of capitalism and of imperialism, armed struggle, struggle for the revolution for workers and peasants government, united world front to overthrow capitalism and imperialism.

This process shows an enormous progress. Without a conscious world leadership, without a previous programme the process is developing with groups and tendencies acquiring consciousness and experience. But the role of the IV International is unique. It has been the only centre which has maintained and maintains this programme of the world socialist revolution.

**Capitalism is preparing for the war. The nuclear war is its only reply, its only reply possible in face of the growing development of the progress of the world revolution. Vietnam is the evidence for this. In Vietnam they are deciding the preparation of the world war. Imperialism is spending seventeen thousand million dollars a year for the war in Vietnam. With half of this sum they could resolve the economic problems of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With half! But they do not resolve them and they cannot resolve them. If they do not do so, it is because they feel that they cannot do it and that there is no more historic possibility. They can no longer either invest or hope to be able to contain the process of the world revolution by investments. The investments which they make, they make because the capitalist regime exists by this, continues through the logical necessity of world capitalism to sustain and develop itself, but its investments are not made in an atmosphere of the persistence, of the economic development of capitalism but in the perspective of the preparation of the world war.**

The division of world capitalism is greater than ever: Vietnam shows this. And Vietnam is the vital centre of attention which stimulates the world revolution, stimulates the crisis of the Chinese, the crisis of the Cubans, the crisis of the Communist Parties, and encourages the masses of the world to take power. When a small country can be the centre which stimulates the crisis of capitalism, the crisis of the communist party and of the bureaucracy of the Workers States and gives an impulse to the world revolution, it is because the conditions are mature on a world scale. For this reason Vietnam is the world centre of the revolution, of the preparation of the world war and final encounter. If a small country can fulfil this function, it is because the empirical, disordered and uneven process of the world revolution is concentrated within it. And in this way all the empirical and disordered process of the advance of the world crisis of capitalism, the crisis of the Communist party and of the advance if the world revolution is concentrated.

The crisis of capitalism is enormous. The crisis of French imperialism led by De Gaulle with American imperialism directed by Johnson are clear and categorical examples of this. French Imperialism seeks its

own salvation as an imperialist power and at the same time the salvation of the interests of world capitalism; but its own defence means the world weakening of Imperialism. When French imperialism acts in this way, it is because its faith in the permanence of capitalism has vanished. Today there is no other point of support but centralisation under the leadership of Yankee Imperialism. This is the world crisis of capitalism. The Soviet bureaucracy has had to yield to the pressure of the world masses, to the masses of the Soviet Union and it has to interest itself in Vietnam, much more than it has wished. It is not able to remain apart as was its intention, whether on the part of Khrushchev, Kosygin, and Brezhnev.

The soviet bureaucracy is changing its line of march. It feels that there no longer exists the basis for the continuation of the policy of alliance with American imperialism. And it is seeking now to substitute alliance with Yankee imperialism, by alliance with European capitalism. The bureaucracy is not able to support itself on the world revolution, it is against it, it has a fear of the world revolution, it must seek to sustain itself against the revolution and it must seek alliance with European capitalism. All the possibilities to continue alliance with American imperialism as a centre to contain the revolution and to contain the counter revolutionary action of American Imperialism have already failed and it is seeking to do this through the alliance with European capitalism. This new leadership is as ephemeral as the other. And this is because the basis continues to be the same: peaceful coexistence, alliance with world imperialism against the alliance with the world revolution. The Sino-Soviet crisis reflects in the concentrated and centralised form the world crisis of the illusions about conciliation with capitalism, on the programme of reformism and of peaceful coexistence.

The peasant masses of the world increase their participation in the world revolution. The peasant masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America increase their participation in the world revolution and accept the world revolution. They have broken their isolation. They live as before in the country, isolated in miserable conditions of life. But the progress is the influence of the world revolution, which manifests itself in the fact that they have broken their isolation because they accept the programme of nationalisations, of collectivisation and of socialisation. The peasant masses of Vietnam who are among the most backward in the world struggle not for their land but to expel imperialism and capitalism and to nationalise. This shows the enormous influence of the Chinese revolution in particular and of the world revolution on the peasant masses.

The world proletariat of the workers states and of the capitalist countries and of Africa, Asia and Latin America unify themselves and interinfluence themselves constantly through struggle, through strikes for wage increases, for political demands and through supporting the revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America but above all in Vietnam. This is the panorama which exists at the present moment: capitalism is incapable of containing the revolution, there is the world crisis of the communist parties, the crisis of the socialist parties, of the leaderships of the workers states, of China, of the Soviet Union, of Cuba. The enormous step backwards represented by the economic programme of Yugoslavia has found its reply in the reaction of the masses, which already anticipates important mobilisations in defence of nationalised property and the programme of the world revolution.

In this situation, capitalism sustains itself not on the basis of its own military social and economic forces but on the conciliatory policy of the communist and socialist parties and on the conciliatory policy of peaceful coexistence with world capitalism pursued by the workers states. But before now a leadership has had the enormous responsibility of assuming the leadership of the world revolution. We refer to the communist party and government of China. There are two centres in this stage of history; American imperialism which assumes the world leadership of the world counter revolution, and the Chinese communist party and government which assumes the responsibility of the struggle for the world revolution. On the Chinese falls the greatest re-

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# Editorial of the European Marxist Review

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sponsibility in this phase of history, in organising the tasks, the measures, the struggle for the programme to advance the world revolution and abbreviate the stages to the war, diminish the possibility for greater armaments on the part of American imperialism and world capitalism and thus diminish the degree of devastation inflicted on humanity. It is on the Chinese that this responsibility falls.

The crisis in China, in Cuba and in the U.S.S.R. in the communist parties, consists in the fact that they are discussing the programme of the world revolution under Trotskyist influence. Without the material forces, without the organic numerical force, without inexhaustible forces, the incessant activity of the Trotskyists has influenced and has been one of the essential factors which has been able to influence the development of groups and tendencies, to mature them, to give them security, to stabilise their consciousness. The incessant action of the Trotskyists has been one of the centres which has stimulated currents, revolutionary tendencies in the struggle for the programme for the revolution. Turcios was invented, by Fidel Castro, and leading a movement which had small resources attacked the M.R.13, Yon Sosa and the IV International as adventurers because they struggled for the workers and peasant government and the socialist revolution, while in Guatemala—according to him—the conditions do not exist and it is madness to struggle for Socialism in this stage. And today Turcios according to information from the world press, declared that he was ready to enter into the M.R.13, to struggle for the worker and peasant government. And Yon Sosa a few days ago also declared to the world press their rejection of peaceful coexistence, that the Tri-continental Conference in Havana was an intrigue against the M.R.13, that Fidel Castro would repent of the errors he had committed and that he was resolved to continue the programme of the socialist revolution of the IV International. This has been reported by the news agencies of the world press.

This shows the influence of the world revolution. This influence must not be undervalued by the government and the Chinese Communist Party. The small number in relation to the power of the communist party of the Soviet Union and of China does not lessen in any way the capacity for orientation and organisation of the IV International. It is on the basis of this confidence that the Chinese must launch themselves in the struggle to fulfil the most important tasks of this phase of history: the mass communist international, the organisation of the world struggle to prepare the way forward in the world nuclear war which imperialism is preparing, with the programme of the communist world revolution, with the mass communist international. All the conditions are mature in the world. It is necessary to be preoccupied with rejecting and attacking violently all the currents, tendencies and leaderships which confine the workers movement to the electoral struggle, to the struggle for demands and democratic reforms etc. The capitalist system can no longer yield any reform, it is incapable. It is preparing for the final settlement of accounts for the nuclear world war. The dreams with which the communist parties seek to deceive the masses are the best advantage which capitalism received from the communist parties, from the socialist parties and from the leadership of the workers state, that is the policy which these parties put forward of reforms of capitalism, electoral campaigns seeking by means of parliament, solutions which can contain the revolutionary struggle of the working class. Between all these leaderships and the working class, there are contradictions and enormous differences. While the masses struggle objectively for power and seek in every great struggle to take power, to occupy factories, to take hostages, to generalise their struggles, to unify themselves with other factories and other countries, the leaderships seek to lead the struggle of the masses to express themselves simply in parliament. It is necessary to reject, condemn and throw out all these leaderships, and on the other hand to appeal to the world struggle, organising it with the programme of the socialist revolution. Capitalism is continuing to exist through the aid of the communist and socialist parties under the leaderships of the workers states. It is necessary to appeal to the masses to mobilise themselves. Between

these leaderships and the masses there is a world of difference. It is necessary to appeal to the tendencies, to the currents of the communist and socialist parties, in their daily struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution. This can lead to their expulsion; It is necessary to confront this, because tomorrow they will organised millions and millions. It is necessary to agitate to show that a centre exists and a revolutionary programme so that in the next struggle of the masses, this can be a centre of unification, so that the line which the communist party proposes does not lead to paralysis and passivity but on the contrary so that the struggle of millions and millions of the masses progress. There is no other way.

The essential task of this phase of history is the organisation of the revolutionary leadership of the masses of the world, it is the most important task, the most progressive and culturally the most advanced. This is the culture of which the masses have need, this is the progress of which they have need, because it elevates their consciousness and organises them for the struggle for the workers and peasants government. It is necessary to unify the transitional demands of each country, factory occupations and functioning under workers control, sliding scale of hours without loss of salary, basic minimum wage, and sliding scale of wages, workers control, factory committees, militia in defence of the masses; a single centre for workers in each country with an anti-imperialist programme, for the unconditional defence of the masses of Vietnam in the struggle against American imperialism; united world front of the trade unions, with an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme, for the giving of the land to the peasants, for the formation of committees of peasants, workers and soldiers. It is necessary to appeal to the soldiers to organise themselves in every country and to respond to the interests of the exploited masses of every country, to disobey the appeals, and orders of their military leaders, and to follow the resolution of the party of the trade unions which appeal for the struggle to overthrow imperialism and capitalism.

This is the phase of history in which we live. It is necessary that the Chinese assume this responsibility. Imperialism is seeking time, it is the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union of the communist and socialist parties which gives time to capitalism.

The conditions are mature for the mass communist international. It is the most important task of history, it is necessary to unite the struggle in every country for the transitional demands of each country which is the struggle for the world anti-imperialist united front, in practice the struggle for the world anti-capitalist united front. The Chinese must launch themselves into the preventative war. The preventative war is not the launching of the nuclear war in abstraction. It means supporting Vietnam unconditionally, even if this results in war. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of the world to support Vietnam unconditionally. It is necessary to respond to the appeal of the trade unions of Vietnam, publicising this throughout the world and sending men, arms and aircraft, all the means of struggle and of defence which exist. It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet masses to force the leadership of the Soviet workers state to intervene in Vietnam now. Imperialism is preparing for war, seeking to gain advantages, from its initiatives, relying upon the fear and the policy of peaceful co-existence of the bureaucracy of the workers states. The strategy of the preventative war means that the initiative is not left in the hands of imperialism. It is necessary to do this now, because the intervention in North Vietnam will find an echo in the masses of the capitalist countries, who will see that the workers states intervene for the development of the socialist revolution. This is the sense of the preventative war.

It is necessary to make this appeal now. Vietnam represents the world nuclear war. Imperialism has no other way out; it cannot conciliate, it cannot make concessions. Its weakness is enormous. The masses of the world must feel that the masses of the workers states do not permit nor ever will permit a retreat by any workers state in front of imperialism. The masses of the world, of the workers states, are surprised and ask with amazement, with indignation and with fury, why the Chinese, the Soviets, the Cubans, and the other workers states allow imperialism to massacre the masses of

Vietnam while they are disposed to throw out imperialism. They have no fear of nuclear war. Capitalism produces enormous deaths and disasters without the nuclear war, with the war which in fact they are waging now in Africa, Asia, and in Vietnam.

This is the enormous responsibility which falls upon the Chinese. It is necessary to appeal for a world unification, for the struggle for the anti-imperialism world united front. Out with imperialism from Vietnam! This must be the central slogan of this phase of history, because "Out with imperialism from Vietnam" means the development of the world revolution and to do this means to appeal to the masses everywhere in the world to struggle in every country for the programme for the socialist revolution.

Together with the conditional assistance to Vietnam, it is necessary to send troops and arms, to appeal to the masses of the world to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. This is the preventative war. And this must be done now before it is too late. The masses of the world are doing this and are ready to increase this action. They have decision. Their leaderships are afraid, they do not have confidence in the process of history. The masses have confidence because they are making history. They do not feel themselves to be intimidated, or chained to the present. They feel that they are working and struggling for a future free from repression of every sort. It is the apparatuses that are afraid. This is the present phase of history.

With this publication the European Marxist Review makes an appeal to all the revolutionary leaderships, movements of all the groups and revolutionary tendencies of the world to propose the necessity for the formation of the mass communist international, to the groups and tendencies which in the communist parties struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution to make publications, to organise themselves in factions and tendencies and to struggle around them for the programme of the socialist revolution so that if they are expelled, the programme, the objective struggle for the socialist revolution can be the centre which to-morrow centralises the unification of the groups and tendencies of the communist parties and gives to the masses of the communist parties who wish to struggle for socialism, a centre of political unification. It is necessary to do this

now, to wait until tomorrow will give many advantages to imperialism and to the bureaucracy of the workers states.

This is the most important task of this phase of history. The masses are disposed to struggle to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. It is the leaderships who oppose them. The most important task is the organisation of the new leadership, this demands a certain time, a certain experience and a certain organisation. The groups and tendencies who wish to struggle for power must do this now, they must not be intimidated. The masses who throughout the world have demonstrated decision and combativity are everywhere prepared for socialism. It is necessary that the groups and tendencies of the communist and socialist parties and of the workers states, put forward the right of socialist democracy and organise revolutionary tendencies which struggle openly for the revolutionary programme.

In the workers states there already exist signs of the revolutionary crisis which is developing. The demonstrations in favour of Vietnam, the poetry of Yevtushenko with its criticism of the bureaucracy are indirect evidence of the depth of the crisis produced by the pressure of the Soviet, Yugoslav, Polish masses etc. The demonstration of the old Bolsheviks in Moscow opposing themselves to any rehabilitation of Stalin and the success of these demonstrations even if they cannot succeed completely have an effect and exert a pressure to prevent the rehabilitation of Stalin.

This is the present situation in the world. The struggle for the transitional demands must base themselves on the conditions of each country but they must unite themselves with a programme for the world unification of the struggles for the single world centre, the single Latin American centre, and world united front, the mass communist international for the struggle of the programme of the socialist revolution.

Imperialism is preparing for the final encounter. The Chinese who have the authority and the force must assume the responsibility for being organisers of this activity. We support and will support with all our force, unconditionally all this activity which is the most important the most urgent, and the most precious of all activity in history.

J. POSADAS  
3 August 1966

## TANZANIA: cond. from page two

of nationalisations has finished, but he does not have the power to decide this question. Because of the revolutionary pressures and the weakness of capitalism Nyere has made these nationalisations to try to restrain the masses, but these actions will encourage them to go further.

The events in Tanzania show conclusively that the attempts to block the influence of the revolution in Zanzibar by incorporating it within Tanzania has failed, not simply because the influence of the Zanzibar revolution and its nationalisations has proved stronger than the reactionary forces in Tanganyika but because the world revolution and the process of the revolution in China constantly advances.

But to build a socialist democracy in Tanzania to build a genuine workers state unmarred by bureaucratic deformities requires the intervention of the worker and peasant masses in the form of soviets and communes.

We call upon the Chinese comrades in particular to call for the intervention of the masses in Tanzania on a programme of a workers democracy, nationalisations under workers control, without compensation, right of political tendency on the basis of the acceptance of a workers state, full aid and support for the revolutionary guerrilla movements throughout Africa, support for the United Socialist States of Africa.

## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.  
**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.  
**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).  
*Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73, Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.  
**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.  
**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.  
**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.  
**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.  
**ITALY:** *Loita Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc'hongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.  
**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.  
**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.  
**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).  
**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.  
**INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay.  
*Rivista Marxista Europea*, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

## Full support for the Roberts-Arundel strike

The workers in this country, unable, as they are, to express themselves fully, to carry the struggle against capitalism forward through a centralised organisation, still continue to struggle within their own particular factories, mines and other industrial concerns. The immense hatred of capitalism and the frustration felt by the workers faced with the alliance of trade union officials and labour government has, in the past, exploded into violence. This was seen last year at the Vauxhall works in Luton and recently at the textile machinery factory of Roberts-Arundel Ltd., in Stockport.

At Roberts-Arundel more than a thousand workers demonstrated, in support of the strikers, on the afternoon of February 22nd. These workers came from other factories and building sites in the area and at a later demonstration another 1,300 workers marched in solidarity with the Roberts-Arundel strikers. These demonstrations are an expression of a real unification of the workers struggle. In fact many of the demonstrators had lost a half-day's pay by attending the demonstrations.

It is obvious that at the February 22nd demonstration a certain amount of provocation was offered by the police. One union official said that workers had been pushed into the factory by police and beaten up by blacklegs inside the factory. In the fight which developed between workers and the police 20 policemen were injured, including the chief constable, and extra police had to

be brought in from the surrounding areas. Windows in the factory were broken and other damage done. Finally, the local trade union bureaucrats were called in from Manchester to calm the demonstrating workers. This is the role of the trade union officials! As one of them said: "The police telephoned our office and said things were getting out of hand. We took a loudspeaker down and appealed to the men to form up and march away in an orderly manner."

The obvious tendency of this demonstration was for the workers to occupy the factory. This would have been the correct slogan, but it was not put forward by the union officials, they use demonstrations and lobbies as a means of diverting the workers struggle.

The management of Roberts-Arundel are intent on smashing the workers organisation within the factory and, by sacking men and engaging women at a much lower rate of pay, raising the level of exploitation. The only way to combat this is for workers to occupy the factory and bring it under workers control. Workers in the surrounding areas should form workers defence committees to defend the Roberts-Arundel workers against police terrorism. We appeal to all workers to support the struggle of the strikers at Roberts-Arundel by sending delegates to form a workers defence committee and by sending money to the strike committee at 125, Wellington Road, Stockport, Cheshire.

## The student mobilisations — a further blow at capitalist authority

The student mobilisations against the governments proposed increase in the fees of overseas students, was a novel event in the students movement and further reflects the growing radicalisation of the petit bourgeoisie in Great Britain. For years professional careerists in the NUS have systematically blocked any attempt at mobilisations of British students and have done everything in their power to block the process of politicisation. Even now when the pressure of the students has been overwhelming, the NUS leadership only countenanced the strike at the very last moment when it was too late to stop it.

The response to the call for a strike among the students was quite good but could clearly have been even more powerful if the students organisation was not in part fettered by the bureaucrats in the NUS. The demonstrations showed in general a great spirit of militancy but they reflect a situation of far greater significance than simply a mobilisation around the increase of fees for overseas students. Basically the crisis in the students movement arises from a far reaching dissatisfaction with capitalist society, its lack of perspective, its counter revolutionary actions against the world masses. The struggle of the proletariat influences the student movement by its constant mobilisation against capitalism. The student movement observes the total bankruptcy of the policy of the Labour Government, the hopeless mess in educational policy. There has even been talk of loans for students to pay for their education. Arbitrary decisions are taken in education without any discussion with the students or teacher organisations. At this very moment the Government ignores completely the wage increases demanded by the NUT.

But the student movement is not only aware of the crisis of capitalism, it sees also the world wide collapse of capitalism. It observes the process in Vietnam which constantly centralises the attention of all the anti capitalist forces on a world scale. And nearer home it observes the persistent mobilisations of the Spanish students closely linked with the struggles of the Spanish proletariat. Here can be seen one of the most notable examples of the policy of the Unit-

ed Front.

Clearly the level of struggle lacks at the moment the intensity and force of the Spanish mobilisations but the process is identical. The conclusion from these recent mobilisations of the students is that the struggles of the students must be linked with those of the workers—**THAT IS THE PRIME TASK OF THE STUDENTS MOVEMENT.** The agitation of the students on the educational front has importance and it may yield passing victories but it can never be decisive in either changing the system of education or capitalist society.

Thus the students in Mexico university and Rome university caused the resignation of the rectors but there is no great evidence that the problems of the system of education in Mexico or Italy are any nearer solution. All the real questions of the resources for education, the problems of a syllabus to meet the demands of a workers state can only be seriously approached when the capitalist social system is overthrown. This is not to say that pressure for educational changes student and teacher control are not important aspects of the struggle but far more to the point would be the students and teachers putting forward the programme of the united front for workers power.

The Government did not yield over the increase in fees for the overseas students. They will not yield over anything fundamental and this poses the question very sharply that the student movement must campaign over the whole range of opposition to the policy of British capitalism and imperialism.

We call upon the vanguard in the Radical Student Alliance to unify the struggles of teachers and students, to make a united front with all the different strata of teachers in support of wage claims and for the elimination of capitalist administrative control of education. But above all, we call for the systematic and direct support for the struggle of the workers against imperialism and for the full range of the anti capitalist programme, nationalisations under workers control, equal pay for women, all wages to rise with the cost of living, etc.

## The Indian election results are a heavy blow at world imperialism

The Indian general election is a heavy blow at world imperialism and shows the disintegration of the authority of Indian bourgeoisie. Congress, the party of Indian capitalism, entered the election campaign in obvious disarray and without the possibility of producing even the shadow of a programme to attract the Indian petit bourgeoisie. It was discredited before the Indian masses and its organisation was split in five states. The attempts by the Congress government to use nationalism to gain some authority before the Indian masses has been a complete failure. The war with Pakistan and the so-called border dispute with the Chinese workers state only served to deepen the crisis of Indian capitalism and to add to the burden imposed on the masses.

The Indian bourgeoisie has no possibility of solving the inherent contradictions of capitalism. The impotence of the ruling class is revealed in a recent statement by President Radhakrishnan who said that the incompetence and growing mismanagement of India's resources could not be forgiven(!) and that India was unable to meet the food, and other needs of its growing population. The fact that a report on Calcutta suggested that the provision of one cold-water tap to serve a hundred people would be an improvement gives some idea of the living conditions endured by the masses in one of India's major cities. In the state of Bihar there is an actual famine and the situation is not much better in many other areas. A low grain yield is possible at this years harvest and the fact that many are too poor to pay for their ration of grain means that a national famine is almost inevitable. At the moment, with the failure of distribution, people simply die in the streets of hunger, and starvation.

The Indian masses have expressed their disgust of the corrupt organisation of the Congress Party by completely rejecting many leading members of the party including the party president Mr. Kamaraj and S.K. Patil, Mr. Kamaraja, the "king-maker" behind both Nehru and Shastri, was defeated in Madras by a young student leader. In Kerala an alliance led by pro-Chinese communists has left Congress with only 9 seats out of a possible 133.

The electoral gains by the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Parties (right wing) are symptoms of the polarisation of the class forces in India. This polarisation is obscured in part by the role of the Congress Party which still carried a certain nationalist prestige and the variety of parties. But the gains by the "rightists" and "leftists" parties shows that in effect a form of polarisation is taking place. Millions of course do not vote which shows contempt for electoral aims.

The last period has been one of continual strikes by Indian workers, of riots by students, of food riots and of open revolt by Mizo and Naga tribesmen. The fact that a law has been passed imposing the death

for sabotage on the railway is indicative of a pre-revolutionary situation.

The disintegration of the bourgeois state is a pre-requisite for the taking of power by the masses and it is only the lack of a revolutionary leadership that has prevented a socialist revolution in India before now. Nowhere is the failure of the leadership of the Chinese Workers state to give a revolutionary lead to the masses more obvious than in India. In the course of the war between India and Pakistan, the Chinese failed to call on the workers and peasants of both countries to take advantage of the situation and to overthrow their own capitalist classes. Instead they, the Chinese, supported the reactionary regime of Ayub Khan and helped to prop-up the Pakistani bourgeois state. In much the same way during the "border" dispute no appeal was made to the Indian workers and peasants to take power. The whole thing was handled on the level of bourgeois diplomacy.

However, the very existence of the Chinese Workers state stimulates the revolutionary determination of the Indian masses. The pro-Chinese communist party gained votes in Kerala, and in the rest of India, not on its programme, but on the authority of the Chinese workers state. And this despite the fact that they were in opportunist alliances with sectarian Muslims and other reactionary elements and it must be clearly stated that the unprincipled (popular) alliance in Kerala is a bloc to the revolutionary tendencies of the masses. The pro-Chinese have gained but refused to put before the masses a genuine revolutionary programme. But the political revolution is rapidly developing in China and this development will, shortly, be reflected in the foreign policy of the Chinese. A revolutionary lead to the masses by the Chinese will have an immense effect on the development of the revolution in India.

We appeal to the revolutionary tendencies within the pro-Chinese party and outside to call upon the masses with a clear programme for the socialist revolution. For committees of workers and peasants—for the seizure of the land by the peasants and factories by the workers—for the formation of militia based on the workers and peasants committees to defend demonstrators and to seize hoarded food—for the nationalisation of the banks and insurance without compensation—for the nationalisation of all major industries without compensation and under workers control—for a workers and peasants government—for the united Socialist States of India.

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## ADEN Full support for the Adeni Masses

The crisis of British Imperialist strategy has again been shown over the base at Aden. Imperialism has already declared that it is going to leave in the near future. This has enormously encouraged the masses of that territory.

The struggle in the Yemen has been constantly held back not by the strength of British imperialism or by that of the various royalist forces but by the failure of the Arab leaderships, to formulate a full socialist programme. Nasser in his support for the struggle of the Yemenis has conducted it within purely military and nationalistic terms. And this in return reflects the reactionary line of the Soviet Union which has refused to mobilise the Arab masses around the programme for the United Arab Socialist States. The Imperialists could be quickly disposed of now if the struggles in Aden were united with those in the Yemen instead

of leaving the various struggles isolated and without the full socialist programme.

In this country none of the workers organisations have ever waged a campaign over Aden. Now the left M.P.s merely argue for reductions of military expenditures which are incompatible with the fundamental defence policies of British imperialism.

The best way the workers in this country can help the masses of Aden and the Yemen is by the struggle for the anti capitalist programme in alliance with the European workers, and affirming in this way their unity with the trade unions and masses of the Aden and Yemeni territories.

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Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

**Workers of the World, Unite!**

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



NO 47 FORTNIGHTLY MARCH 25th 1967 SIXPENCE

## BUILD THE WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE TO IMPOSE THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The results of the by elections simply confirm the process of the increasing confidence of sectors of the working class that they can entirely dispense with the services of the Labour Party an organisation which Lenin long ago described as a bourgeois party. In the Rhondda and Pollok elections the votes for the Labour Party slumped heavily and the masses did not go towards the Communist Party but used the nationalist candidates as a means of expressing their desire for a militant struggle against capitalism and for the raising of the standard of life. The nationalist candidates reflect a justifiable desire of the Welsh and Scottish masses for the control of their own lives as against the capitalist bureaucracies and these candidates campaigned very largely attacking the chaos now resulting from capitalism. Wales and Scotland feel particularly the dilapidation of the infrastructure of the economy—railways, hospitals, transport, etc. and also the high level of unemployment in many areas. The weakness of the nationalist candidates is that they do not put forward an anti capitalist programme. But the votes lost to the Labour Party are not merely "protest" votes, they indicate a new phase in the history of the working class in this country when an active search for a new programme and leadership begins to make itself felt. The bourgeoisie try to make out that these by elections count for little in the long run and that any way the Tories are consolidating themselves after Honiton. It goes without saying that sectors of the reactionary petit bourgeoisie right to the revolution-war-revolution will continue to vote Tory, but what is also clear is that the Tories and capitalism will gain nothing from the eroding base of the Labour Party, the revolution will.

In this period of history there is a constant interinfluence among the various processes and advances of the world revolution. In this country the student rebellion in the LSE modestly reflects in part the international anti capitalist and anti imperialist struggles of students in India, Berkeley (USA) etc. But also it reflects the heightened awareness of the social decomposition, the outworn social attitudes and ideas of capitalism, specifically in Great Britain, a social decomposition accelerated by the struggles of the proletariat against the Wilson government.

The fact that the student vanguard in London University has resorted to tactics of resistance such as sit ins shows the complete disintegration of capitalist authority among large sectors of the students, the disintegration of capitalist authority among the petit bourgeoisie and the degree to which the struggles of the students parallel the struggles of the workers. Students from other universities supported the London students in the struggle against the suspension of their leaders. Such a unification elevates the struggle enormously and anticipates a much superior mobilisation on an altogether superior programme at a later stage.

The student demonstrations have helped to impel the anti capitalist struggle in this country by their influence and example but they have also displayed their limitations. It is altogether correct to wage struggles around the questions special to the students movement such as student teacher control of the education process but the thorough overhaul and reorganisation of education can never take place without the overthrow of capitalism and this requires the alliance with the workers. For example the students should mobilise and give full support to the unofficial strikers at the Barbican site, intervening with the programme for occupations and workers control etc. Unless the student movement boldly adopts a clear revolutionary political line and refuses to become absorbed in purely educational issues, many of its struggles will not obtain the echo which they should have.

Owing to the lack of a genuine workers centre in Great Britain the full effects of the world revolutionary process do not make themselves felt with their full force. And in the opposition to the incomes policy much of the enormous strength of the working class lies dormant. Thus whole pockets of workers such as those at Barbican, Stockport and now the DATA draughtsmen, struggle apart from other sectors and there is not the slightest justification for this. At the base of the work-

ers movement it is becoming clearer that more and more workers are abandoning the Labour Party and refusing to pay their political levy, but what does Cousins do in the present position? He again says he does not like the incomes policy but makes no demand for the abandonment of the political levy although the Labour Party leaders work overtime to keep capitalism in existence. Cousins again talks of the £15 minimum wage but makes not the slightest indication of how this is to be obtained. He acquiesces in the pay freeze applied to the engineers. In front of the process he is utterly passive. This position goes fundamentally for all the trade union officials. The fact that they are unwilling to mobilise the workers even on a limited basis, shows that they realise that even a limited mobilisation would go far beyond their control such is the depth of capitalist crisis. The struggle of the builders at the Barbican site is against the union and shows clearly the state of affairs in this country—the workers have to rely fundamentally on their own strength, their own organisations under their immediate control.

Parliamentary modes of struggle throughout Europe become more and more irrelevant. In conditions such as France and Italy, the Communist Parties continue to sustain a parliamentary facade,

whilst the most important sectors of the bourgeoisie prepare for repressions. In Great Britain we are entertained to reports of the various buffooneries recently perpetrated in Parliament but the real class struggle finds only a distant echo there. Everywhere the bourgeoisie endeavouring to take full advantage of the torpor in the workers organisations either pass or threaten to pass over to authoritarian regimes. In Belgium repressive laws have already been passed, in Southern Ireland, the minister of Labour, Hillery in the Fianna Fail government has announced the preparation of the bill to control the trade unions. The bourgeoisie, socially weak as they are in Europe and weakening constantly, are nevertheless in a position to take initiatives to impose repression and launch limited offensives, relying as they do so on the criminal capitulation of all the workers leaderships—trade unions, parliamentary representatives etc.

It is essential in Great Britain, as elsewhere to organise a workers centre. The factory committees are the prime centre for the emergence of a new workers programme and leadership, which must also begin to think in terms of workers defence committees. The Stockport incident shows sufficiently clearly the need for these, the

Continued on page 4

## For the immediate liberation of the 24 Trotskyist militants and the prisoners of other revolutionary tendencies

On the Second of December in Mexico they arrested 3 more comrades. This was in Poza Rica, a city and zone where there are the most important oil wells in Mexico; 80% of the petroleum comes from there, it is an area of great concentration of the proletariat. The arrested are two Doctor comrades and one lawyer. Tito Armando Dominguez Lara doctor, Fausto Davila Solis doctor, and Genaro Jonjitud lawyer. The first, Dr. Dominguez is a member of the party; the other two are active sympathisers. The two sympathisers declared that they support completely the fight of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskista). And in their declaration they said that they supported firmly the struggles of the Mexican masses, the Trotskyist policy and its objectives. And Dr. Dominguez made a very good exposition a very good and resolute speech, defending openly the struggle of the IV International and basing himself in his declarations, on the text "The Judgement of Trotskyism and of the IV International on capitalism and the Mexican bourgeoisie".

The declarations will have a profound repercussion all over Mexico. The Communist militants have denied being communist militants. They sought protection in conciliatory declarations with capitalism. They declared that they fought for peace, for justice, for peaceful co-existence. Our comrades, including the two sympathisers immediately confronted the terrorist action of the government and the police, and put their positions directly: they declared that it was necessary to suppress capitalism and imperialism, to give the land to the peasants, to expropriate capitalism, to nationalise property and to organise the workers and peasants

government. The police tortured them but it has not succeeded in making them stop or vary their public declaration.

All the press carried the declarations of the comrades the newspaper "El Dia" of the Cardenist tendency, publicly supported the declarations of the comrades, particularly those of comrade Dominguez, in which he condemned capitalism and called for the fight for the workers and peasants government. In Poza Rica there were demonstrations of protest and of rejection of the detention of the arrests of the comrades. In the zones of Poza Rica, in the districts and in the trade unions of in opposition to the

LETTER FROM J. POSADAS  
bureaucrats (Charros) there were comments and discussions in favour of our comrades. The arrested were comrades of the Poza Rica regional of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) Mexican Section of the IV International. The regional committee had carried out a concentrated activity for trade union rights, workers control, democratic elections, independent elections for the workers to elect their leaders, proportional representation and the participation of the workers in all the problems of the trade unions economic and social life. The Regional Committee of Poza Rica of the POR (trotskista) fought and fights for the elimination of the cliques of bureaucrats and gangsters who allied with the government and sectors of the bourgeoisie oppress and impose a dictatorship against the democratic rights of the workers.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) is the only organisation which has been repressed continuously since April of 1966. For six months from April to December it has been repressed openly three times. The repression has been and is constant. Even though legal regulations

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# Letter from Cde Posadas on the imprisonment of the Trotskyists in Mexico

Continued from page 1

do not exist it is repressed, it is persecuted; the right to publish its paper is taken away from it: its militants are persecuted in order to prevent their university activity, and activity in the peasant trade union movement. It is the only organisation which has been repressed three times within six months. In April they detained 8 comrades and now they have detained another three.

The review "Politica" which is supported by the Cubans, up to a few months ago was the centre of the attacks of the government and of Castro against the Trotskyists. Now in its last numbers, it has supported the defence of Trotskyists. It differentiates itself from the Trotskyists, but it supports the right of the Trotskyists to fight for their ideas. Student and university organisations have demanded the liberty of the comrades, and are preparing new demonstrations and forms of protest, in favour of the imprisoned comrades. The review "Politica" published an editorial commenting on the detention of the Trotskyists and accusing the government. All the public press in big headlines and extensive articles speak of the detentions of the comrades. The Radio and Television also preoccupies itself with the detention of the comrades.

There is a campaign unleashed by the government, the bourgeois press, allied and supported by the bureaucratic leaders of the workers movement (The Charros) to present the arrested Trotskyists comrades the POR(T) of Mexico as subversive. They try to present the regional committee of the POR in Poza Rica as guilty of setting fire to the petrol tanks of Poza Rica, but the technical commission set up by the government itself decided that the fires were caused by the bad state of the materials and negligence in relation to the maintenance of the tanks.

The government of Diaz Ordaz is carrying on an increasing campaign of repression and intimidation against workers, the political and trade union militants, leaders who are fighting for the political and trade union independence of the workers movement.

In the workers and the political movement there exists a police repression against the democratic rights of the masses. Mexican capitalism does not have the strength of social support, it is weak, and its social weight is very small. The trade union bureaucrats are the ones who exert the function of restraining, cornering, fettering and impeding the action, the functioning, the independent political and class trade union life of the trade unions. The Mexican laws demands 70,000 signatures in order to organise a new political party. The workers, the militant workers don't have the right to make themselves felt and to represent their class political tendencies. The trade union bureaucrats have a band of gangsters to repress and assassinate oppositional leaders, to persecute them, and jail them in alliance with the police, the government, and the bourgeoisie.

In Mexico democratic liberties do not exist. One can only talk, give opinions if they are not in opposition to the economic and social interests of the government, of the bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucrats. A murderous, reactionary alliance exists, similar to that under the fascists. One can only give an opinion on problems which have nothing to do with the direct and permanent interests of the government, the police and the bureaucrats.

It is necessary to carry out a world public campaign to demand respect for democratic political and trade union liberties. The right to struggle for the progress of Mexico must not be determined except through the judgements, the thought and the social interests of the masses of Mexico. The tendencies and currents which are fighting for the most elevated interests of the progress of Mexico and of the world are those who are fighting to defend, sustain the interests of the exploited masses. It is the most

complete way to struggle for the concrete and historic progress of Mexico. The imprisoned comrades, two doctors and a lawyer, are imprisoned because of their struggle for the historic social progress of Mexico, by the only means possible; the road of the class and revolutionary struggle. They represent worthily and proudly, the most complete and necessary aspirations of the Mexican masses. They represent the progress and the future. Because of this they are repressed and jailed. But also they have the resolution and aggressivity to say that they are fighting for the programme of the socialist revolution, because they feel themselves to be supporting and representing the will, the interests and the needs of the Mexican exploited masses and the necessity of the progress of Mexico.

It is necessary to reanimate the campaign for the liberty of the imprisoned comrades. The law and the government, allied to the trade union and political bureaucratic leaders see with fear the development of Trotskyism in Mexico. They see that each day the University, peasant, worker, masses are adopting the programme, the policy, the objectives and the methods of struggle which the Trotskyists are agitating for and fighting for. They see that the line of the process in Mexico leads to a united front, empirical and objective, but towards the conscious united front between the masses and the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista). The important thing is not the organic strength of the Trotskyists. They are small in relation to the mobilisations of the masses. But the force of the Trotskyists resides in their ability to interpret, orientate, and organise the class and revolutionary struggle.

In all the recent movements, from more than one and a half years ago, the mobilisations of the student, peasant, and worker masses has led them to adopt the positions, the policies and the objectives for which the Trotskyists are fighting. The bourgeoisie, Yankee Imperialism and the trade union bureaucrats feel, see and understand each day that the Trotskyists are developing as the possible centre within a short period for the mobilisations of the masses. In less than one year, in six states, the masses are mobilising, making nonsense of the authority and the power of

the governors and of the capitalist state. There existed tendencies of dual power in all these mobilisations. In Guerrero, Morelia, Cuernavaca, Puebla, Merida, and Mexico City, students, peasants, workers mobilised themselves to defend their salaries, their work, demanding the land, and demanding socialist democracy in teaching. They are occupying the faculties, Universities, governors palaces, they take hostages, confronting the police and the army. They forced the taking over of Yankee Imperialist enterprises, and their conversion into state enterprises, demanding that they function under workers control.

These movements are developing under a united leadership, of workers, students, peasants, but without either a centre or objective leadership. But it is the struggle, the programme, the objectives and the methods of struggle of the Trotskyists. The repression against the Trotskyists is going to be directed to try to separate, to break the party so that it does not develop as a centre of the struggles and in order to intimidate and terrorise the masses, the leaders and the trade union and political militants who are going to be gained, attracted, impelled to assimilate the class and revolutionary lessons. And to the masses, to try to present the Trotskyists as fighting for ideas and objectives remote from the national sentiments of Mexico.

But the government does not expect that the masses will believe it. Because of this they repress, torture and will try to assassinate the Trotskyists leaders and revolutionary workers militants. The social crisis of the Mexican bourgeoisie is developing in an uninterrupted way. The bourgeoisie is losing authority and social control over the masses. Since the imprisonment of the comrades; 8 in April — 3 Argentinians and 5 Mexicans — various rank and file groups of petit bourgeoisie and workers have organised themselves, who orientate themselves towards an anti imperialist and anti-capitalist policy and objectives; as with the MRP and the pro-chinese groups influenced by the rise and the development of the world revolution and the struggle of the Trotskyists in Mexico, in particular. The official party of the government divides and subdivides, splits and decomposes

es day by day. And at the same time, groups and revolutionary tendencies organise themselves, and the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista) increases its influences. It is the result of the social crisis of Mexican and world capitalism.

In order to try to restrain the effects of this crisis against capitalism, the bureaucrats and its agents, represses tortures and the political persecution increases and extends itself. Lombardo Toledano following his office of betrayer of the revolutionary movements, has now also dedicated himself to denouncing the IV International, the Trotskyists of Mexico, accusing them of fighting for the revolution. He whispers to the bourgeois on the dangers of allowing the Trotskyists and the revolutionary tendencies to go on functioning. He whispers and informs the bourgeoisie that the social crisis expresses itself by the existence of the revolutionary groups and the increase of the revolutionary tendencies in the communist parties and the pro-chinese groups, in the sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who until now were influenced by the official political party of the bourgeoisie.

Lombardo Toledano organised the assassination of Trotsky; now he prepares to organise new murders. He will not have the success that he had against Trotsky. It is necessary to denounce Toledano as the inspiring and orientating agent of the bourgeoisies in the repression against the revolutionary tendencies. Much more than the Communist Party, Lombardo Toledano is the ally of the Mexican bourgeoisie for the repression against the revolutionary tendencies and leaderships and groups which are arising and fighting for the revolutionary interests of the masses and for the workers and peasants government.

Recently, Diaz Ordaz had a surprise meeting with Johnson. Johnson asked for the meeting. It was to sustain, animate and give direct support with the interview, to the policy of repression against the Trotskyists and the tendencies and groups which are developing, seeking the defence of the exploited masses, of its democratic trade union rights and for the workers and peasants government. Johnson gives his support to Diaz Ordaz so that he resists the pressure of the demands for trade union freedom and democratic rights.

The struggle of the masses in Mexico is influencing all the masses and currents of the petit bourgeoisie of Central America and also in the south of the United States, in California. The participation of Cardenas in the tribunal against Johnson is an important blow against Yankee imperialism, because it stimulates and impels the Mexican petit bourgeoisie, the opposition, and the struggles against Yankee imperialism, as much in Vietnam as in Mexico. Johnson fears the repercussions it will have in Mexico and the U.S. The preparation for the world atomic war, the continuation of the war in Vietnam and the invasion of China is the basis of this interview. Because of this, it is necessary for them to prevent the contrary reactions of the masses, which will unite the direct struggles for the demands of the masses in each country and will lead and already are leading to the struggle to expel imperialism and overthrow capitalism.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskyista) of Mexico has received the new blow without surprise. It cannot publish "Voz Obrera" because the printers refuse to print it. But it has brought out leaflets and manifestoes denouncing the detentions and calling for the continuation of activity. The blow is important because they have arrested the leaders. In all the Universities of Mexico they are discussing the detention of the Trotskyists and they have expressed public protests. It is necessary to send more letters to the president of Mexico and to the judge who is trying the Trotskyists comrades and the anti-imperialist prisoners.

With fraternal greetings and solidarity  
J. POSADAS

25 December 1966

## The French bourgeoisie suffer a heavy defeat in the elections

The elections have severely weakened de Gaulle and the French bourgeoisie. It would have been catastrophic but for the fact that no serious programmatic opposition was offered to de Gaulle. It is significant that the electoral strength of the Gaullist Party was practically stagnant and that votes were recorded for him by the petit bourgeoisie because no other party offers anything that appears as a serious alternative. Furthermore, with the aid of the soviet bureaucracy, de Gaulle still appears in the eyes of the French petit bourgeoisie to be playing the role of a great statesman with all his talk of a Europe united up to the Urals, and his negotiations with Kosyguin.

De Gaulle has been unable to return to the position of 1958 when he could appear as the saviour of the French people. The elections are only a transient episode in the class struggle in France, but they show conclusively that the show-piece of the French bourgeoisie, de Gaulle has been incapable of acting as a magnet for the majority of the population.

Indirectly without the full force of the polarisation being brought out, there has been a polarisation to the left and to the right. This is in accordance with the tendency towards dual power expressed indirectly throughout the world—the Indian elections in different conditions expressed the same tendency. The polarisation expressed itself in the fact that the centre party of Lecanut dropped considerable in votes whilst altogether the left federation

and the communist gained nearly 45% of the votes. This shows the enormous possibilities for a revolutionary programme in France. The sabotage of the French CP and the role of the soviet bureaucracy is entirely responsible for the facade in French politics which can make it appear that de Gaulle has a role to play. Even so de Gaulle is cliff hanging as a result of the election.

Despite the line of the CP the French workers continue to centralise themselves around that party but simply as an expression of class solidarity not as a support for the reactionary line of the CP. The workers in the aircraft factories in the south of France occupied the factories which is against the line of the Communist Party. But this is not in contradiction with the voting for the Communist Party. With no other alternative, it is the only way for the masses to express their centralisation against capitalism.

The French section of the IV International, despite the terrorism of the CP—who helped the police to arrest our comrades during the elections—gained 407 votes in St. Denis, which indicates the development of the revolutionary current in France.

The French elections are part of the process of polarisation throughout Europe. Everywhere capitalism grows weaker and is forced to lean on the workers parties, and the soviet bureaucracy more and more to save it. What amounts to the defeat of de Gaulle will act as an enormous encouragement to the European masses.

# IN THE STRUGGLE OF TENDENCIES IN THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA, THE REVOLUTIONARY WING MUST BASE ITSELF ON THE ORGANISED REVOLUTIONARY WILL OF THE MASSES OF PEKING AND SHANGHAI WHO HAVE FORMED COUNCILS OF WORKERS AND STUDENTS, AND ASSEMBLIES OF WORKERS, STUDENTS, SOLDIERS AND PEASANTS

**J. POSADAS**

This apparent standstill, of the political revolution in China is simply a readjustment of tendencies, an organisation of tendencies. The struggle has elevated itself to a programmatic plane. Peking, Mukden and Shanghai show that there the programme is in question.

...The confused forms of the struggle of tendencies are acquiring a precise appearance, still not publicly but internally. Previously the struggle was to see who to throw out, now it is the search for a revolutionary programme. There is a great progress. And the basis for this progress is that the workers of Shanghai without orders, without waiting, are taking the factories, in various parts of China, and they are going to seek the support of the peasants in order to take the factories. And this is what they call 'taking the power', it means throwing out from power the conciliatory tendencies.

The theoretical confusion, the lack of

## FROM THE WORKERS COUNCILS OF SHANGHAI AND THE ASSEMBLY OF PEKING TO THE SOVIETS, THERE IS ONLY A LITTLE DISTANCE

It is not far from Soviet when the workers say not only "We will administer the City" but "We propose to do such and such a policy, we will take such a position, we will carry out such a programme". Even if this is not the Soviet, it is very close.

From the workers councils of Shanghai, from the assembly of Peking to the Soviets there is a small distance; it is the road which is leading to Soviets. The objective tendency of the workers, of the peasants, who are making the councils in Shanghai and Peking is to construct instruments of leadership. But these still do not exist. And there is going to be a resistance against them. We defend these councils and committees, we defend them with our life and soul.

It is necessary to understand the stages in order to organise the action in each stage, and the slogans, because these organise the masses. If the slogan is wrong, it organises wrongly. Then the forces are dispersed, neutralise themselves and historic stages pass. The rhythms and intervals are fundamental. And in the political revolution in China, to understand the historic rhythms and periods is an essential requisite. The news from the papers indicate that there is a standstill. In reality there is an internal struggle, there is a sharpening of knives, they are aggressively fighting. And in the next stage there will be much more aggressive resolutions. This apparent standstill as they look for an agreement comes from the tendency which wants to conciliate in order to combat the left, because Mukden Shanghai and Peking show that from here the impulse is coming. In order to restrain, they make these agreements and seek these agreements. It is to restrain the process. It means that there is a revolutionary tendency which basically is Trotskyist, which is seeking the Trotskyist programme to push the revolution forward. There can be a momentary standstill. This is logical. There is a process of crisis and standstill because there is not a conscious leadership. The process is ascending, the standstills are not the result of a force in retreat. No! It is a force which is organising itself and which has not encountered the organisational method to continue advancing. This is the standstill which exists.

Because of this imperialism leaps to the support of the most conservative wing of the Chinese leadership. And through Walter Lippman, says "We will negotiate, we recognise China has to dominate Asia" this is to prevent what is happening in the pol-

assimilation of Marxism, the pragmatic Marxism of these leaderships prevents them from applying Marxism concretely, there is no Marxist base. The Bolsheviks mobilised the party, the cells of the party mobilised the masses, and through the Soviets they mobilised the whole country. Thus the organised influence of the party was achieved. Today the Chinese have to make the struggle which they are carrying on because they have no Bolshevik party, they have not prepared tendencies, with either a programme or dominion of Marxism. They based themselves and are basing themselves on a generalised hybrid conception of Marxism. And for the revolutionary action in each country the programme is needed for each country. What is the programme for the political revolution in China? The workers of Shanghai, of Mukden, of Peking are showing what the programme is. They are pushing forward and acquiring consciousness of leadership and are elevating the struggle, of tendencies.

## SHANGHAI AND THE ASSEMBLY OF PEKING TO THE SOVIETS, THERE IS ONLY A LITTLE DISTANCE

political revolution which is going to inundate the world. Thus Walter Lippman in his article says 'negotiate now' admitting and accepting that development in the Chinese revolution is inevitable, and admitting that to negotiate with the conciliatory tendencies is the lesser evil. It is this which indicates that one wing of imperialism understands that what is going on in China is irreversible. Therefore they wish to restrain it. Thus Walter Lippman says "the events in China are twice as important as the French revolution and the Russian revolution of 1917 put together." It is necessary to take into account the significance of the Russian revolution of 1917 for what it said to the world proletariat; "It is possible to take power it is possible to overthrow capitalism, and it is possible to construct socialism." It inaugurated the historical stage of socialism.

After this 14 workers states appeared dominated by the bureaucracy, subjected, fettered impeded from advancing, and allowing the survival of capitalism because the workers states were not able to develop, with the obstacle of the bureaucracy. The Communist Party of the world basing themselves on bureaucratic leaderships of the workers states prevented the masses from taking power. The conflict, the contradiction, and the historic antagonism of the enormous strength of the masses who want to go forward in the struggle for power and in the workers states to advance to the construction of socialism, with the leaderships which prevent it, the communist, socialist and nationalist leaderships, this contradiction and antagonism, tends to be resolved by the political revolution in China which influences all the workers states and all the communist parties to defend themselves from the conservative bureaucratic and reactionary leaderships. It is this which imperialism sees. This is the danger! Then, there is no basis for conciliation, peaceful co-existence of the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet bureaucracy.

Why do they say, that the political revolution in China is doubly superior to anything in history? Because it is developing the role of the revolution which liberates others from the subjection to which they are subjected. This fellow Lippman, conscious that this is the process, says to the bourgeoisie "negotiate", but not in a harsh way, there has to be leeway, because otherwise the conservative wing will have no social support. Put up with this because it is the least evil. Because of

this he says that it is twice as important as the Russian revolution and the French revolution. The rhythm and intervals of the political revolution cannot be replaced.

In one week they have passed from furious discussions, to throw out Liu Shao Chi, to negotiations, to discussions and to recognition that there are divisions in the team of Mao Tse Tung. The articles and the resolution are not signed by either Lin Piao not Mao Tse Tung, but by Chen Yi and Chou en Lai.

At the same time "Surprisingly" this assembly of workers, students, peasants, and revolutionary cadres appears, which exerts the administrative functions of Peking. They appear surprisingly but basically they were prepared by the desire to intervene by the masses of Shanghai and Peking. As 'Le Monde' and 'Corriere de La Sera' has said, these resolutions are not spontaneous, do not emerge unprepared by previous organisation. The example of Shanghai signifies that there are tendencies in the worker masses who are trying to create organisms corresponding to the level of comprehension that they have reached and are disposed to put into action; organisms which depend directly on the masses, in order to pressurise the leadership of the movement so that it reaches this level, eliminating all bureaucratic leadership and really imposing proletarian control and democracy. This is the significance of all this.

## IN SIX MONTHS THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA HAS MADE IMMENSE PROGRESS

The historic event of this stage which provides the bases for the near future in the Chinese Revolution, inaccurately called 'The Proletarian Cultural Revolution' is that they have passed from the attacks on 'monsters' on the 'bourgeoisie and capitalists' to the struggle for organisms, for a programme and for political leadership. Here is the appearance of the Political Revolution, the so-called 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution.' They are not now discussing what texts to criticise, what professor is going to teach, or what customs are in order, what ones behavior and social relations should be; which would be the "Proletarian Cultural Revolution." About what works, what art one should create; the discussion is about who is going to lead, what the programme should be, and with what ends and objectives. The masses of various places, Peking, Shanghai, Mukden have imposed this advance, by exerting proletarian democracy, which is the basis of the Soviet.

In six months the political revolution in China has reached this level; from 'monsters' and 'capitalists' it has reached the level of expressing itself in the assembly of workers, students, peasants and revolutionary merchants of Peking, and in the workers and students councils which are directing the factories in Shanghai. The elimination of the administrators, the

## THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY: IRREPLACEABLE CONSCIOUS INSTRUMENT

Here is seen with all its historic importance and intensity, the absence of the Party. If the Bolshevik Party and the functioning of the Bolshevik Party existed, the most advanced level yet reached by the struggle as in Shanghai and Peking would be generalised throughout the whole of the country. As there is no Bolshevik Party, it cannot be generalised. And the forming of a revolutionary left wing has no point of support. It has to construct it. This is the

From the committees of Peking and from the workers council of Shanghai to the Soviets, there is only a little step. These committees which are true assemblies have the principal of Soviets, but the difference between these and Soviets is that Soviets have executive and political capacity. The Soviet does not occupy itself with local administration, but it is the political, the social leadership of the country. It discusses and decides. And it creates the organisms to carry out its resolutions, be they economic, administrative, juridical, trade union.

These are the organs which discuss all the political problems, including those of the army discussing everything as the national authority, so that they are applied on a local scale. In a short period they have reached the assembly of workers, peasants, soldiers, students, and revolutionary traders. It is not out of place that there are revolutionary traders there. They are small merchants who have developed very little as capitalists and who are now gained by the revolution, impelled by the revolution. And the same time this indicates the deficiency of the Chinese revolution, all the policy of conciliation of "four classes." That there are still merchants in 1967 who have the need to make themselves revolutionary, shows that they have some weight, even though small, it shows that there are layers of some importance. If they were of little importance they would not be integrated into the assembly.

struggle against the bureaucracy, the elimination of privileges, indicates the level. And if it has stopped, it is because the absence of leadership prevents the example and the programmatic base which Peking and Shanghai have provided from continuing, because there is no real leadership, because the actual leadership does not have in its head the real programme of the proletarian revolution, but will take it, will base itself on it and develop itself on the basis of the proletariat from this comes the actual struggle within the Mao-ist team. They are discussing and there is a layer which wants this. Because of this comes the attack on Trotskyism. But it is a light attack, which was not repeated. Among the attacks on the Soviet government, and transmitted only once by a Chinese news agency they made a deprecatory judgement of Trotsky, there was no accusation but a deprecatory attitude.

There is a wing which wants to take up the positions of the workers of Shanghai and Peking to generalise them throughout the whole of China.

This is a discussion which they are having now. The intervention of the army is to break this process. It does not have a reactionary sense, of turning back. But it is to break the advance of this process. They are not sure, if they were, they would base themselves on this progress already made and generalise it.

actual struggle.

It is because of this that Lin Piao and the others who used to appear every day, now do not appear. They are discussing internally what to do. And because of this Imperialism, intervenes now to offer in an indirect form negotiations through Walter Lippman. This is what they are discussing in China. At the basis of this discussion,

# THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY

## NUNEATON : LONDON : NEWCASTLE

During the past few weeks the party has intervened in two demonstrations, and in the elections in Nuneaton.

In Nuneaton hundreds of leaflets were distributed calling on the workers of Nuneaton not to vote for the Labour Party, or for any of the other candidates all of whom were putting forward pro-

capitalist policies. We called on the workers to take the only political action possible in the circumstances of the elections by putting the anti-capitalist programme (which formed part of our leaflet) into the ballot box, places of work and give it full publicity. On one Sunday morning 37 copies of RED FLAG were sold.

## LONDON

The party intervened in the demonstration on March the 12th called against the wage freeze and to defend trade union rights. The following leaflet was distributed

at the demonstration.

On March the 18th in Newcastle the following leaflet was distributed to a demonstration of D.A.T.A. draughtsmen.

### FACTORY OCCUPATIONS AND WORKERS CONTROL

#### TO SMASH THE INCOMES POLICY

British imperialism and capitalism is totally decadent. Ferociously it terrorises the Adeni masses, but it is forced onto the defensive everywhere. Within Great Britain, imperialism does not possess the economic resources both to sustain a war economy and meet the economic and social necessities of the masses; a continuously rising standard of life. The prices and incomes policy is the expression of British imperialism determination to hold down wages in order to find the resources for the war economy, the preparation of the third world war against the workers states and the world masses. They launch Polaris submarines while poverty increases.

There is no reformist solution for British imperialism, and consequently there is no hope of "reforming" the Prices and Incomes policy. Meetings and demonstrations against this policy remain purely at a frustrating agitational level unless a full programme of working class struggle to overthrow British imperialism is adopted. It is no use concentrating on using the courts against the Prices and Incomes policy nor is it any use the T.U.C. offering to do the Governments job for it. All these roads are the roads of social cowardice, the reactions of bureaucrats, who only in name defend the interests of the workers.

The only way to throw out the wage freeze is to throw out capitalism. It is no use adopting a defensive pose. The only way to defend trade unions is to smash the capitalist class. Mere protests, declarations mean nothing unless the working class is mobilised directly.

Everywhere the class war is accelerating. The demonstrations and fights at Stockport are just one example of the level which the struggle can reach. But all the struggles against employment, wage freeze etc. must be based on the unification of the shop stewards committees with a clear programme. The only way to meet the capitalist policies of lowering the standard of life is by a mobilisation of the workers directly on the line of factory occupations and workers control. The struggle over the incomes policy is directly a struggle about who is to control the resources of the country, capitalism or the masses.

We call for the workers to organise their own demonstrations with the perspective of a general strike with the organisation of defence committees with the anti capitalist programme.

The struggle in this country is paralleled by that in the rest of Europe. There are continuous strikes of workers throughout Europe in Spain, France, Italy etc. Unemployment grows throughout Europe and in Belgium the government openly puts forward a policy of repression. Inevitably the more strenuous the struggles, the more the European and British masses will unite.

Capitalism now depends for its continued existence on the support of the soviet bureaucracy. Kossygin's visit was designed especially to sustain British imperialism and offer long term contracts because British capitalism is so weak in front of the masses.

For a whole period the left M.P.'s, the C.P., the trade union leaderships have "protested" about the "unjustifiable" actions of the Government and the result has been nil. Mere agitation without an appeal to the workers on the basis of a programme shows itself to be a refusal to confront the capitalist class and is a sabotage of the struggle.

The prospects for overthrowing British imperialism are bright. Everywhere in the world capitalism is reeling. American imperialism cannot control the process in Vietnam. Even in Indonesia with the massacre of thousands of communist militants, it has proved impossible to stabilise Indonesia with any long term perspective for capitalism.

Capitalism in Great Britain is only given a facade of strength—and the ability to indulge in lock outs of ship building draughtsmen—from the impotence of the left reformist and C.P. leaderships to meet its offensive.

We call for the organisation of factory occupations on a nation wide scale with workers control on the basis of the national unification of factory committees to impose the following programme.

And then came the anti capitalist programme.

### ACTIVITY OF THE BELGIAN SECTION

Belgium. The first number of "Lutte Ouvriere-Cockerill" which will appear every month and act as the instrument of the Party to organise with all the necessary dynamism and force the revolutionary tendency within the big Cockerill engineering factory, has just been published. Also two issues have already been published of "Lutte Etudiante Revolutionnaire" (Students revolutionary struggle) the organ of the student fraction of the party.

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### Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

basis eventually for a workers militia. It is essential to organise these committees around the anti-capitalist programme of workers control, no worker to be unemployed, no closing down of factories and mines, all wages to rise with the cost of living, etc. Factory occupations on a European scale are on the immediate agenda. Workers in France recently occupied the Dassault aircraft plant in South Western France, and in Lyons they occupied one of the Berliet lorry factories. When ever factories are to be closed, occupy them and run them. Impose workers control. This is the only road to overcome the capitalist policy of wholesale dismissals and wage freeze.

### TO DEFEND THE D.A.T.A. MEN AND DEFEAT THE LOCK OUT STRIKES AND OCCUPATIONS THROUGHOUT THE SHIPYARDS

The lock-out of D.A.T.A. members from shipyards all over the country in response to the Wallsend strike, is an indication of the tougher policy which the employers (with the support of the Labour Government) are adopting against the working class and its standard of life. The incomes policy, "compulsory restraint", and the action against building workers picketing a London building site are further examples of the logical and necessary measures which the capitalists are taking in defence of their class interests. British Imperialism does not have the resources both to pay for its enormous arms expenditure, and to ensure to the masses a continuously (even if only slowly) rising standard of life, which it could at one time. Now in fact the standard of life of many sectors of the workers is going down as unemployment rises, prices rise, and wages remain frozen.

The lock out shows that the employers have reached a higher level of unification than the workers organisations. The shipbuilding employers are presenting a united front against the draughtsmen all over the country, while on the workers side, D.A.T.A. has not called for the support of any other union or sector of workers. The leadership of D.A.T.A. which has a reputation for militancy and which has in the past gained concessions by isolated guerrilla strikes around the country, has now in these new, sharper conditions of struggle with the employers, failed to try to generalise the struggle. The draughtsmen of D.A.T.A. must put pressure on their union leadership to extend the struggle to other workers, but without waiting for the union leaders to act, they must go directly to other shipyard workers to appeal for their support. The employers hope that they can win this struggle because of the smallness of the union and because the shipyards are not immediately crippled by the lack of draughtsmen, and if they win it, other employers will be encouraged to use the same tactics.

The TUC has done nothing to help the draughtsmen except to ask the government to intervene (the government which has time and time again shown itself to be on the side of the employers) and this shows that the TUC will do nothing, just as it refused to come to the aid of the seamen's strike. The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering unions will be holding a meeting later this week to discuss the lock out and it cannot be excluded that they will take some limited action in support of the draughtsmen, but it is only the resolute and united action of the rank and file workers organised in shop steward and factory committees, which can not only make the employers call off this lock out, but can ensure the triumph of the Wallsend strike, and sweep the governments incomes policy into the rubbish bin.

All the workers must come to the aid of the Wallsend strikers, and by strikes, occupations of the shipyards and making them function under workers control, ensure the victory of the strike. The employers are not strong, they have only managed to win some temporary advantages because the union bosses have given way in front of them every time, with at the most only token resistance.

The class struggle is accelerating. The fight at Roberts Arundel in Stockport showed two things; on one hand the willingness of the ruling class to use provocation and violence, and on the other hand the readiness of the workers to meet violence with violence. In all the countries of capitalist Europe, the ruling class governments propped up the Communist and Socialist parties, are entering into deeper and deeper economic crisis and are trying to solve this crisis at the expense of the masses. And the masses despite their conciliatory leaderships are fighting back with strikes and factory occupations.

Imperialism throughout the world is taking a pounding — from Vietnam to Aden it finds that despite its military might it cannot win. The international and national conditions for the struggle against imperialism and capitalism; from the small struggles against redundancies and for wage increases, to the final struggle to overthrow capitalism have never been more favourable.

The workers in the shipbuilding industry must unite this struggle for the victory of the Wallsend strike, and the defeat of the lock out, with their own demands. The shop stewards committees and other rank and file committees must link up all the workers in the shipyards to struggle for wage increases, all the profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours, for the opening of the books of the employers, for workers control in the industry, and for its nationalisation under workers control.

## CHINA

Continued from page 3

the leadership which is looking for consciousness but which still does not have it, is organising itself. It doesn't start from a conscious programme. It is acquiring consciousness of the programme along the way. As history has already given the example, as Lenin said of the Soviets, it is the initiative of the masses in China which is showing the leadership what the role is, what the programme is and what the policy is. It was not the leadership which called the masses to form workers councils. They did it on their own account.

The attacks of the tendencies which are opposed to do this are clear and precise; "go back to production, leave the leadership alone." This is what the tendencies are saying who are opposing these objectives. And imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy are seizing on this.

In the next stages the definition of tendencies will appear more public and open, the revolutionary militants of all the world must support this. They must support the Marxist revolutionary left in China to organise itself in the programme and the organic basis which the workers of Shanghai, Peking and Mukden are giving. This is the impulse to the revolutionary will

given by the example of the workers of Shanghai and Peking.

The workers of Shanghai, Peking and Mukden must make an appeal to the rest of the masses of the country to follow their example and to direct themselves towards the left wing which seeks to base itself on revolutionary marxism so that it follows the example and bases itself upon them, to the army to base itself on its experience, to constitute Soviets and within the Soviets the organisation of each zone.

They must also extend their appeals to the Soviet, Cuban, Czechoslovakian, Polish masses, the masses of all the workers states to organise themselves in councils of workers soldiers and peasants to push forward the political revolution in all the workers states set up proletarian democracy and the functioning of the Soviets to impel the socialist revolution in the workers states and on a world scale.

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Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



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SIXPENCE

## PREPARE THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKERS STRUGGLES IN EUROPE

The pressures leading to the final encounter between the workers states and imperialism multiply. U Thant trying to shore up the policy of peaceful co-existence has to admit that the "pressure of events is remorselessly leading towards a major war". American imperialism as shown by the results of the military conference at Guam plans to extend the war. All the talk about a long war by the American command in Vietnam shows quite clearly that they will not retire and the reason that the war has not been extended on a great scale so far is not because of a willingness to negotiate by imperialism, but is simply due to the fact that American imperialism wishes to take advantage in part of the right wing in the Chinese leadership and there is also an opposition led by the Kennedy wing to the Pentagon, of war now rather than later. The dilemma of tactics for imperialism remains but the preparation for the war inevitably continues. The time to the launching of the war is abbreviated constantly by the facts of political life for imperialism. Simply by looking at the facts in South East Asia alone it becomes clear that shortly imperialism will have to extend the war. Even in Indonesia after the bloodbath of the workers and peasants, Suharto has to face the fact that even in his army at least half are loyal to Soekarno! The guerrillas advance more and more in Thailand and also in the Philippines. And on top of this the political revolution in China, although temporarily delayed by the Triple Alliance of revolutionary cadres, army and party rumbles onwards and is a permanent encouragement to the masses of South East Asia and indeed the whole world.

And the reaction of the soviet bureaucracy! Desperately it rushes to facilitate negotiations with imperialism. Its utterly miserable attitude has been shown in the recent attacks on the Chinese by saying that the Chinese persist in encouraging the Vietnamese to resist rather than to negotiate. And what of the communist parties? We can see all the treasonable behaviour of these peaceful coexisters with capitalism portrayed clearly in the line of the CP leadership in France. The masses there by their centralisation around the CP have shown that they desire an end to capitalism but Waldeck

### GENERALISE THE EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKERS STRUGGLES

In Great Britain sectors of the workers despite the total absence of a firm authoritative leadership with a clear programme in the factory committees constantly intervene and undermine the stability of capitalist society. The split between the spirit of the workers and the passive role of the trade union leadership was never more clearly seen than in the events of the Roberts Arundel Strike. There the trade union officials were more or less spectators of the workers' struggles with the police and refused to put forward the demands for taking the factory over. The firm is apparently pulling out—it should be occupied by the workers and run by them. The experience of this struggle should be generalised over the whole country because it is a prelude in its unification of the various groups of N. Western workers, and the high level of combativity, to a greater mobilisation of large sectors of the working class in the next stage. It is particularly necessary to generalise this struggle because it arose directly from the arbitrary actions of wholesale unemployment encouraged by the capitalist policy of the Labour Government. The lock out imposed by the Data employers, the refusal of an increase of wages to the Longbridge drivers because they refused to be exploited any more than necessary (super exploitation

Rochet makes it quite clear to the bourgeoisie that he is intent on a policy of conciliation or as he says a democratic constitutional policy. While the vanguard of the French workers enter upon factory occupations and strike action, surpassing the plans of the leadership, Rochet assures French capitalism "we will help you, we do not want the revolution". A much smaller example of the conciliation practiced by the CP could be seen in the CND demonstrations during Easter where the CP went along with middle class pacifism and begs for peace from capitalism on bended knee.

means an increase in productivity), the demands by the steel employers that productivity agreement is needed not an increase on the basic rates, shows quite clearly that the employers are taking full advantage of the total passivity of the union leaderships

It is totally insufficient to organise committees for the defence of trade union rights and "collective bargaining" divorced from the anti capitalist programme. The trade union bureaucrats are only interested in a policy of pressure—as is the Communist Party—which was announced at the December 3 Conference. Only if such committees are given a clear programme of minimum and transitional demands will the interests of the workers be defended. The whole field of industry is dominated by crisis which are going to augment not decrease—the crisis on the railways for example has only been postponed, the struggle over bonuses shows this—and the workers must generalise their experience. All the major actions of the last period show the continuous, growing fighting spirit of the workers and the trade union apparatuses fall back continuously in face of the process. We appeal to all the unofficial committees of the workers to develop their own publications and unified committees to discuss and generalise their experiences. The last

two years have shown the enormous strength and confidence of the workers totally surpassing all obstacles. Generalise these experiences, unify strike action with the planning of factory occupations and workers control. There is no other road

to beat capitalism. Arguments, "pressures" meetings of Government bureaucrats with union bosses are pure eyewash. Only a policy of mobilising the workers strength will settle anything.

### DEVELOP THE ANTI-CAPITALIST CURRENT AMONG THE STUDENTS

All the process towards passing beyond economic demands has shown itself most clearly in the students movement. There the plush bureaucrats of the NUS at their recent conference have been forced to attack violently the growing tendency among students to call for a clear political line in the students movement so that students can express their views on Vietnam, Rhodesia etc. The NUS leadership can momentarily block the pressures of the student vanguard much as the rotting trade union leaderships can block the

workers, but the historic initiative does not lie with them because the dynamism of the workers struggles in this country, the constant effect of the world revolution and the constant diminishing of capitalist authority matures and stimulates the student vanguard. It is necessary for the student vanguard to give a political programme to their struggles, to identify them with the working class, to intervene educationally but also in all the problems of the masses, to develop their own publications generalising their experiences.

### ACCELERATE THE UNIFICATION OF WORKERS STRUGGLES IN EUROPE

Spain and Italy remain two of the most dynamic centres in Europe as regards the mobilisation of the worker masses but more and more the tendency develops towards mobilisations of a higher level all over Europe. Thus in France a major conflict has developed at St. Nazaire. Here as at the Berliet factories, the employers have indulged themselves in a lock out and the Communist Party despite all its massive electoral strength can only stand by. Lock outs, the policy of the hard line demands the workers policy of the hard line. The unification of the workers struggles in Europe is made particularly difficult by the absence of workers centres but inevitably the logic of the situation will develop workers centres to coordinate the struggles of the European masses. The metal workers

unions attached to the ICFTU of the common market countries are entering on talks with one of the big market monopolies. Philips of Eindhoven who as a super industrial giant has been rationalising production, putting workers on part time etc. This is possibly part of an attempt by the union bureaucracies in the common market to attempt to influence the big monopolies, to modify their policies. We put no confidence in such trade union leaderships whatsoever but the fact of such a development, a negotiation crossing the boundaries of countries is an indication of the necessities for all the European workers to work towards a common programme, to generalise their experiences, to campaign for the 35 hour week, wages tied to the increase in the cost of living, the United Socialist States of Europe.

## Intensify the campaign for the release of the Trotskyists still in prison

We have received news from Spain that all of our comrades have been freed by the Franco regime with the exception of Meximo Loizu Fernandez and Jose Maria Borrás. The release of these comrades by the Franco government is a great victory for the International because it shows that the Franco regime is afraid of a public trial of Trotskyists, which would only accelerate the decomposition of the Franco regime. They have nevertheless kept two comrades in prison and no date has been fixed for their trial.

In Mexico there are still 24 of our comrades in Jail. Seven of these and Adolfo Gilly have now been in prison for 1 year and until now no definite date has been fixed for their trial.

We appeal to all the readers of our paper to intensify all their activities for the freeing of our comrades in Mexico, in Spain, in Guatemala, Peru, and Brazil. This should be done by bombarding the embassies of the various governments with demands for the immediate release of our comrades. We appeal to factory committees, trade union branches and the student movement to do everything they can to campaign for the release of our comrades.

We have received news that two of our comrades have been arrested in Bolivia as a result of increasing repression of the Barrientos regime, which is now waging a struggle against guerrilla activity in Bolivia and regards the intervention of Trotskyism in this situation as particularly dangerous. We are awaiting further information on these arrests, but in the meantime we urge all the workers organisations to send protests to the Bolivian government and the Bolivian embassy demanding the release of our comrades.

# Vietnam, the political revolution in China, the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions and the struggle for socialism in North America

J. POSADAS

Fidel Castro in his statement to the American journalist Lee Loockwood said:

"In the United States there is no class struggle." No? and what are the strikes in the United States? What about the demonstrations of the negroes? What about the demonstrations of the students, 20,000 students from Berkeley? What is this? It is the class struggle, it is the class struggle in its most acute form. In the United States the centre of world imperialism, where there is a standard of living which is the highest in the capitalist system and where North American capitalism claims desperately that its future depends on its ability to smash Vietnam and China, 20,000 students demonstrate against the intervention in China and these 20,000 students are expressing the public opinion of millions and millions. It is not just 20,000 people in Berkeley who see the process, it is the concentration of the unequal and combined process in the United States in such way that the proletariat cannot express this strength but the teachers and students express it.

Above all Fidel Castro must understand that the majority of those who are demonstrating are university teachers and that they are the intellectual and political reserve of imperialism. And they declare themselves against imperialism. It is not simply a mere demonstration, a repudiation; it is the expression of the rejection, by an advanced stratum of North American society, which has felt the world advance of the revolution, accepts it and rejects Yankee imperialism. How is it possible not to feel this? This is a most high expression of the class struggle.

If the proletariat of the United States has not been able to do the same action, it is because the historical conditions have prevented it. It is still subject to the trade union apparatus, to the lack of political life. It lacks the means of expression. The students are not sub-

ject to the apparatus, as are the workers and are independent in a certain way and can express themselves. But Fidel Castro knows this and all those who like him, deride the North American masses, make an unworthy slander on the North American masses. It is unworthy because the students and teachers are not isolated superficial elements of North American society, they live the life of North American society. The North American petit bourgeoisie—the base of support joined to that of the bureaucratic apparatus and the North American workers aristocracy—intellectually interested, is observing socially the constant decrepitude of North American capitalism. Above all, after the assassination of Kennedy there is the process of vertiginous advance in the United States.

## THE ASSASSINATION OF KENNEDY AND THE STRUGGLE OF TENDENCY IN YANKEE IMPERIALISM

The assassination of Kennedy impelled a very large stratum of intellectuals to the realisation of the collapse of yankee imperialism, a very large stratum of intellectuals. These people did not react from their own deductions, each in his own house; the social force which impels them is not the result is never the result—never throughout human history—of an individual decision. It can express itself individually but the force which impels this to show itself is because it recognises, expresses and is impelled by a social force superior to it; that is to say, the public opinion which discusses, in the factories the workers areas and the negro areas. They are reflecting the repudiation of imperialism by a very large sector, of great social weight, the petit bourgeoisie, the workers, peasants and negroes who are against the war in Vietnam. In not associating themselves with the Americans in Vietnam, they are against the war and receive the influence of the world revolution. They express in an indirect form the influence of the world revolution. Against fascism, Roosevelt was able to unite all the American people; why cannot they do it now? Fidel Castro ignores this; he must learn to respect this. Recently the discussion in North America over the assassination of Kennedy has extended enormously. And each time witnesses appear, coming closer to saying who it was responsible for his assassination. Now Scotland Yard makes its appearance. They knew all this before hand, why is it coming out now? Why are they denouncing the assassination now? It is a way of exerting pressure—very powerful pressure as when (Kennedy) was assassinated but in reverse—to contain a tendency in the United States which wishes now to extend the war, to extend it, to invade China. They have just contained the threat by the denunciation. It is a blackmail in the struggle between the sectors of American imperialism, nothing more. They resort to this blackmail to contain

this sector. Nothing more. Everything which they are saying now, they already know. And they are making this blackmail because the Kennedy sector is connected to one sector of American Imperialism, of the big capitalists, and does not have the same interest as the other sector, of the Pentagon, which depends on nuclear weapons on military production, on heavy industry. The big financial circles feel that the stage of advance and economic equilibrium in the United States is closing and each time the pressures towards recession which leads to crisis are much more frequent. Those circles which determine the North American economy—above all petroleum and steel—the great banks which dominates the United States will be paralysed if the war stops in Vietnam. Because the 20 thousand million dollars which they spend in Vietnam are part of the 75 thousand million dollars which these assassins waste on military expenditure. They would be paralysed if this stopped. And as it is these who dominate, who determine the economy, because it is they who invest provide the reinvestments, the stimulants and basis of the economy which governs the rest, they would be paralysed. Whilst the other sector belongs to the big manufacturing bourgeoisie, an industrial sector which does not depend directly on the war. It has a direct interest in the war for the social reasons of smashing the masses, but it has no interest in extending it now. Its interest is in the market which does not depend on the war. That is the difference.

When Walter Lipmann says: "It is necessary to recognise China. It is necessary to allow it to dominate Asia, we should withdraw". He is saying, it is better to accept the lesser evil meaning to recognise that evidently imperialism is going to lose positions in Asia but it must withdraw to try to gain historic time. This is their historic indecision, the historic indecision of capitalism. When Lipmann proposes a withdrawal,

it is because he feels that American capitalism does not possess the historic force to oppose the revolution in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. And he tries to withdraw and to gain historic time. It is the decomposition, the insecurity of capitalism which cannot centralise its decisions in a united way.

In the differentiation among them, over positions and strategy, the bases of the differentiation of economic and social interests are the differences in the market. All are united in the desire to smash Vietnam, China and the Soviet Union also. But as they have distinct interests they try to make use of distinct historic positions. The rest depends on the capacity of each one. All these people who now analyse that Kennedy was assassinated, why did they not say so before? Why did they not raise a campaign before? If it is the same, it was evident that the assassination of Kennedy was a blow and a repudiation of the authority of Yankee Imperialism. It was an enormous blow.

We insist that since the assassination of Kennedy, the stages of advance, of mobilisations in the repudiation of capitalism and the progress of the wings which condemn the war in Vietnam, have been accelerated and abbreviated. There has been an enormous stimulus to the intellectuals who were a point of support for American capitalism, and they have advanced to the rejection of American capitalism.

The social superiority of the worker states is the most powerful instrument to influence the North American masses. For this reason the mobilisations of the masses in China, the councils of workers and peasants in Shanghai, the

## THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA WEAKENS CAPITALISM

China is the world centre which is going to tend to liberate the forces of the revolution oppressed and repressed by the nationalist bureaucratic leadership of the Communist Parties and of the workers states, and also of American imperialism. This is the immense factor which China fulfills of which the Chinese leaders do not take account. We say with all the respect which the Chinese revolutionaries merit, whom we support with all our revolutionary fraternity, that they do not take this into account, if they did, they would seek support by means of appeals, resolutions, by means of the independent mass organisms, aimed at abroad.

In the next stages this process is going to become ever more dominant. And will overflow into the United States. The Americans think that they are all powerful because they have many nuclear weapons. And Johnson all the time counts them to see how many they have and everytime he goes to sleep he says we have got all the bombs haven't we? And they say yes, but the Red Guards have formed a new commission and he has to say so much the worst for us. This bomb is more powerful than ours. And now it is not the Red Guards but the workers of Shanghai who propose workers committees.

The revolution does not ask permission to advance. The progress of the political revolution in China is weakening capitalism. Each advance of the political revolution weakens capitalism. The military forces of imperialism increase but the social forces diminish. This is the fundamental question. Each advance of the political revolution in China increases the preoccupation of the North American masses with the world revolution. They mobilise, push forward, intervene and they are preparing the rising of the North American masses. The more

assemblies of workers, soldiers, peasants and students in Peking, Mukden, and other cities are exercising an enormous influence on the North American masses. It is not visible now but they are penetrating the consciousness of the American masses and they are teaching them how to organise.

The masses historically have shown that they are capable of assimilating and receiving the most elevated experiences of history. For this reason there is a revolution in a country as far away as Mali—where people have hardly anything to live upon, apart from the leaves on the trees—and they take power and establish the collectivisation of agriculture. And how has this come about? If they did not follow events they would not know what collectivisation was. But they have been listening to the radio and discussing; the students, the sons of petit bourgeoisie of the poor peasants, have seen the revolution advancing in the world; all this has been concentrated in this unequal and combined process and has had as a result "collectivisation is better".

And in the United States also. The masses in North America are preparing for a historical leap, and in the discussion, Yankee imperialism is calculating this process, to launch the war before the masses advance. This can be through a strike, any strike and we say it with full historic responsibility. A particular strike can accelerate a process of independent actions by the masses, free from their own leaderships. The interior weakness of the North American masses which consists of the internal absence of a particular party of independent trade unions is compensated by the enormous influence of the revolution and now of China.

progress in the Chinese revolution, the more it advances the power to stimulate the revolution in North America. And although imperialism may intervene, the progress of the revolution has conquered sufficient bases already in the United States and enormous progress. This does not mean that the development of the revolution is going to determine imperialism to launch the war immediately. No. The advance of the revolution can determine the gain of an immense historic stage. Our difference with the communists and with the Chinese before and with Fidel Castro is that they believe that the advance of the revolution is going to paralyse imperialism. We say no. It can push it back, make it retreat; the revolution advances, but imperialism equally is going to launch the war, because they have no other reply to give, than to defend themselves from the process, from the socialist revolution, than the war. But it is going to occur in the worst conditions for them, not the conditions they want. The more the revolution advances, the more it disorganises the forces and the world capitalist united front, the more it impels the masses to intervene: consequently, the intervention of the nuclear war of imperialism takes place in the weakest conditions for capitalism. For this reason the more the political revolution advances in China, and in the U.S.S.R. and smashes imperialism in Vietnam, throws it out of Vietnam, which it can do, the more the revolution advances on a world scale. The communists believe that it is possible to contain imperialism, the Chinese believe this also. Imperialism cannot be contained: Vietnam demonstrates this. But with the advance of the revolution it can be weakened, weakened. It weakens, it constantly and when the war is launched, it

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# Vietnam, the political revolution in China, the Workers Party..

can exploit this. Now the revolution can itself take the initiative: for example by appealing to the North American masses to rise. It is undoubted that the appeal does not mean that the rising takes place there and then, but an appeal to the North American masses means already that it is going to effect the North American masses. And the appeal does not mean simply a resolution; "revolt". It means intervening by means of the example of the development of the mobilisations of the masses as in China, demonstrated the ascendancy of the political revolution and to organise as does the IV International.

All this arrangement that Yankee imperialism has made with the soviet bureaucracy not to use outer space has been a lie. And the Soviet Union has a perfect right to break this agreement, to ignore it. The Yankees made this agreement because they are in the inferior position. And the soviet bureaucracy signed it with a miserable and treacherous attitude, to give security to capitalism that they are not going to launch the war. The attitude of the soviets is to give security to the alliance with capitalism, whilst the soviets should say: "no, I will utilise all the means in my power in defence of the revolution to impel the revolution". Thus Lenin and Trotsky acted when they wished them to make a compromise not to extend the revolution. And Lenin and Trotsky said to them: we will not extend the revolution, when we do not have the strength. But as soon as we have, we are going to extend it." This was the declaration of Lenin and Trotsky, on all sides. They would never sign an agreement not to extend the revolution. Lenin said: if we signed it, it would have no value because the masses would send it to the devil.

The bureaucracy signed this compromise with imperialism to assure world capitalism that it was not going to extend the revolution, the struggle, that is was not going to unleash the war and to give security to capitalism in the world capitalist alliance. But this is a blow against the masses of the world, because it presents capitalism as dedicated to the pacification, to the scientific use, to the human use of the assassin means of nuclear arms, and at the same time it directs itself to the masses of the world showing its refusal to help the revolution. While the Yanks in Vietnam use everything which they have—already they have in Vietnam nuclear weapons to try to contain the revolution and invade China—the soviets declare. "No we will not utilise the arms—which are superior at this stage to the Americans—but we hope that the Americans are prepared to discuss with us". That is to say the alliance with capitalism.

The Americans have launched the astronauts, desperate to try to conquer space, to recover or to approximate to the progress of the soviets. The death of the astronauts shows the empiricism of Yankee imperialism which seeks at all costs to overcome its technical incapacity to try to gain time. This indicates that there is a very great acceleration towards the war. Very great. It is necessary to hurry, hurry. This shows that within imperialism there is a tendency which is urgent, desperate, because it feels that the recession, that the crisis, that the world decomposition of capitalism is very near. And that it is losing control of the functioning of world capitalism.

This explosion of the cosmonaut ship shows the weakness, the fear of imperialism seeing the advance of the social, political and economic crisis and the frantic efforts, the desire to produce arms to equal those of the soviets or to surpass them, to unleash the war. It is not going to wait for superior arms, it is going to unleash the war under whatever circumstances, at whatever time. It shows that it is disposed at any time to launch the war. This can show a competition among them because each sector: navy, aviation, army has its own organisation... It can indicate competition among them and sabotage; but we believe that in depth it is more than this. It is the empiricism of imperialism but in this case the empiricism is determined by its consciousness that only a little time remains and it is trying at whatever cost to launch the

war. It is the desperation of imperialism which is going towards the war.

A sector of American imperialism in order to control the other sector from escalating the war against China has to threaten that it is going to reveal the names of the assassins of Kennedy; when it resorts to such blackmail, it is because of the contradictions of American imperialism and of world capitalism. American imperialism realises that it is losing the control of world capitalism. And its internal struggles reflect among other things the desire to launch the nuclear war, not only the development of the world revolution but the control of world capitalism. And the conditions for the launching of the war each time increase more and more; crisis, revolution, advance of the political revolution in China. In Cuba, development of the world revolution. It is undoubted that imperialism cannot allow the political revolution in China, nor in the Soviet Union nor in Cuba nor can it support the loss of Vietnam. It does not mean that automatically imperialism in the development of the political revolution in China is going to unleash the nuclear war but the nuclear world war is inevitable. Walter Reuther, president of the auto workers industry has resigned his position in the Directing Committee of the AFL-CIO in the name of his trade union which is the most important trade union in the United States. He accused the leadership of the AFL-CIO of not struggling for the increase of wages and of supporting the war in Vietnam. Reuther is an old careerist trade union bureaucrat who plays the role in the North American trade union movement of the representative of capitalism before the workers. He has been one of the principle allies, integral allies of the directing strata, of the workers centres against the masses. He is a potentate who lives at the expense of the workers movement with a salary superior to the presidents and the ministers of the states. This position which Reuther has just adopted does not indicate that he works in defence of the anti capitalist interests of the workers, but he feels the increasing discontent among the worker masses who demand higher wages, democratic rights, opposition to the war of imperialism in Vietnam.

Reuter feels the constant loss of authority of Yankee imperialism, the disintegration of imperialism and the advance of the world revolution. The North American masses without a party, without organisation or trade union life and class political life, can express themselves in every way, even in an indirect way and a disfigured way. They manifest their will and show that there exists a vanguard disposed to organise itself in a class form and to support the world revolution, Vietnam, the workers state, above all China.

This declaration of Reuter was made in the full measure of the process of the political revolution in China, but nevertheless in an indirect form reflected the deep pressure on the North American masses and a sector of the petit bourgeoisie, the students particularly, exercised by the struggle of the negroes and the elevation of the struggle of the negroes to combine the demand for their democratic social rights with the struggle for their rights against capitalism.

But Yankee imperialism is preparing for war. The meeting at Honolulu was not to see whether or not an advance of three metres. The plan of imperialism was much greater. Nevertheless they were contained. Why? What held them? It is the enormous pressure also of this interior mobilisation and of the negroes. Fidel Castro does not refer to the negroes, he ignores them. The Chinese in part take account of them but very superficially. The mobilisation of the negroes has played a tremendous role. It is enough

to measure the historic conclusion—**Castro above all should understand this, that the division of the races, the persecution of the negroes and the submission of the negroes is an objective necessity of American capitalism.**

From the commercial and social point of view, it would be convenient for American imperialism to eliminate differ-

## NEGRO MASSES GAIN CONFIDENCE

The mobilisations of the negroes are a direct indication of the world influence of the revolution. The slogans, the objectives of the mobilisations of the negroes are elevating themselves. The negro's bourgeois and petit bourgeois accommodated leaderships who use the struggles of the poor negro masses to gain a superior social position in the heart of North American bourgeois class society, are losing strength and authority. This is the conscious objective of the protest movements directed by the religious leaders, by King and Co. But the North American negro masses feel that they are the immensely poor majority, the most enslaved, those who have the least wages, and feel that it is not a question of demanding only the right to vote but the improvement of their concrete and historic conditions of life.

The world development of the struggles of the masses in Vietnam, the development of the political revolution in China, the struggles of the European proletariat, of the African masses and the anti imperialist and anti capitalist struggles of Latin America particularly of Santo Domingo, stimulates them in influences them and teaches them the road to take to fight for their concrete social, economic, and historic rights. But nevertheless the struggle of the North American masses, the constant strikes even the limited sectors of the economy, sectors of relative weight in the economy, the mobilisations of the students in Berkeley, of New York, of Chicago, helps them to organise their comprehension and political decision that to understand the social struggle is more profound than that presented by their religious and petit bourgeois leaders. To conquer their democratic rights of racial and social equality, they have to fight against capitalism. The world revolution, the struggle of the masses of Europe, of Asia, Africa and of Latin America, the masses of Vietnam and of China, perform the role of orientator and political organisers of the negro and exploited masses of the United States and influences its class unification in the next period.

American imperialism supports itself, maintains itself in racial segregation as a fundamental means to impede the unification of the proletarian class of blacks and whites. The negro proletariat does not see its white brothers, the white proletariat defends it, struggles for it as an organisation. For this reason a certain echo over the exploited negro masses has been obtained by the organisation and the appeals of the bourgeois and petit bourgeois religious leaders who circumscribe the mobilisations of the negroes with the claims for racial rights within the capitalist system, although this is impossible to obtain. But already there is developing within the heart of the negro

entiation because it would extend the internal market and gain social authority before the masses. But at the same time as we are in 1967, to give such equality, stimulates the struggles of the negroes and the negroes, are going to see that its struggle is not racial but revolves around its social situation in the economy, in the class. And they are united to the American proletariat and are going to stimulate the American proletariat to an uncontainable struggle. For this reason, Imperialism adopts a contradictory position, attempting to give a solution to the pressure of the struggles of the negroes, and not having the historic strength to solve it. They cannot do so. In the full process why have they not been able to mobilise the whites against the negroes? Imperialism has not got the strength to do it.

**proletariat of the radicalised negro petit bourgeois masses the idea that there is no partial solution against racial segregation but that it is a class problem, an anti capitalist problem.**

Without a class party, without independent organisms and class organisms the North American exploited masses cannot weigh, cannot be the centre of the manifestations of the social discontent of the workers, of the peasants, nor of the isolated strikes even important ones. The proletarian vanguard party marxist revolutionary party has not been able to develop. But the declaration of Reuther, the mobilisations of the negroes and of the students, of the strikes with a class direction shows that there is a vanguard which receives the influence of the revolution and accepts them and in an indirect form interprets the sentiment of the North American masses. A very large sector of the North American masses which receives the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the world, expresses the fact, indicates that the North American masses are aware of the struggles of the world masses in their struggle against capitalism and against imperialism.

The North American masses have a standard of life superior to the rest of the masses of the world. The development of American capitalism appears as the most powerful development of world capitalism. The capitalist middle class accommodated to capitalism have an immense weight in the North American social life. Utilitarianism, base of the economic development of capitalism of North American society has an immense influence. But the crisis develops and advances in the United States.

In the United States as in the rest of the capitalist world, the economy develops fundamentally based on military expenditure in the production of arms, nuclear weapons, military and police expenses for police terrorism and repression against revolutionary movements.

The production and productivity of American capitalism advances constantly, above all productivity increases. The production by means of automation and computers progresses and increases productivity constantly. But all the increase in production and productivity is swallowed up, is channeled into and absorbed by the waste of the preparation of the atomic war against the Workers States and the world revolution. A fundamental part is dedicated to the war which imperialism is waging in Vietnam and the preparation of the war with China.

The American masses are prevented from developing their standard of living. In historic comparison there is a relative retreat between the powerful increase of production, of automation, and productivity, and the living conditions of the

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# SPARTACIST AND IMPERIALISM UNITED AGAINST TROTSKYISM

J. POSADAS 18. 2. 1967

## INTRODUCTION

(SMALL EXTRACTS)

Below we present an article about SPARTACIST. This is a little group of people in which there are militants who seek the road to socialism, who are seeking to understand the world revolution and the struggle for socialism in the U.S.A. This Spartacist group is not Trotskyist, it is far from the IV International. Its policy, its interpretation of events, its lack of any programme of revolutionary policy for the USA and for the world is far from the IV International nor of Trotskyism. It does not present itself as such, nor is it guided by the conceptions of Trotsky, but by a liberal pragmatism, with radical language but whose political positions, whose objective, concrete policy on a world scale is against the objective course of the development of the revolution, fundamentally in two vital centres of interest for Yankee imperialism: Cuba and China. This group does not have any importance in itself. It is of recent formation, and by its publications, reflects left liberalism, radical in form, and the absence of a revolutionary policy.

This group has just made a public attack on J. Posadas and the IV International. We are not interested nor worried by their attacks. The capitalist

world press, the Yankee, European and Latin-American press, dedicates itself to advertising the danger of the positions the policy, which the IV International led by J. Posadas holds; from the "New York Times", "Il Tempo" of Rome, "Journel da Tarde" of Brazil, "Universal", "Excelsior", and "Novdades", the review "Siempre" in Mexico, to the attack by Fidel Castro. The slanders, the denigrations of the Spartacist group do not worry us; it does not have any influence or importance. But even if it is a small group, the bulletin which they edit in English is sent to all parts of the world. They also publish in this article in their bulletin an article describing Guevara as a counter-revolutionary bureaucrat, Fidel Castro and Guevara as counter-revolutionary bureaucrats and thus call for the overthrow of Fidel Castro as the fundamental task of the Cuban masses. In another number, they presented the process of the political revolution in China as an inter-bureaucratic struggle, as a mere bureaucratic struggle equal to that in the epoch of Stalin and they call the masses to overthrow Mao as the principle task.

As these people publish parroted repetitions of the texts of Trotsky, appear to be Trotskyists, and they can appear before the English speaking public particularly of the United States, even if their confusion will be minimum, they could

be confused with Trotskyist positions.

A little time ago, we don't know where a forged "Voz Proletaria" of Argentina was published. It presented "Voz Proletaria" of the Argentine as publishing an article of the Chinese against Fidel Castro and calling for the overthrow of Fidel Castro.

It has the same line as Spartacist. This falsification has its object to present Trotskyism allied to counter-revolutionary positions, to discredit Trotskyism before the Chinese and Cuban masses. "Spartacist" follows the same road. It slanders and denigrates the Trotskyists and the IV International. It presents Posadas as a "Hysterical Guevarist" but explain nothing to show this. And these agents of imperialism lie because they know that it was Posadas who publically criticised Guevara and Fidel Castro and that he carried on the polemic and theoretical struggle to impel the base of Fidel Castro and he himself in order to gain them consciously for Marxism. But without waiting for the reaction for Fidel Castro, we appeal to the Cuban masses to fight for soviets, for proletarian democracy, for a socialist moral stimulus, for the support of the world socialist revolution. The fundamental problem of the United States is the independent organisation of the exploited masses. It is the construction of the revolutionary organism of the base for the

independent and final action of the masses and of the proletariat so that it can organise and direct the struggle of the masses and through its leadership resolve all the problems of capitalist exploitation. Only the fight for workers and farmers power will resolve the problem of the negroes. But for this the independent class organisation of the proletariat is necessary. The masses are concentrated on the trade unions and this is the basis for their political organisation, the workers party based on the trade union. This was the teaching which Trotsky gave to the American trotskysts but which they rejected.

This Spartacist group, still born, by its conclusion in the United States and partly of the world is a bad apprentice of marxism. On the contrary it expresses petulance, contempt and depreciation for revolutionary organisms and it bases itself only on the sovereignty of Yankee imperialism, on the power of the Yankee imperialism.

We call the militants of Spartacist interested in developing objectively the socialist revolution, to fight for the workers party based on the trade unions, to defend unconditionally the revolution in China and the development of the political revolution in Cuba and to combat the arrogant petit bourgeoisie of the Spartacist, organising the movement for the essential defence of these ideas.

Since 1953 we have tried to influence the Spartacist group in North America. This group is the result of a split in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), from which it organised itself as a group against the Cuban revolution and against the course of the political revolution in China. It did not consider Cuba as a workers state and considered China as having a petit bourgeois government and the process of the political revolution as a manoeuvre of the leadership of Mao Tse Tung to conceal the economic difficulties in China and repeat what Stalin did in 1936. They looked upon the Mao Tse Tung tendency as a new version of Stalinism. They were and are against the idea that the nuclear war is inevitable and that it is necessary to prepare for the nuclear war. They were and are against the necessity to prepare and organise for the nuclear war before, during and after the nuclear war to struggle for power and to develop socialism. They have not participated and do not participate in the struggles of the tendencies in Cuba and in China, and in the rest of the world, the struggle to push forward the revolutionary tendencies in the communist parties and within the workers states to propel the revolution.

Their break with the S.W.P. was not due to their programme or their political objectives in defence of the revolutionary positions of this stage of the IV International but for reasons, for struggles of tendencies, for positions and leaderships completely remote from all the problems positions and objectives which this stage of history requires to struggle for socialism, the essential basis for which is to understand, and to extend the struggles of the masses as they are today whether in Cuba, China, the Soviet Union, in France or Brazil. And also it is necessary to participate and to intervene in the struggles of the leaderships of all the communist parties but particularly in the workers states in China and Cuba because from them will arise the forces which impel the political revolution or that receive the pressure of the masses to develop some of the necessary tasks for the development of the political revolution. Although this leadership lasts only a little time, it is necessary to understand each period and each stage to intervene and impel the forces which in

each stage receive or are obliged to receive the pressure of the world revolution forcing them to struggle.

Without the comprehension of the world process, without the correct interpretation of the characterisation of the workers states, particularly China and Cuba, it is impossible to understand the course, the periods, the stages to impel the development of the revolution and to know how to distinguish between the intentions, between the forced advance of the leadership or existing leaderships, to know how to exploit in depth the particular circumstances and the revolutionary intentions of the masses to develop the new revolutionary leadership. These people in Spartacist despise and are not interested in the revolutionary course of the movement as it is given in Cuba, China and also in the Soviet Union.

The S.W.P. from 1950 broke with the IV International with its policy, programme and centralised functioning. Progressively its remoteness from revolutionary ideas was accentuated until it abandoned them completely and became a liberal socialising movement.

The central task for organising the North American masses for its independent class life, for its struggles for power as Trotsky expressed in his time and as is still necessary, is summarised in the slogan: **THE WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS.** The understanding of the course of the Chinese revolution today, is the fundamental centre to organise the Trotskyist party, the Trotskyist organisation in North America.

To understand in consequence the Cuban revolution, to understand the course of the Chinese revolution, in their origins and as they are now, to understand the task in North America to organise the masses is the indisputable and basic condition for the organisation of the IV International in North America. Spartacist does not understand, it is against the conception which the IV International has over China, Cuba, over the struggles of the masses in Latin America and over the Workers party based on the Trade Unions in North America.

This group broke from the S.W.P. without a programme, without a policy, it had the same line as that of the S.W.P.,

more to the left, but the same essential line as the S.W.P., in the same way as it ignored and undervalued the struggle for the workers party based on the trade unions and did not recognise the political revolution in China and Cuba. In their publications and in their policy and in their programme the Spartacist group do not speak in the name of the IV International or call for the struggle for the IV International. They utilise the name of Trotsky and not that of the IV International. They utilise the abstract name of Trotskyism but not that of the IV International. They express thus the fear of confronting and organising the North American petit bourgeoisie which is their small base of support and their fear is because they themselves are not in agreement, do not understand and feel the weight of the IV International. For this reason until recently they were agents representing the Healy group of England and they left it because Healy broke with them. The adventurist policy of Healy, the sectarian interests of Healy cannot sustain prolonged relations with any other group. The relation between Healy and Spartacist was not determined by any political basis, it is sufficient to see their publications, it was a simple agreement against Cannon. It expressed no political interest because

there was none, there is no revolutionary political programme or policy because both were against the Chinese revolution, against the Cuban revolution, against the workers party based on the trade unions in North America, against the perspective of the inevitable nuclear war.

We have discussed personally with these groups knowing that their positions were far from those of the IV International. We considered that it was possible to influence them, we tried to do so and we discussed with them twice afterwards. Gilly discussed with them and recently another comrade also. Through direct discussions with them, as through our documents, the newspapers of the sections which they know, which they have read, they have heard our positions. They know our positions including those on Guevara. We criticise Guevara, we fought against Guevara to persuade him, to try to win him over to our position, to try to influence him towards the positions of the IV International, because we have seen and understood that the Guevarist tendency was sensitive to revolutionary positions and effectively it was so. Guevara was eliminated because he was developing towards understanding the revolutionary positions of the world socialist revolution, for this reason they eliminated him.

## NATIONALISM, THE GUERRILLAS AND TROTSKYISM

When the 13th November revolutionary movement was disintegrating, we intervened and succeeded in reorganising it, impeding its dispersion and organising it on the basis of the programme of the socialist revolution which they accepted. The M.R.13 movement was with every guerilla movement a diffuse movement and we succeeded in gaining part of its leadership to the conscious programme of the IV International. In the declaration of the Sierra de las Minas of 1965, they accepted the programme of the socialist revolution and the struggle for the worker and peasant government and in the later declaration of November 1966 in reply to the attack of Fidel Castro on the M.R.13 movement, the leadership, the council of the 13 November movement rejected the attacks of Fidel Castro on the M.R.13 and on the IV International and declar-

ed its solidarity with the IV International and the acceptance of the orientation of the IV International.

Our objective was to enable the M.R.13 to function as a party and they accepted this and in their public declaration said so. A period was necessary to develop the effective functioning of the party. We based ourselves for this task on a sector of the team of the leadership for the M.R.13 against another, direct agents of the Communist Party and of Fidel Castro. We won. The assassination took place in August 1965 of 5 leaders and afterwards David Aguilar, Eunice Campiran, Francisco Amado and Chinto were assassinated; these four were members of the IV International. Of seven leaders of the M.R.13, 5 were members of the IV International. The assassination of our leaders was a direct action

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organised by the Communist Party stimulated by Fidel Castro, directly or indirectly to prevent the M.R.13 developing as a revolutionary party.

This experience of the M.R.13 was cut short but it was not lost. The forces opposed to the development of a socialist revolution in this particular experience were very powerful, they had material means and concrete means to repress the historic experience, of the passage of a guerrilla group to the functioning of a revolutionary party, defending the process of the socialist revolution. The expulsion of two members of the IV International, the denunciation against the IV International for the use of money has no historic importance. As has been stated in our documents, the use of money is conditioned by the interests of the world development of revolution, in arranging where it may be necessary to use it and also this money was obtained by the direct action of our comrades. But even when accusing us over the use of money, Yon Sosa declared that he was defending the programme of the IV International and publicly thanked the comrades of the IV International for everything which they had learned about marxism and as a revolutionary leadership.

The programme of the socialist revolution adopted by the M.R.13 put forward by our comrades has an immense influence. A month ago Douglas Bravo in an interview with a Mexican journalist wrote in the review "Sucesos" that in Venezuela, it was not possible to apply the programme of the socialist revolution of the M.R.13 and of the Trotskyists, because in Venezuela there are different conditions from those in Guatemala. A sector of the Columbian guerrillas has been guided by the programme of the socialist revolution of the M.R.13, they do not understand it all, but they try to follow the example of the M.R.13 movement.

As much in North America, as in Latin America, as in Asia and Africa, a very great discussion has taken place around the example, guided by the IV International, of a guerrilla group without a programme and disintegrating, elevating itself to accept and understand that there could not be a guerrilla group independent of the party, of the objective, of the programme of the socialist revolution.

And the programme of the socialist revolution is a force which guides the action of the party and the guerrillas form a part of the party, not acting as a force in themselves. It is an experience for the masses of the world. The organisation of the guerrillas is an inevitable consequence of the contradiction between the maturing of the objective conditions of the struggle for power, of the disorganisation, of the crisis of capitalism and of the bourgeoisie and of the absence of the revolutionary workers party of the masses and of the radicalisation of intellectual layers, professional layers of the petit bourgeoisie influenced by the world revolution. The guerrillas are an inevitable result of the process, the inevitable beginning of struggles which show revolutionary will and revolutionary decision. It is necessary to base oneself on this revolutionary will, to organise it in the service of the socialist revolution of which the struggle of the guerrillas forms part.

The revolutionary struggle of the peasants, petit bourgeois masses and of the soldiers advances and develops objective historical conditions not dependant on us. In different ways the stimulus which impels all these movements is the desire for the change of society. As there is no objective world centre to orientate them, they take the defused form of guerrillas and a selection is made among those who wish to overthrow capitalist power and those who are impelled to struggle but remain within individual discontent. That is the movement and thus it is necessary to intervene. Thus we intervened with the M.R.13 to raise it, to elevate it and to influence it with the programme of the socialist revolution, the groups and revolutionary tendencies. For this reason came the attack of Fidel Castro in the

Tri-Continental Conference because it showed that the IV International was capable, that we were capable of taking a revolutionary movement in dissolution and transforming it into a functioning party.

This experience was not completed because they assassinated the political leadership of this movement; a political leadership which was being in part gained by the IV International but they were not able to prevent the programme of the socialist revolution and the IV International influencing the guerrillas and revolutionary currents of Asia, Africa and Latin America and also a section of the radicalised petit bourgeoisie of the United States. This is an experience and a conquest already realised which pro-

## THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA AND THE ORGANISATION OF TROTSKYISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The 'Cultural revolution' the political revolution in China shows objectively with complete precision that it is not possible to be mistaken. The masses intervene giving a progressive revolutionary road with a concrete programme against the administrators; revocability of mandate; democratic elections; equality of wages; workers committees in factories to direct the factories with equal pay exercising the right of criticism; the military leaders are obliged to work as workers; elimination of administrators and the function of officials does not allow the right to economic, political and social privileges. And they increase production, this is an immense conquest of the political revolution. As great as the conquests of the Russian revolution. It is a process, with the structure as outlined. And the team of Mao Tse Tung timidly accompanied this process. Our struggle is not against Mao Tse Tung but has the object of impelling Mao to go forward and the tendency to the left of Mao Tse Tung, which has the leadership. This process is clear and for this reason the masses of the world support it, they see it sympathetically because they see that they are advancing and that the masses intervene and the sense, the historic consciousness of the masses of the world is not mistaken and they desire this. They see that they wish to impel progress. The inclination towards left centrism of Fidel Castro is clear and decisive. How long he is going to last we do not know but the tendency towards the left indicates an enormous pressure of the revolutionary Guevarist tendency. Our section in Cuba although repressed and with some comrades arrested develops activity, publishes a programmatic document for the progress of the revolution. It is the only workers state in which the Trotskyists can function and in semi-clandestinity. This is possible because there is a centrist leadership. The nuclear war is inevitable, it is enough to look at the behaviour of Imperialism in Vietnam to realise that it is inevitable. We tried to convince the Spartacist group of North America of this. This in our documents personally we have tried to persuade them. In our documents there are always analysis and conclusions. They know them.

...Spartacist was not and is not a Trotskyist group. We hoped to gain them to Trotskyism. In North America this group had more radicalised positions than others, in some aspects it has correct position on the class struggle, but not on the revolutionary class struggle that is to say how to organise the masses in the mass party based on the trade unions. They ignore this necessity and historic task proposed by Trotsky. They compare Mao Tse Tung with Stalinism, they compare the process of the political revolution in China as a Stalinist need to deceive the masses and 'conceal the internal economic crisis'. They ignore the process of the political revolution in China, they ignore the historic importance of the Guevarist tendency and the difference between the Guevarist tendency and ourselves. They conceal this differentiation. All our efforts to try to gain this group have been in vain, this

vides a base and experience which will be a guide for the next guerrilla and revolutionary movement.

The historic difference of beneficial importance for the action of the IV International which has influenced the M.R.13 and other Guerrilla groups is that it shows with an outstanding example from life itself, that it was possible to develop the activity of the guerrilla group in the firm objective of the programme of the socialist revolution. This can be seen as possible and necessary. With this conception we have gained the Guevarist tendency. We have influenced while we have criticised and we struggle to elevate them to the consciousness of the programme of the socialist revolution of this stage.

group shows its rejection of the road of revolutionary organisation of learning from the experiences of history, learning from the IV International on the revolutionary struggle, on the experiences analysis and conclusions, but they do not only resist, they refuse to learn and now in their recent publications, they accuse us of positions which are not ours. They conceal our programme, our objectives, pervert our positions, slander our comrades, stab them in the back and are incapable of understanding the revolutionary process in Cuba and in China and the significance of the M.R.13 and of the IV International. In their recent publication this group presents Posadas as an hysterical 'Guevarista' as an adventurer and say that 'Posadas and his group' preferred Yon Sosa and his money and stabbed the Guatemalan proletariat in the back, they say that we abandoned the organisation and programme of the revolutionary party, that we enjoy the prospect of the nuclear war and that we are a group perverted by the desire for notoriety seeking notoriety. These are the conclusions of this Spartacist group. This group when they make all these calumnies and denigrations, as Fidel Castro has done, do not do so because they do not know our positions and programmes; they know everything but they deliberately lie, try to conceal our positions, our analysis, our programme, and our development. They speak 'of the hysterical Guevarista Posadas' and they do not explain anything. They do not analyse anything with this slander, they seek to caluminate and denigrate. All these denigrations are the product of a group which feels that we have authority in their own ranks. This group speak of 'Posadas and his group' when

we have 14 sections, when the IV International has 14 newspapers brings out bulletins, the Latin American Marxist Review, the European Marxist Review, has comrades arrested and denounced publicly in the bourgeois press for revolutionary activities in Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Peru, Spain, Argentine, Bolivia, Guatemala, when they intervene in elections in Uruguay, Peru, and France, and are publicly attacked by Fidel Castro as an organisation.

This should impose respect on honest revolutionaries and this Spartacist group knowing all the newspapers and activities of the IV International speaks of the "Posadas group", this is an attempt to slander and denigrate and diminish the development of the IV International, to make themselves feel more important.

They do not feel the political revolution in China, in Cuba, and in the world, and in their consciousness and publications there is neither the language nor the revolutionary spirit which comes from these movements and for this reason they speak of the 'Posadas group'. On the other hand they receive the influence of Imperialism, which expresses itself in their arrogant attitude, remote from reality and ignoring the visible fact of the IV International. This contempt is the direct influence of American imperialism, of the military weight of American imperialism which makes them feel strong, powerful and hence they despise the truth. They do not feel strong with the political revolution in China with the revolution throughout the world with the IV International, with the 14 sections of the IV International and for this reason they publish in their newspaper of November and December 1966 the principle article with the title 'Maoism runs Amock' (a monstrous attitude). For this reason the contemptuous judgement of the Chinese revolution is not an objective judgement. For this reason in their newspaper, Vietnam is almost absent, and they speak of China, to attack the political revolution. In one way or another, it is the expression of the influence of American imperialism, of the arrogance of imperialism combined with the inability in these sectors of the radicalised petit bourgeoisie in North America to learn from the masses of the world. They laugh at the world experience of the masses and among them that of the IV International. For this reason instead of learning from us, they denigrate us. This shows that we are having an influence on sectors of the petit bourgeoisie of the North American masses and they are playing the role which American imperialism needs to oppose us, from apparent Marxist positions, using the name of Trotskyism, counterposing the development of the revolution and im-

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## Young Norwegian Socialists demand the release of Trotskyists pro-Chines and students in Spain

Student League of the Peoples Socialist Party,  
Postboks 115  
Blindern  
Oslo 3,  
Norway

Oslo, Norway April, 3rd. 1967.

To The Minister of Justice  
Palacio de Gobierno  
Madrid.  
Your Excellency,

The Student League of the Peoples Socialist Party of Norway (122,000 votes and 6 per cent of the electorate at the last general elections) have with great concern noted the recent arrests of several members and sympathisers of the Partido Comunista Espanola, (Marxista-Leninista), the Democratic Union of Spanish Students and the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista).

We have also noted the subsequent brutal treatment of the prisoners by the police.

We find this a mockery of the principles of "justice", "defence of the western civilization", "Christianity" and other principles you yourself supposed to be a representative for.

We demand immediate liberty for the arrested comrades.

Yours faithfully,

Anton Hellesy  
(Chairman)

Harold Dahl  
(Secretary)

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masses. The Americans feel, follow the struggle of the masses and their resistance to imperialism and this helps them to understand the need to oppose Yankee Imperialism. Even though still today in the form of a small worker-student vanguard and in the form of mobilisations, they are preparing the road for the development of revolutionary struggles against imperialism. What makes difficult, fundamentally, the further advance of the building of the worker, student intellectual vanguard, who receive the objective influence of the struggles of the masses of the world, is that at the same time they see, and feel that the Communist parties, that the leaderships of Workers states, The Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the other workers states are carrying out a policy of opposition to the revolution, of agreement with Yankee Imperialism, of pacts and alliances of every type with imperialism, while they oppose, do not appeal to, are not seen to organise the activity to overthrow capitalism. This is the principal support, of the authority of Yankee imperialism over the masses.

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
18. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
19. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
20. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
21. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
22. For a workers government.

# Vietnam, the political revolution in China, the Workers Party...

The American masses feel the authority of the 14 Workers states, but they cannot serve as historic political points of support for the organisation of the class because the policy which these Workers states are carrying out is conciliation with world capitalism. But in spite of this contradiction, there is a vanguard which mobilises, which is the sector which by its social conditions can mobilise, escaping the political control of capitalism: they are the students, who show that they are a sector which capitalism cannot control. This shows that in every way in spite of the development of the economic power of American capitalist society, the influence of the world revolution penetrates where it can, seeking the sensitive wings which can receive it, the students, the teachers, and part of the sector of the proletariat, of the intellectuals, who are the vanguard of the American masses.

Because of this the political revolution in China, the mobilisations of the masses in China, will increase the influence of the revolution upon all the American exploited masses. They will see in the mobilisations of the Chinese masses what a sector of the vanguard wants to do, that is to say to oppose itself to the trade union dictatorship, to impose the recognition of the rights of the negroes and to struggle for an independent and class policy. The development of the political revolution in China, in all of its extens-

### THE ABSENCE OF THE INDEPENDANT MASS PARTY AND THE NECESSITY TO ORGANISE IT

American Imperialism has succeeded in impeding the Workers Party, the independent party, of the American masses from organising itself. The masses do not have a party, nor a trade union life. The system of gangsters in the United States extends from the grill factory to the steel factory, to atomic arms, to the trade unions. The American proletariat does not have ways to organise its independent public opinion. And in spite of everything, the influence of the world revolution penetrates. As it cannot express itself in the proletariat, because it does not have liberty nor independence to speak, discuss, and express itself, it is shown through these organs of American society which have a certain independence.

It still does not have important electoral effects because the elections are not democratic in the United States, as in any other capitalist country. The elections are all calculated, organised, faked. The fraud in the United States is not at the moment of putting the vote; it is before this, in preventing people from voting, feeling, because there is no political party, there is no political life, there is no exchange of ideas. The manner in which the public opinion of the working class is formed is very superficial.

It is necessary to feel the depth of the restlessness of the American masses. One must not see the superficial appearance which makes it appear that the American masses are not interested. If the American masses were not interested, imperialism would already have smashed Vietnam, they would already have smashed it. Why don't they destroy everything in Vietnam? Why don't they declare war on Vietnam? Because then it would force the American people to intervene. It is frightened of the reaction of the masses. And moreover, the reaction of the soviet masses, because they would oblige the soviet bureaucracy to take up more of a policy of direct confrontation.

It is not economic, financial, military power of Yankee imperialism which has prevented the organisation of Marxist revolutionary currents within the American proletariat, because Yankee imperialism has not been able to prevent the influence of the world revolution on the intellectuals and worker vanguard of the American masses.

ion, even with delays and conciliations in the internal struggle fulfills an unequalled historic function to support the vanguard of the American masses, to organise them in independent and class organisms.

With the development of the struggle of the masses in Vietnam, in Santo Domingo and the struggle of the Chinese masses, even empirically, against the policy of alliance with capitalism which the Soviet Bureaucracy is carrying out, this process has influenced directly the vanguard of the American masses and has expressed itself directly in the mobilisations of the negroes, of the students, of the intellectuals and in strikes, as in those by the auto workers.

The declaration of Reuther condemning the leadership of the AFL-CIO for its support of the war in Vietnam expresses in an indirect way the resistance to the Vietnam war which is in the proletarian base, and this is the essential condition and the basis for the unification of the struggles of the negroes and the whites to overthrow Yankee capitalism. The world revolution, the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the world are a support to the proletariat, to the radicalised petit bourgeoisie of the United States to help them to find the road of independent class and revolutionary organisation. This is the fundamental task of the next stage; the necessity for the independent organisation of the American masses, the Marxist Revolutionary Party.

The essential support of capitalism, in that the working class does not push forward, is because the workers see the Soviet Union doing the same thing as Yankee imperialism; it sees the Soviet Union doing the same thing as Yankee imperialism in relation to China. It is the same, it sees no differences. It does not see that the trade unions in the United States are any worse than those in the Soviet Union. In the U.S.S.R. it doesn't see a workers assembly, it doesn't see meetings, it does not see demonstrations—it doesn't necessarily have to see strikes—it doesn't see independent trade union life, it does not see the independent political life of the masses. What propaganda can the soviet bureaucracy make with respect to the American masses? Comparing the United States with the U.S.S.R. can they say: "here we live better"? No! the American proletariat lives better than the Soviet proletariat. It lives better, has a superior standard of living.

The superiority which the soviets could use in order to influence the American masses, is social superiority, in which they say "certainly, our economy has not reached the level of the American economy, but socially we decide, we are free, our heads think, decide, and resolve. We command!" It is the call of history which goes to the American masses. In economic comparison, the American economy is superior to the Soviet Workers state. But socially it is not. And the American proletariat see this.

The true historic essential reason, which has prevented the organisation of the largest revolutionary tendency in the U.S.A. is the absence of a world marxist centre of historic weight. None of the leaderships of the communist parties, of the workers states of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, base themselves on Marxism but on the policy of conciliation with capitalism. And even the Chinese during the whole period until now have based themselves on a hybrid partially Marxist policy, but in the main, one that is opportunist and conciliatory. Consequently the American masses, the worker and intellectual vanguard of America, living in the country with the highest elevated economic development do not have solid points of support to develop the revolutionary current. Now they have it and it is going

to become accentuated. But the specific independent political organisation of the class is necessary which allows the vanguard to organise, to be able to influence and organise the masses for the struggle against American capitalism, preparing itself against the atomic war, defeating Yankee capitalism to organise the revolutionary fight of the American masses, and to construct socialist society.

But meanwhile in this period of transition, a transitional programme is necessary to organise the daily struggles, the economic and political demands, the defence of the democratic rights of the masses and the policy which tends to the unification of the black and white masses. For this reason the independent party of the exploited masses, the independent party—which to organise itself must base itself on the historic conditions of struggle and the tradition of struggle and organisation of the exploited masses of the United States—is necessary. The masses are strongly centralised in their trade unions. If Yankee imperialism had capitalist dominion over the consciousness of the American masses they would not be organised in their trade unions. Each one would try to settle things as he could. The iron organisation of the masses in their trade unions, even in the most elevated development of American capitalism, expresses the class consciousness of the American masses and the awareness of their differentiation from capitalism. For this reason this declaration of Reuther which appears at this particular moment has an importance. Starting from this traditional historical organisation of the masses in their trade unions, it is necessary to organise the WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS.

The form of organisation of independent trade unions of the exploited masses in the United States is the workers party based on the trade unions. This was posed by Trotsky to the American Trotskyists in the years 1936, 1937 and 1940 and it continues to be valid because for this task neither the conditions nor the historic needs of the American masses have been modified. In the U.S.A. there has existed tens of Trotskyist groups and parties, all have decomposed—beginning with the Socialist Workers Party which is the oldest of them all, which no longer pretends nor continues to represent Trotskyism but which is a socialist liberal movement. The ignoring of, and the failure to organise the task of the workers party based on the trade unions has led to disorganisation, capitulation, sectarianism, conservatism and the sect life of the groups who call themselves Trotskyists. Their attitudes, their policy towards the negroes is paternalist, protectionist. They ignore the workers party based on the trade unions to bind, to unite the struggles in the United States with the forms which the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world are acquiring.

The revolution and the organisation of the revolution have no forms. The revolutionary struggle the revolutionary anti-capitalist objectives of the masses are precise, but the forms of the development are imprecise. The policy of conciliation with capitalism by the soviet bureaucracy and by the communist parties, the sabotage by these of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the conciliatory policy of "Four Classes" which the Chinese had until a little time ago, until this internal public fight, impedes the masses who want to struggle, who are progressing in their labour of struggle, who are the immense majority of the masses of the world, thus it prevents them from having precise, direct forms, direct independent revolutionary and class organisms. It impedes their assimilating in an organic way, the experiences of the revolutionary struggles in order to apply them in an organic and organised way in each country.

The essential contradiction of this stage of history is the profound and invincible desire of the masses of the world to destroy capitalism and the absence of leaderships and of organisms of the masses which lead them to this end, which unify and organise them around the conscious programme. Because of this the development of the revolutionary struggles of the masses, of the leaderships which are organising themselves in the course of this process do not have the precise forms, the organic forms of a Marxist revolutionary

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## Vietnam, the political revolution in China, the Workers Party...

party. But the masses, advance on the anti-capitalist road as in Mali, Tanzania, over coming on the way their own leadership, to whom they were united at the beginning. This is the case of Algeria, Mali, the revolutionary movement 13th of November of Guatemala, of the leaderships who receive the direct influence of the revolution and who afterwards are partially blocked as in the M.R. 13. Even in this case of the 13th November movement, the direct sabotage of the Communist Party, of Fidel Castro and the liquidation of the political leadership of the guerrillas, the assassination of David Aguilar, Eunice Campiran, Francisco Amado, and Chinto has worked in this partial obstruction. This is the essential contradiction in this stage of history.

In the ascendancy of their struggles, the masses do not find an authority of historical weight—to separate themselves from the leaderships in the development of the struggle, the leaderships who have delayed, become conservative or fear development of the revolution—in the workers states in order to support and organise the masses against the leading bureaucracy. From this stems the historical importance of the actual struggle in the political revolution in China. The failure of the so-called Trotskyist groups lies in their failure to understand this process and in refusing to understand it, whether in China, in Cuba, the movements which are actually taking place.

The workers party based on the trade unions in the U.S.A. is a historical necessity. It is necessary to organise it, it is the essential policy which is going to unify the whites and negroes for the struggle for the socialist revolution. A campaign must be made with the appeal to unify the defence of the masses of Vietnam, with the support for the political revolution in China, supporting proletarian democracy, workers control, the socialist stimulus and the appeal for the organisation of soviets in China. It is necessary to appeal to the revolutionary wing which approaches this programme without waiting for it to understand everything. It is necessary to explain this process to the American masses, to unite it to the struggle for its demands in America: for the liberty of the press, of speech, and of ideas; for trade union democracy, for the rights of trade union tendencies, for the democratic election with revocability of representatives, for the raising of salaries so that all the increase of production and productivity goes to the benefit of the masses, for workers control of production and finance, for a programme of social benefits to eliminate unemployment; for unconditional support of the masses in Vietnam, to discuss in the trade unions and to support the political revolution in China, for racial equality based on the struggle against capitalism, for the direct election of delegates from sections of the factories, for trade union meetings, and discussions in each section of the factory, so that their delegates defend the rights of each section, to improve the conditions of work in the factory, for

better conditions of life for the masses; for a plan of house building, of public works to improve the conditions of housing for the population; for the sliding scale of wages and the sliding scale of hours of work; for a working week of 40 and 36 hours of work, which is to generalise the conquest of the printing workers for 36 hours of work.

It is necessary to make a campaign for the workers party based on the trade unions explaining that leaderships, groups, delegates from the trade unions must be appointed to organise the basis of this party, to discuss within the workers movement. The enormous energies and social weight of the American petit bourgeoisie can be channelled to the service of the socialist revolution in America, and in the world through the workers party based on the trade unions. The leadership of this party must be worker, in the main basing itself upon the support of the trade unions and in the factories. Intellectuals, university people can be integrated into the party and its leadership but what gives it its character and structure is the programme of anti-capitalist struggle.

The objective of the struggle, the workers and farmers government in the United States, of unconditional support to the struggle of the black masses for social and racial equality is only possible to achieve with the fight for socialism and with the setting up of a workers and farmers government. This is the propagandist form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is necessary to unite these activities with the unconditional support for the political revolution in China, with the unconditional defence of Vietnam and the revolution in Asia, Latin America, Africa, Europe and in the Workers states. It is necessary to appeal for a discussion with all the workers, intellectuals university movement, on the process of crisis of the bureaucracy of the workers states, the process of development of the political revolution in China, to support the struggle of the wing in China trying to impel the political revolution. At the same time it is necessary to agitate and to make appeals and not to delay oneself by the limitations of this wing in China and to call for the organisation of soviets, proletarian democracy, calling for the mobilisation and a full discussion in the trade unions, in the workers districts, in the factories for everyone to discuss all the problems of the Chinese and world revolution.

It is necessary to agitate, to raise the propaganda for the workers party based on the trade unions without waiting for it to be organised, and to be based on

the trade unions, in the movement in general to support all the groups and sectors who orientate themselves and defend the rights of the workers, the political, trade union and democratic rights, their class demands, the democratic right to decide and change leaders. It is necessary to appeal for unification and to function as a tendency, to function nationally. It is necessary to orientate, to discuss and to advance in the measures for the workers party based on the trade unions.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN NORTH AMERICA

Imperialism prepares the nuclear war, its action against the masses in Vietnam is the direct preamble to this. They are preparing the invasion of China. But in spite of their economic and financial weight, American imperialism feels that it cannot compete with the development of the workers states and of the world revolution. Socially the masses have been gained for communism. The peasant masses have already broken their isolation and accept the construction of socialism. China is the example which shows the unconfined influence of the peasant masses of the world. It demonstrates the creative capacity, the capacity for a correct historic vision of the exploited masses of the world.

Imperialism advances constantly in its military and economic weight, but retreats constantly in its authority and social weight in the world. The disintegration of capitalism increases and deepens. European capitalism tries to benefit, to draw advantage at the cost of its competitor, Yankee imperialism, from the war in Vietnam, the world crisis of imperialism, but above all tries to canalise in its favour the policy of peaceful co-existence, of alliance with capitalism, from the conservative counter revolutionary interests of the leadership of the communist parties, of the government of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, of Poland and the other workers states.

The soviet bureaucracy, Kosyguin, Podgorny in his tour through Europe and in the interview with the Pope, tried to convince capitalism that the communist parties and the government of the workers states were disposed to unite with European capitalism, guaranteeing them, organising them to sabotage the revolution, using the communist parties and the workers states as dikes of restraint and of sabotage of the revolutionary struggles of the masses. The defence of its conservative interests, bureaucratic and counter revolutionary, leads the soviet bureau-

cracy to this capitulationist, corrupted and miserable policy. It is the only policy which its miserable conservative interests can offer to try to restrain Yankee imperialism. The European bourgeoisie tries to make use of this conservative necessity of the soviet bureaucracy and of the communist parties to increase their weight in the competition with Yankee imperialism and to block, to repress the revolutionary struggle of the European proletariat which seeks to overthrow capitalism. The Spanish masses raise their struggle against Franco, demonstrate that they are disposed to overthrow it in a short time. Against this is the fact that the soviet bureaucracy seeks a pact with European capitalism. To defend itself, to defend its conservative interests it has to ally itself with the European bourgeoisie. For the same reason it opposes and attacks the revolutionary wing and the political revolution in China.

The more the activity in North America progresses, for the organisation of the worker, intellectual, university current which intervenes actively in the world course of the revolution and particularly the political revolution in China, in Cuba the more it will favour the organic bases, programmatic bases for the development of the revolutionary current for the workers party based on the trade unions, for the revolutionary leadership which organises the masses, before, during and after the nuclear war to take power and to construct socialism. The more dynamic and profound this activity, the more historic time is gained. Imperialism is preparing the nuclear war as a reply to the world development of the revolution but it cannot prevent the masses in the United States gaining historic positions, advancing the concrete, trade union and political tasks, and lessening thus the effects and the criminal consequences of the world war which American imperialism prepares with world capitalism and the counter revolutionary policy of the soviet bureaucracy.

Without waiting for the organisation and functioning of the workers party based on the trade unions, it is necessary to try to develop activities which give confidence to a sector of the class whether black or white. The development of the struggles of the masses in Vietnam, in Santo Domingo, the development of the political revolution in China has already influenced the North American worker, intellectual and university vanguard to advance on the road of struggle for the anti capitalist, anti imperialist revolutionary policy. This elevated course will help them much more. But the fundamental base to advance in dialectical leaps is the organisation, the solid resolved team, which learns from this process of history and uses the world process of the revolution, understanding it as the basis for the organisation of the revolutionary tasks in the United States. This is the fundamental task of the Trotskyists as a conscious vanguard, however shall among the North American masses.

16. 2. 67

## OUT WITH IMPERIALISM FROM ADEN AND THE MIDDLE-EAST

The crises in Aden and Somalia show that the colonial revolution whatever the delays en route continues against imperialism with unabated vigour, despite the absence of any revolutionary centre to provide the masses with leadership. The struggle of the masses in Aden and the Yeman has undoubtedly had the effect of influencing the masses in Somalia. The elections in the latter country apparently voted to remain under French control. We can dismiss this result utterly. The elections were conducted under the terroristic pressure of French troops. Imperialism is delaying its departure from this territory as long as possible but the rioting when the results were announced showed the true feeling of the masses. The absence of a centre prevents greater successes for the Somali masses but at the same time the French gain nothing in authority. If the revolution in these

areas had a centre, the struggle of the Adeni and the Somali masses would have brilliant success.

Under the pressure of the Adeni masses and the inability to carry the necessary burdens of military expenditure, British imperialism is trying to cut down its military responsibilities as far as possible. Nevertheless it intends to rule the South Arabian Federation by indirect means and the recent savage repression carried out against the nationalist organisations show that imperialism however weak it may be, fights back ferociously to defend itself and weaken the revolution as much as it can. The arrival of the UNO mission was a means of trying to arrange matters to the general advantage of imperialism, and now UNO condemns Britain!

Nasser has doubtless been stimulating the intervention of the national masses

but although the fissures in the Arab alliance—that between the sector Arabia-Jordan attached to imperialism and the Egypt-Syria sector whose leadership is more responsive to the revolution—deepen all the time, he is still incapable of putting forward the programme for the United Socialist Federation of Arab States. His attitude remains one of paternalism towards the masses and his interventions are confined to military intervention. This is not to underrate the positive aspects of Nasser's response to the pressure of the masses but it remains limited.

The crisis in Nigeria where imperialism intervenes indirectly, the intervention of the army in the elections in Sierra Leone, the riots in Somalia, the struggle in Aden show the enormous instability of the Arab and African worlds for imperialism and capitalism. The failure of the workers

states, the failure of the leadership of the Chinese workers state despite the enormous advances of the political revolution to pose a clear revolutionary programme—soviets, communes, land to the peasants, workers control, United Socialist States of Africa and the Middle East, means that the whole of this rich process is protracted, and made the more bloody for the masses. In the areas under review, Nigeria, Aden, Somalia, the masses pay all the time with their lives for the absence of a clear policy from the workers states.

We appeal for the intensification of the workers struggles in Great Britain as the best way to aid the Adeni revolution. And we call upon the workers committees and the trade unions to organise demonstrations demanding the withdrawal of all British troops from abroad and the dismantling of all bases.

# Spartacist and imperialism united against Trotskyism

Continued from page 5

peding its influence in North America. For this reason they are against the vital and decisive centres of the world revolution.

The fundamental condition for the development of Trotskyism in North America is the understanding, the attempt to understand the objective world development of the world revolution particularly of the workers states of China and Cuba and of Trotskyism as it is today, the IV International. Because these are the centres of the revolution. It is these that give and will give to the revolutionary North American vanguard, the security to organise themselves under the Marxist revolutionary programme.

Now again these groups who call themselves Trotskyists slander and lie because they are afraid to see the truth, for this reason they do not discuss, neither do they base themselves on reality, on the positions which the IV International hold and they do not base themselves on the 14 sections, on the 14 newspapers of the Latin American Marxist Review, of the International. If this Spartacist group was honest, it would not be afraid of the truth, it would feel secure and would want to advance on the road of Marxism discussing our positions such as they are. When we say that the nuclear war is inevitable, we show that it is. As our Masters Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky we do not cause, do not provoke the war. This is the inevitable consequence of the capitalist government and of the capitalist system against the workers states and against the revolution. We prepare ourselves for this perspective.

This Spartacist group which accuses us of being Guevarista and wanting a nuclear war lies and refuses to tell the truth. Well what is the policy against this? to say that the nuclear war is not inevitable is to base oneself on the perspectives of being able to live with the capitalist regime of peaceful co-existence. This is the policy of imperialism, of the soviet bureaucracy of the radicalised petit bourgeoisie incapable of understanding the Bolshevik party and the nuclear war as it is.

Spartacist is not a Marxist group, it is an arrogant group which despises Marxism, it does not base itself on experience, but offers impressionism and panic fear in front of the nuclear war as a substitute for Marxism.

As in 1945 the Socialist Workers Party,

from whence comes Spartacist, developed the campaign of the International together with Pablo, Germain and the other capitulators that Peronism was Fascism. This was a direct necessity, served directly American imperialism, to prevent the process of Peronista nationalism influencing the North American petit bourgeoisie. This Spartacist group together with Healy in England, with Pablo, Pierre Frank, Livio and the other capitulators offer an elevated service to imperialism, to the capitalist system, slandering and impugning the political revolution in China these people with this attitude show that nothing more can be expected of them. This Spartacist groups shows that our attempt to gain it or influence it, has had no success. They reject us. Their attacks on us reflect their profound irritation, the profound reactionary irritation of this group against us, because the policy, the revolutionary objective of the IV International show their conservative and conciliatory conception in struggle and their resistance and rejection of the Bolshevik role of organisation, their refusal to learn from the masses of the IV International, to organise their life in accord with the revolutionary necessities of the centralised Bolshevik life whose centre is to learn from the masses of the world.

Their contempt for the political revolution in Cuba and China and the masses of the world is immense. In December 1966 Spartacist attacked the M.R. 13. and also Posadas in an article: "The M.R. 13. and hysterical "Marxist" criticism" showing their contempt for the Cuban masses, particularly the proletariat declaring: "it is necessary to record also the Cuban proletariat had no part in the triumph of the revolution". Fidel Castro also said this. Without the strikes which the proletariat made, the constant struggles of the proletariat and without the strike of December, Fidel Castro and the guerrillas would not have triumphed. Their contempt for the political revolution in China shows the immense influence of the lack of confidence in the world revolution.

We no longer intend to influence this group. It is an insignificant small group both in number and activity. This group a few month ago published a defence of the comrades arrested in Mexico, which is in apparent contradiction with this attack, with these slanders on the International and Posadas. There is no such

contradiction. They will defend our comrades arrested in Mexico without compromising themselves, which was a way to gain authority before the petit bourgeoisie and included trying to show as their activity, the activity of the comrades arrested in Mexico. Spartacist has nothing in common with the IV International, soon there will be in North America nuclei of Trotskyists who struggle for the programme of the IV International.

We reiterate that the leadership of this group knows the articles in polemic with the M.R. 13 where in a persuasive form, we tried to impel the M.R. 13 to function as a party and to defend and to base itself on the proletariat for the struggle for the socialist revolution, but at the same time the social base, the social historic force is the peasantry on which the proletariat must base itself to take power. This in all the articles in our life and this group knowing these articles makes these slanderous criticisms hiding our positions and they repeat as theirs without understanding the case, the proletariat has to find a form and a way to gain access to the peasantry, to organise and to base itself on the struggles which are in agreement with the possibilities and experiences of the peasantry. This is the Trotskyism of today which these people refuse to learn from.

They slander us saying that we abandon the programme and the proletarian organisation and referring to the programme of the socialist revolution of the M.R. 13., they say: "the programme of the M.R. 13. promises nothing but a repetition of this type of revolution; a deformed bureaucracy for the workers;" (December 1966). These people as before in the S.W.P. as with Schachtman judges the world on the line of their narrow rationalist petit bourgeois mentality that has nothing to do with Marxism, ignoring the specific forms of each country to which the principles and forms of organisation must adapt themselves. Spartacist declares that we abandon the organisation of the proletariat for the organisation of the peasantry. This is the declaration of an arrogant overbearing type. Where is this? It does not give a single line from where this is taken. It is a slanderous mentality which has to invent this, it is enough to see our newspapers, our activity, our programme, our objective our struggle to see that we do not abandon any proletarian activity and

that we organise it in countries of peasants struggles. It is sufficient to see our articles and our texts on Guatemala. When they attack us publicly it is because they express the irritation of sectors of the radicalised petit bourgeoisie who feel themselves protective and adopt a paternalist attitude towards the masses of the world and feel themselves bypassed by them.

Every group which in the United States tries to take the road of revolution and does not understand and assimilate the experience of the revolution in China and in Cuba, every group which does not base itself on the struggle of the International rapidly decomposes. This group has already taken the road of decomposition and as an organisation which seeks to develop itself as a revolutionary group, it is dead.

In North America there is in process the development of the influence of the world revolution particularly of China on very large strata of the radicalised petit bourgeoisie and of the proletariat. The recent declaration of Reuther against A.F.L.C.I.C. shows this, because this organisation supports the action of American Imperialism in Vietnam. This declaration of Reuther shows that within the heart of the petit bourgeoisie and of the proletariat they are feeling the beneficial effects of the political revolution in China.

This Spartacist group ignores what is happening within the proletariat. They repeat Trotsky and draw attention to Trotsky; they wish to establish identical parallels between different historical situations and the necessity of difference actions, and when it is convenient to them, they use the name of Trotsky believing to make use of him. To do this they amputate Trotsky, the essential element of Trotsky is thinking, was to apply the method of scientific interpretation in each case, Marxism in each objective situation. And today it is necessary to apply Marxism, dialectical materialism, such as it is given today. For this reason these people have ceased applying Trotsky in the United States, the Trotsky who proposed to analyse and demonstrated the necessity for the workers party based on the trade unions. Today this necessity is still valid but the Spartacist group ignores it, just like the S.W.P. the father of this group ignored it.

## CASTRO'S SPEECH REFLECTS THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA

In attacking, as he did recently, Soviet aid and technical assistance to Latin American governments, Fidel Castro is attacking the policy of peaceful co-existence. The bureaucratic leadership of the Soviet Union continually sustains the weak capitalist economies and bourgeois governments of the Latin American Continent. In the same way as it aids, the ailing capitalist economies of Europe with contracts to build factories in the Soviet Union.

Castro, in seeking to maintain his own bureaucratic position, has, in the past, allied himself with the soviet bureaucracy and followed the line of peaceful co-existence. Revolutionary tendencies within the Cuban workers state are, in fact, suppressed by the Castro leadership. Che Guevara, who represents the left tendency in the Cuban leadership, has disappeared and two comrades of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista) the Cuban section of the IVth International are, at this moment, imprisoned in Cuba.

However, Castro feels the pressure of the world revolution, of the Latin American revolution and of the revolutionary masses of Cuba. The policy of conciliation with Imperialism, which is the policy of the soviet bureaucracy, can no longer be maintained by Castro in the face of the developing struggle of the masses in Latin America, and the

impact of the political revolution in China.

Castro, then, is forced to react to the struggle of the masses of Mexico, of Guatemala, of Bolivia and Peru. He senses in a centrist fashion that the defence of the Cuban workers state, and its development towards socialism, depends on the creation of workers states in the whole of the Latin American continent. But, his attacks on the soviet bureaucracy reflects the development of the political revolution in Cuba. "Whoever helps these oligarchies who are fighting the guerrillas," Castro stated in a recent speech, "is also helping to suppress the revolution." Under the pressure of the Cuban masses, Castro zig-zags to the left.

He has also pointed out that at the same time as a soviet trade mission was actually visiting Colombia, the leadership of the Communist Party was being arrested, in Bogota, by the government. In fact, virtually the whole of the politburo of the Colombian Communist Party is in prison.

Castro supports the section of the Venezuelan Communist Party who continue to wage an armed struggle despite the fact that the Venezuelan Communist Party have made an official decision to abandon guerilla warfare.

Last year Castro said that Cuba

would have every reason to feel hurt if "anybody" gave aid to the Frei regime in Chile. In fact, an agreement under which the Soviet Union gave technical aid to Chile was signed in January. Thus, the soviet bureaucrats are supporting President Frei who is a christian-democrat and intent on maintaining capitalism in Chile. Without the aid of the soviet bureaucracy Frei would have to lean heavily on American imperialism and expose himself even more before the Chilean masses. Soviet aid enables him to use the authority of the Soviet State in holding back the struggle of the Chilean masses for an end to capitalism, for workers power and for socialism. Far more violently than on any other occasion, Castro has attacked the counter revolutionary actions of the soviet bureaucracy.

However, despite his attack on the policy of peaceful co-existence, Castro and the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party, continue to follow a policy of suppression within Cuba. Che Guevara has disappeared and is probably dead, but Castro says nothing! Freedom of tendency within the working class movement is still denied and the comrades of the POR(T) are still in prison! If Castro intends to develop the struggle toward socialism it is necessary for him to free the imprisoned revolutionaries

and to support genuine workers democracy in Cuba. It is not enough to make verbal attacks on the soviet bureaucracy, and it is not enough to be photographed helping with the sugarcane harvest.

The POR(T), the Cuban section of the IVth International, have called for the immediate application of the law 962 (1961), passed under the minister of labour, which ensures opportunity for full trade union rights—for the right of tendency within the Cuban workers movement. The programme of the Cuban comrades, the programme of the IVth International is: for the control of all aspects of the Cuban workers state, social-economic-political, by committees of workers and peasants (soviets), the right of instant recall of all representatives, the right of tendency within the workers movement. It has again been reiterated by the Cuban comrades in a very comprehensive document (published in Frente Obrero) sent to Premier Castro. This reflects the audacity of our comrades, despite political persecution and is an example of the power of Trotskyist ideas despite the obstacles of bureaucratic pressures.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

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SIXPENCE

## EDITORIAL

### The resolutions in the T.U. conferences and the abstentions in the bye-election show the maturing of revolutionary tendencies

The British masses are feeling the influence of the world revolution. The advance of the political revolution in China, the struggle of the Vietnam masses, the strikes and demonstrations by the masses of Aden against British Imperialism and the coup d'etat by a section of the Greek ruling class to try to contain the advance of the Greek workers and peasants are all events which are influencing the consciousness of the vanguard in this country. This influence compensates for the absence of a revolutionary leadership, encourages the workers, the students, and the poor petit bourgeoisie to continue their struggles in the face of all the opposition and treachery of their leaderships.

Because of the absence of a mass revolutionary party the workers cannot express directly their opposition to Capitalism, but the recent trade union conference of the A.E.U., D.A.T.A. (the Draughtmen and Technical Workers Union) and U.S.D.A.W. (the shopworkers) showed that within the base of these unions the basis for the organisation of a revolutionary current is present. And these conferences are only a distant reflection of what the rank and file is thinking and discussing.

At the U.S.D.A.W. Conference there were resolutions calling for the nationalisation of the banks, the buildings societies and the stock exchange as well as resolutions calling for the £15 minimum wage. At the D.A.T.A. conference there was a resolution (which was defeated), which called for the breaking with the Labour Party until it showed that it was no longer carrying out pro-capitalist policies. The A.E.U. conference was of enormous significance because the National Committee resolved by a majority of one, completely against the advice of the Chairman, Carron, to oppose the Government's incomes policy. This shows that the pressure from the base of the union against this policy has been so great that even the top bureaucrats of the union have been forced to pay attention to it and yield to it. The leadership of the A.E.U. is one of the most rotten of all the bureaucracies. At the A.E.U. conference Sir William Carron the Chairman of the union made a speech supporting the Government's policy and attacking in a vicious racist way the immigrant workers who he implied were a burden on the social services for which they had paid nothing. This is a criminal lie; the immigrant workers are the most exploited sector of the proletariat, the worst paid, and the worst housed, and their children receive the worst educational facilities. They are the most affected by the inability of capitalism in this period of its decline and death agony, to provide adequate housing, health services, transport, education, etc. Carron's attack on the immigrant workers shows his complete degeneration, like that of the other T.U.C. leaders who who have been bought by the ruling class with titles, money and privileges. And when despite all this the A.E.U. Conference demands such things as four weeks holiday, more overtime, etc., at a time when capitalism obviously cannot afford to give anything, it is a very clear indication of the will, determination and spirit of the rank and file, which breaks through all the bureaucratic obstacles and makes itself felt.

Even the T.U.C. has to make some moves to try to contain the pre-occupation of the rank and file, to try to maintain some scrap of authority and for this reason they have supported the demand for a £15 a week minimum wage. This demand which is correct (although insufficient) was put forward last year by Cousins of the T.G.W.U., but he has not waged the slightest struggle to win it. Any concessions will only be squeezed out of the ruling class by militant action, strikes, occupations, demonstrations etc. And it is these class methods which the T.U. bureaucrats fear more than anything

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### SECOND EDITION OF THE EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW IN ITALIAN

The second edition of the EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW has just been published.

The contents include the following documents.

The Social Crisis of German Capitalism, the Socialist-Christian Democrat Alliance and the historic necessity of the Unification of Germany J. Posadas

The Struggle of the Spanish masses, the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, the political revolution in China and the overthrow of Franco J. Posadas

The development of the political revolution in China J. Posadas  
Communes and Soviets J. Posadas

On the revolutionary morality of the proletariat J. Posadas  
Stalinism or Bolshevism L. Trotsky

Also news of the campaign for the liberation of the Trotskyists imprisoned all over the world. News of the development and life of the International.

### The disintegration of the Communist and Socialist parties and of Capitalism in Europe, the 'Cultural Revolution' and the struggle for Socialist power

(Extract)

J. POSADAS

FROM THE EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW

The crisis in Italy reflects the world crisis of Capitalism and also the crisis in China. The factors which have determined the breaks in the I.C.P. (Italian Communist Party) do not come from that alone, these factors have existed for a long time; but the Cultural Revolution in China and the Red Guards have stimulated the tendencies to take the offensive now. These tendencies which have broken with the Communist Party have done so with various interests: it is a confused rupture. No movement has been prepared organically with a programme. And they do not prepare themselves to fight for a programme. In this process of fragmentation there is an expression of dissatisfaction and of loss of faith among one tendency: a loss of faith in communism, in communist methods, and in communist objectives. Among other tendencies this is not the case, it is possible that among the other tendencies may be found the desire to retake the road of communism; but to do this they must act immediately in the struggle in the trade union field and in confronting the I.C.P. and Capitalism which will unite and who are uniting against the revolutionary tendencies.

Italian capitalism is preparing to meet the crisis with a coup-d'etat mobilising fascism, mobilising the army. There is no other way out. Everything demonstrates this. The social crisis in Italy is increasing, increasing, increasing. This can be measured simply in the number of strikes. Italy is the world champion in strikes. The maturity, the development, the world dynamism, the concentrated and centralised process of the revolution have an effect which is infinitely superior to all the criminal attitudes of the miserable and capitalist leadership of the Communist Party, the conciliatory and the capitulatory leadership of the PSIUP. But at the same time the weight of these

leaderships does not allow the proletariat to utilise the world dynamism of the world revolution with all its force because there is no leadership, because there is no revolutionary party. And this crisis of the I.C.P. is developing in this phase of the 'Cultural Revolution', which is the political revolution of 'Red Guards', of the world crisis of the bureaucracy of the workers states. This is not a crisis which arises through specifically Italian problems. The reason is Italian but this crisis contains, as with the appearance of the new communist parties, all the force of the development of the world revolution.

### ONLY THOSE POLITICAL TENDENCIES CAN EXIST AND DEVELOP WHICH RESPOND TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WILL TO TAKE POWER

In Italy it is no longer simply a question of tendencies, it is a question in reality of the struggle for power in a very short period. This is the significance of the crisis in the I.C.P., it is not simply the crisis of a group, it is the social crisis which will burst forth very shortly in the struggle for power. And the revolutionary tendencies can only develop themselves with this perspective. The proletarian vanguard will not run to any other party: its experience has already shown it that they are all careerist, conciliators, opportunists, double dealers. They are not going towards these people, they are not going to accept them. There exists a dialectical relationship between the vanguard, the middle sectors, and the broad masses. The vanguard is not going to run behind any party which simply presents to them a programme. Mao Tse Tung can be shown to them twenty times: but the vanguard wishes to see what is the policy, what is the programme and test it for

a certain period. It sees that all these tendencies, the pro-chinese parties are not capable of preparing the struggle for power. For this reason all these tendencies which exist within the Italian Communist Party are only a distant reflection of the revolutionary crisis which exists in Italy. In Italy there is a true revolutionary crisis. But in each period it is necessary to respond with the necessary policy in such a way that the proletarian vanguard can have access to the rest of the masses; otherwise the vanguard feels itself to be isolated. The vanguard is disposed to intervene but sees that the policy of the party does not bind it to the rest of the proletariat and cannot attract it, does not succeed in uniting it through its own will to struggle. Why? The programme does not unite it. The combative will of the masses is superior to the wishes of these parties. The objectives which the masses with their

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# The development of the struggle of the workers and students in the U.S.A. demands the workers party based on the Trade Unions

American Imperialism has no authority before the masses of the world, it can only oppose the advance of the world revolutionary process by terror. This is what American Imperialism is doing in Vietnam, it is seeking to block the advance of the revolution by terrorising the population of Vietnam. Dr. Harvey, a consultant physician who has recently visited North Vietnam has stated that "we saw examples of the exquisite artistry of a technique in the annihilation of a whole population", he was referring to the anti-personnel bombs being used by American Imperialism in Vietnam. The masses of the whole world are receiving the influence of the war in Vietnam. Thus the vice-president of the United States is met by demonstrations against American Imperialism in France, Britain, and West Germany during his recent visit to Europe.

The weakness of world Imperialism was reflected in its very centre—America—when mass demonstrations against the war in Vietnam were held recently. In New York and San Francisco workers, students and intellectuals, 200,000 in New York alone, marched through the streets displaying slogans against Imperialism's war in Vietnam; draft cards and an American flag were burnt during the demonstration. This demonstration was an expression of the rapid advance of the revolution in the United States itself, while the fact that many of the demonstrators were negroes reflects the militancy of this, most exploited, section of the American masses.

When Martin Luther King, who represents the most conservative element among the American negroes, advises the negroes to refuse to serve American Imperialism in Vietnam he is reacting to the anti-imperialist struggle of the negro

masses. The same advice is given by Stokely Carmichael, the militant student leader, and his slogan of 'black power' even though meant in a reformist parliamentary way, speaking about local elections, is interpreted by the masses in quite a different way. Carmichael at a meeting in Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, called on the students to take over the administration of their college. The following day a riot broke out at the University, over the arrest of a negro student, during which about 800 students fought with armed police. This is just one example of the militant spirit of the American negro masses.

It is the negroes who are the great majority of the, estimated, 34 million people who live "below the poverty line" in the United States and 34 millions is necessarily, since it was made by the Johnson administration, a conservative estimate. While the war in Vietnam costs £714 million, each month, only £1,365 million has been spent by the Johnson administration, in two years, on aid to those living in poverty. The anti-poverty campaign, launched by Johnson two years ago, was a phoney attempt to meet the demands of the negro masses, but the expense of the preparations for war prevents American Imperialism from meeting even the most minimum demands of the masses.

The American workers keep up a continual pressure for improvement in their living standard. The Capitalist administration has just been forced to intervene to hold back, for 20 days, a national railway strike which was to have begun on April 13th. The pressure of the mass of American workers, at the base of the trades unions, is felt by the particularly rotten bureaucrats at the top. The action of Reuther, the president of the United

Auto Workers Union (UAW), in withdrawing from all boards and committees of the AFL-CIO is a direct result of this pressure. The American AFL-CIO is the equivalent of the TUC in this country and just as much a bureaucratic block to the advance of the workers. The UAW is also preparing fairly heavy demands to put to the employers—Fords, Chrysler, General Motors etc.—when the existing contracts end in September.

A 6% wage increase, improvements in 'fringe benefits' and a guaranteed annual, minimum wage are some of the demands to be put forward. The drop in car sales and the general running down of the American economy will make the employers reluctant to concede these demands and refusal will lead to militant action on the part of the Auto workers. In fact, Motor Manufacturers will be particularly reluctant to grant much higher wages because already their profit margin has dropped even when sales were rising.

The leadership of the UAW has not, of course, put forward such demands as nationalisation, but the actual control of the industry, by the workers, is the logical result of present demands. A minimum wage can only be ensured by the nationalisation of the industry, under workers control.

The American workers have gained many notable victories in the last period. The New York transport workers, airline engineers, nurses, dockers and many other sections of workers have all gained wage increases. These gains have been made despite the lack of a workers centre, or a workers party.

The masses in the United States are influenced by the revolutionary struggle of the masses in Latin America and by the existence of the Cuban Workers State.

American Imperialism is conscious of this and seeks to strengthen the Capitalist governments of Latin America. This was the purpose of the inter-American conference at Punta Del Este, Uruguay. At this conference Johnson talked of 'social reform' in Latin America, but, as in the United States, American Imperialism is not interested in social reform. Even as the conference was being held American Imperialism was 'urgently' training Bolivian government troops for action against the miners movement in Bolivia.

The objective situation in the United States demands a Workers Party with an anti-capitalist programme, based on the trade unions. Trade Union bureaucrats like Reuther, and bourgeois negro leaders like Luther King react to the pressures of the masses, but at the same time, act as agents of capitalism in blocking the struggle of the masses.

These gentlemen do not put forward an anti-capitalist programme around which the American masses can organise. The anti-capitalist programme is essential to the development of the struggle in the United States and it is more than tearing-up draft cards, or burning the flag of American Imperialism. It is the nationalisation of all major industries under workers control! It is the control of all housing by committees of tenants and the formation of defence committees etc.

The anti-capitalist programme demands equal pay for men, women and youths employed on the same work, and that all profits of automation go directly to the workers! It is a programme for workers power for a Workers Party based on the Trade Unions. It is for a workers government in the United States and the United Socialist States of the American continent.

## EDITORIAL

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because they know that such workers mobilisations will tend to quickly bypass them. It is necessary for the unofficial committees to fight for the demand of the minimum wage without waiting for Frank Cousins & Co. to take action because all experience has shown that the trade union bureaucrats by their very nature are interested in preventing the struggle. In the face of all the attacks by the Government the trade union leaders have shown cowardice and class conciliation. During the seamen's strike the T.U.C. played the role of strike breakers and now they are playing the same role in relation to the dispute between D.A.T.A. and the Ship building employers. The T.U.C. have postponed taking a decision to help D.A.T.A. and until they make up their mind, even a request for simply financial aid from D.A.T.A. to all the unions affiliated to the T.U.C. will be held up. The D.A.T.A. leadership has shown itself more open to the pressure of the rank and file and has waged a militant economic struggle but in this present lockout it has also shown its reluctance to call for the direct support of other shipyard workers in the form of strike action. To overcome this limitation of the leadership, the rank and file must organise work stoppages, strikes, occupations of the shipyards in support of the draughtmen without waiting for the bureaucrats to organise them.

The class collaboration of the trade union leaders has reached the lunatic heights of even investing the money of their members into the Fairfield shipyard in Glasgow, in an alliance with the Government and the Capitalists to keep the yard open. The bureaucrats agreed with the employers that there would be no demarcation disputes, higher product-

ivity and no strikes. Already there have been stoppages by crane drivers and apprentices, and in the last week came the biggest strike of all when 5500 semi-skilled men walked off over a wage dispute. So much for the agreements of the bureaucrats—the masses ignore them.

The confidence of the working class also showed itself in the high number of abstentions in the Brierly Hill by-election. Although it is hypothetically possible that in a general election some of the labour abstainers might centralise themselves still around the Labour Party, the large and growing number of abstentions shows that a sector of the working class—a sector which feels confident that it can defend its class interests whether the Labour Party is in or not—is making a political choice by refusing to vote for the pro-capitalist policies of the Labour Government. The rest of the working class and a large sector of the poor petit bourgeoisie continue to vote for the L.P. but this does not mean support for its policies but only they do not wish to break the centralisation of the class around the Labour Party.

Faced with the stagnation of the economy, the continuing opposition of the workers to carry the expenses of Imperialism's preparation for the war, Wilson, hoping to give a shot in the arm to dying British Capitalism, proposes to enter the Common Market. This certainly would be a stimulus to certain sectors of British industry but not to others, (particularly agriculture would suffer) and so we see a rift in the bourgeoisie on the question of entry. In any case there is no possibility of Britain entering the Common Market because of the opposition of De Gaulle. The opposition of French Imperialism, to U.S. Imperialism, which has shown itself in withdrawal from NATO and which reflects the pessimism of the French bourgeoisie and not a fundamental disagreement with the aims of American Imperialism, will not allow

the strengthening of Yankee influence in the European Common Market which Britains joining would mean. De Gaulle has already said it will take a long time to study Britain's application. Nevertheless Wilson will go through the motions of trying to join and will be repulsed and in this way will lose even more authority before the petit bourgeoisie. The crisis of British Imperialism at this stage is shown by the fact that it is planning to bring troops home from the Far East, Aden, and from Germany. This does not mean it has changed its imperialist nature but it can no longer afford the upkeep of its military apparatus abroad. The masses of a place even as small as Aden are forcing it to get out, because all the world conditions are against Imperialism. Yankee Imperialism is preparing the

war within a short time. All its actions show it, from the intensification of the war in Vietnam to the C.I.A. backing of the military coup in Greece which has imprisoned 10,000 workers, petit bourgeoisie and intellectuals. That Wilson supports these plans can be seen by the speedy recognition of the new Greek military regime. Imperialism is losing more and more support; now it has only one means of defence—its nuclear arms. More military coups and more anti-working class repression are being prepared in Europe, and the leaders of the Communist Parties, the Socialist Parties and the trade unions are doing nothing to oppose it. In spite of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, in spite of the inability of

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## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).  
*Die Arbeidertrijf*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73, Charleroi, Sud, Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.

**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Rochongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.

**INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay.  
*Rivista Marxista Europea*, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

# The disintegration of the Communist and Socialist parties and of Capitalism in Europe, the 'Cultural Revolution' and the struggle for Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

anti-capitalist struggles put forward, are beyond the proposals of this party. For this reason the vanguard feels itself to be isolated and remains where it is. The conditions have been mature in Italy for overthrowing Capitalism for twenty years. Four times the proletariat wished to take power. But the moment passed. It wished to take power but the Communist Party use its power to prevent the proletariat taking power, acting as an obstacle to it. There are bureaucratic interests which coincide with Capitalism. But they have not taken power because the proletariat was not mature: for twenty years it has been mature. Immediately after the war the Communist Party developed as one of the largest in the world. And the proletariat tried to take power in 1948, in 1952 and in 1960.

For this reason it is necessary to expect in a short stage the expression of

this struggle: but not in the Communist Party, outside the Communist Party. In the Communist Party there is no political life in which the political maturity of the proletariat vanguard can express itself. This will be expressed outside the Communist Party in the factory struggles. It is not possible to speak of the movement and of maturity without speaking of the industrial sphere. It is here that the proletariat feels itself most secure to express itself; and here it is expressed, through strikes made against the leadership and independently of the leadership. And for the organisation of a new revolutionary party, it is necessary to find support immediately in the struggle in the factories which is where the class will unify itself. The activity of the new revolutionary party to be able to establish connections with and organise the revolutionary will of the masses, to prepare a decision within a few years, must respond to this necessity of struggle.

the Finnish Communist Party in the bourgeois ministry. For the first time the Communist Party enters into the government of Finland in alliance with the social democracy. But the policy of the Finnish Communist Party is that of the right. In Finland the Communist Party gained many votes but the votes which it gained were not due to the fact that it had maintained a policy of opposition to Capitalism and of support for demands of the masses. No, it had conducted a right wing national policy, it was not a nationalist policy against imperialism, they were Finnish before being communist. The votes which they obtained were those of the small capitalists.

The policy of Amendola in Italy is not different from that of the Communist Party in Finland. Amendola is the knight errand of this policy. They have seen and felt that they could not take power, could not eliminate Capitalism through the parliamentary road; so they embarked on simple careerism because they have no other way forward. They have no intention that the struggle overthrows Capitalism; none of them has any communist idea or sentiment. Longo is a corpse or walking corpse, a man without soul, without ideas. The majority of the

communist deputies are people without spirit. One has only to look at their photographs or their activities, they are without spirit. They are completely enervated. They have ceased to exist. Amendola has more dynamism than most of them because Amendola is for a right wing policy of direct alliance with Capitalism. He has more dynamism than the others because he has a perspective. But the members of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party are all dead, they are all speaking corpses, nothing more.

In the conditions in Italy, where there are strikes every day, mobilisations, factory occupations, conflicts of the masses with the police, a constant tendency towards the general strike, there are enormous dynamic and vigorous conditions to stimulate the leaders of the parties to be alive, to feel themselves stimulated to struggle. But since they feel that all this leads to the fall of capitalism and they do not feel the necessity of struggling to overthrow Capitalism—they do not only not understand it, they are opposed—their mind is outside all these questions, they are foreign to it. In their mind, there neither exists a communist programme or communist perspective.

## THE INABILITY OF THE I.C.P. TO FIND A ROAD OF CONCILIATION WITH CAPITALISM, ACCEPTABLE TO THE MASSES

Amendola is the victor in this struggle of tendencies, he does not represent the centrist policy the conciliatory policy of Longo; for this reason Longo grappled with Amendola and now Amendola has succeeded in winning. There is no other line. When Togliatti died we said 'he died in time because there is no more room for Togliatti'. The Communist Party has not got the policy which answers the situation of the social crisis of capitalism in Italy, because the only correct policy which can reply with success to the interest of the masses is revolutionary policy; they are not able to do this. For this reason they are in crisis.

We repeat the Communist Party is seeking to substitute itself for Capitalism. Longo and Amendola are seeking to do this if they can through parliamentary majority. Nenni would do this if he could. But Nenni is convinced that it is not possible to make a substitution for Capitalism and for this reason he has taken the path of alliance with Capitalism. Amendola and Longo persist in their role of conciliation with Capitalism, because they have no other perspective; because their base of support and their point of support is the revolution. In consequence they cannot make the same policy as Nenni. They are subjected inevitably to their base which wants the revolution and which feels the necessity for revolutionary struggle. If Amendola and Longo could sustain Capitalism with parliament through dialogue they would do so; this is what they are seeking to do. But they cannot act in the same way as Nenni, that is integrate themselves fully with Capitalism because their base would not allow it. Nenni has been able to do so because in great majority his social base of support is composed of petit-bourgeois who sought via means of conciliation via means of economic development, to improve their own economic conditions arguing over the profits of Capitalism. And he has attracted a proletarian sector; but he has attracted it not by his line, but because this proletarian sector does not see either in the Communist Party or the P.S.I.U.P. a great difference in relation to Nenni. It sees the same line and the same objectives and conclusions as the Communist Party. The worker base of Nenni's party which is important, composed of privileged sectors of the proletariat and some very backward sectors continue to support Nenni because they not see any great difference in the policy of the I.C.P. or the P.S.I.U.P. compared with Nenni. Consequently they have no great reason to be attracted.

It is necessary to understand that the crisis of the Italian Communist Party is

the most important event in Italy. This crisis of the Communist Party reflects its inability to find any way of conciliation with Capitalism which can be accepted, which can be at the same time a means of maintaining its own base without problems, without crisis. The possibilities for this of the Communist Party are exhausted. In saying that these possibilities are exhausted we do not wish to say that all possibilities are entirely finished; the possibility of conciliating with Capitalism without important repercussions within the party is exhausted. But it continues to manoeuvre and to make a series of conciliations and it is not absolutely excluded that Capitalism may be able eventually to accept the possibility of communist ministers in the government. It is not completely excluded. What we say and have said is that there exists no perspective for a government in which there are communist ministers which is quite a different thing: they might sustain a ministry but crisis would follow very shortly after. The bourgeoisie is trying to support themselves, may even run to the acceptance of communist ministers in the government. It will seek to sustain itself in what ever way possible. But what we combat is the idea that the Communist Party gives as a perspective for its participation in the government i.e. the ability to influence it. This is completely impossible. The government will allow the entrance of communists, to take in the masses, to contain and deceive them. But that fact alone, by allowing them to enter will mean an enormous crisis. And if the Communist Party remains in the government, and the masses as it is logical for them, carry forward a revolutionary struggle, it is capitalism which loses: it is the revolutionary struggle for power. What the bourgeoisie can allow is the appearance in the government of a right wing tendency of the I.C.P. in order to break it; that is Amendola; Amendola and Longo to enter the government as prisoners.

What the Communist Party is hoping for is to be able to determine with its own entry into the government a democratic development of the economy. But this is completely impossible. It is excluded that this can be successful, because the policy of betrayal for the advantage of Capitalism on the part of members of the communist parties cannot have a long term, important effect, because the world process of the revolution compensates for and surpasses, pushes aside all the betrayals which the Communist Party is capable of. There are already other examples of bourgeois governments who are running to the communist parties.

A notable fact is the representation of

## THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY TO RESIST THE PROCESS SUSTAINS CAPITALISM WHICH IS COLLAPSING

Italian Capitalism has felt, to sustain itself as capitalism, that it has need of the world support of Capitalism; it has no other perspective. Italian Capitalism feels the necessity, sees the possibility and launches itself with all its own forces to seek to collaborate on a world scale with the Communist Party, with the workers states. It feels, understands that it can seek such collaboration because Italian Capitalism, the soviet bureaucracy and the leadership of the communist parties, are all three experiencing the blows of the world development of the revolution. For this reason the soviet bureaucracy has made the agreement with Fiat, an agreement which means a point of direct support to seek to stabilise Italian Capitalism.

The duty of the Communist Party is to profit from the conditions of Capitalist crisis to smash it, not to sustain it. This is what can be done when communist perspectives and objectives exist. There is no reason to make this agreement. For the development of the soviet economy, a car is not necessary for the petit bourgeoisie. Trucks and railcars are necessary. These cars are aimed at satisfying the individual needs of the soviet bureaucracy; individual needs, not the needs of the development of trade and the economy.

Why do they not help China? why have they not installed factories in China? Why do they not help the development of Vietnam? why do they not advance the living conditions of the worker and

peasants masses? The millions of dollars which this factory will cost in the U.S.S.R. are for the benefit of the bureaucracy.

This agreement does not have the object of human progress. The private motor car of the bureaucrat adds nothing to the progress of the masses. It is not convenient for transport neither does it produce a development in the speed of communication. It has the object of satisfying the desire for private property, the privileges of the soviet bureaucracy.

This agreement is a double blow against the Italian revolution, against the Italian masses. On the one hand it stabilises Italian Capitalism and offers the perspective of sustaining it; and on the other hand in front of the Italian masses, the workers state appears compromised with Italian Capitalism. It is a blow from which Italian Capitalism benefits, to say to the masses: look! you are struggling for communism, but look at the Soviet Union. This is an enormous crime. In our documents a constant denunciation of this must appear. It is one of the bases of the world alliance of the soviet bureaucracy, of the leadership of the Communist Party with world Capitalism. It is the way in which with a clean and concrete language of historic social relations, the bureaucracy says to capitalism: we are ready for a long alliance. This is the concrete language: it is not words and declarations but the concrete economic fact which is the determining factor.

## THE MASSES IN EUROPE HAVE DECIDED TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM

It is necessary to make an appeal to unite the crisis of the communist parties of Europe, to the crisis of the I.C.P. The essential characteristic whether in Italy or the rest of Europe is that the masses strike and mobilise against the will of the communist and socialist leaders, against the will of the leaders of these parties. They call strikes, demonstrations, occupy factories against the will of the communist and socialist leaders. But they vote for the communist and socialist parties.

The bourgeoisie has no social force, has no social capacity and in consequence does not possess the political capacity to sustain and attract the dissatisfaction, the

opposition of the workers and communist masses, against the communist and socialist trade union leadership. In other conditions, it would have done so. If there did not exist such a social crisis, capitalism would have found a way to attract them. Why has it not attracted them? In Belgium the Socialist Party is against strikes; the masses call strikes and occupy the factories; the demonstration on the occasion of the strike of the women of Gerstadt was against the wishes of the socialist leadership; in spite of this the bourgeoisie has not collected the vote of these workers. The

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## The disintegration of the Communist and Socialist parties . . . . .

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crisis of capitalism becomes more acute and the principle capitalist party loses votes. This is the direct indisputable expression of the social crisis of Capitalism, the same goes for Great Britain; the masses vote for the Labour Party and make strikes against the leadership of the Labour Party. This shows that in their social consciousness, they are disposed to advance against Capitalism. In Spain the worker masses have already conquered legality with their democratic trade unions. Although the workers commissions have not developed in every way their role, the intention of the masses and development of the action of the masses to give themselves their own leadership constantly progresses. Even here the Spanish Communist Party, the soviet bureaucracy, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union run to the defence of Franco, helping to sustain him directly!

The trip of the Soviet Ballet to Madrid is accompanied by the policy of peaceful co-existence and of the conciliation of the Communist Party with the government of Franco, with the policy made to impede the struggle of the masses to overthrow Franco. The attitude of the soviet bureaucracy in Spain is a direct aid to Franco. There is no reason, there is no

### THE ROLE OF THE RED GUARD HAS PLACED THE CHINESE MASSES IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE WORLD AND REFLECTS THE UNANIMOUS WILL OF THE MASSES OF THE WORLD

This crisis of the Italian Communist Party has an enormous importance because it is a question of crisis which recurs in this phase of the development of the class struggle. They are not little crises. And they arise when there is the same situation throughout Europe. These are the expressions of the development of the Sino Soviet crisis, of the development of the political revolution and of the Red Guard.

The political revolution in China does not mean an uninterrupted progress; there is a furious struggle of tendencies, one has only to read the speeches. It is sufficient to read that in the last Committee of the 1st of October, at the celebrations of the 17th anniversary of the Chinese revolution, the portrait of Sun Yat Sen, who has nothing to do with the revolutionary progress of China, was shown. And on the other hand they show portraits of Marx and of revolutionaries, and then they show the portrait of Sun Yat Sen; the latter reflects the wing which conciliates with Capitalism. Hence the portrait of Sun Yat Sen. And Stalin's portrait was also in evidence not only because they seek to conciliate with a wing of the army and with the soviet bureaucracy, but because they do not understand the process and they use him because they have no other understanding of history. They have not had any political life; but despite this, the declarations of Chen Yi are important, they are Trotskyist declarations from top to bottom on the final encounter of the inevitable war.

### THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE WORLD DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION

The crisis of the Italian Communist Party is part of the world crisis. It is not possible to evaluate the crisis of the Italian Communist Party separately; it is part of this crisis; and it does not have its own solution. It is necessary in Italy to adopt the measures to develop the revolutionary tendency but this is part of the process throughout Europe. It is necessary to unite the activity within Italy, for the organisation of the revolutionary tendency, basing itself on this crisis, with what is advancing in the rest of Europe with a European leadership, a leadership of the European proletariat,

necessity, there is no need for the development of the Soviet Union, to send the ballet to Franco, or the football team, which is going to play in Spain. What advantage does the U.S.S.R. receive from this? Nothing. It has no need to do this. It has an enormous strength without needing to depend on Spain; on the other hand it gives authority to Franco so that he can demonstrate that he is capable of finding a new road. And it is the way with which he seeks an influence on the petit bourgeoisie, to have a point of social support and to block the influence of the proletariat on the petit bourgeoisie which seeks to overthrow it. Hence the attitude of the Spanish Communist Party which opposes the fall of the government of Franco and on the contrary supports some 'positive' aspects of the Franco regime as it states in its declaration.

The Red Guards undoubtedly can be utilised by tendencies to conciliate; and thus as now they attack those who lead a bourgeois life and at the same time attack the revolutionary tendencies. But this cannot last very long. It is not possible to mobilise the masses against privilege, against the bureaucracy to restrain it from a revolutionary policy. It is not excluded that the conservative tendency may form their own red guards and that with the writings of Mao Tse Tung, some of them, basing themselves on the works of Mao Tse Tung will follow this struggle. Even this will last only a short time. They have neither programme or policy, for this reason they use Mao Tse Tung. What is the policy of Mao Tse Tung now? It is not sufficient to say 'Paper Tigers'. It is necessary to know the policy for Vietnam. It is necessary to know the policy for the European proletariat, the policy to face imperialism in Asia. What are their positions on the world situation? For these questions Mao Tse Tung has neither programme or policy; for fifteen or twenty years Mao Tse Tung has written nothing.

The 'Cultural Revolution' is influencing all Europe and the world. Why? Because the conditions are mature, because what unites the 'Cultural Revolution' with the masses of the world and of Italy in particular, is the will of the masses to suppress privileges, to eliminate anything which means differentiation of social layers, everything which means usurpation.

for a programme of the United Socialist States of Europe, for a single centre in Europe, for a United Front in Europe which the European proletariat understands. There is not an Italian solution, the solution must be in this form; these are concrete facts which it is necessary to resolve in Italy but to organise the revolutionary leadership, it is necessary to do so with this consciousness and this perspective. And at the same time with the consciousness and the perspective of the final encounter of the events in China and the significance of the events in China. This is the necessary measure for

the progressive solution of the crisis of the Italian Communist Party. The crises are inevitable; and they do not mean weakness. Divisions do not mean weakness. When there is a division and a break to reorganise and advance it is

### THERE IS NO HISTORIC TIME FOR A NEW ORGANISATION OF THE MASSES IN ITALY

The formation of this new Communist Party in Italy, the various breaks, are the expression of internal disintegration because there are at the same time breaks from left and right. It is the internal disintegration of the Italian Communist Party in two different ways. There is no importance—and perhaps of all the movement, it has least importance—in the formation of this Pro-Chinese party. This Pro-Chinese party does not possess a programme for the revolution in Italy. It will be able to survive and live only if it adapts itself to the development and the fight for the programme for the revolution in Italy. But to do this it must understand the Italian masses. And from the beginning it has shown a sectarian attitude in front of the masses, who remain in the I.C.P. The leadership of the I.C.P. is one thing, quite another are the communist masses. It is necessary to turn to them, to understand them and to feel that the Italian masses are there in the I.C.P., not to support the policy of alliance with Capitalism but because in the Communist Party, they find a unifying class centre. For this reason despite the policy of betrayal, of conciliation and adaptation to capitalism, of blacklegging, of political delation, despite the fact that the leadership of the I.C.P. acts in this way, the communist masses do not vote for the bourgeoisie. This is enough to understand that the masses have their centre and try to remain there.

The attitude of these Pro-Chinese parties consists in the belief that the name of Mao Tse Tung is all powerful; Mao Tse Tung has no programme. Our respect for Mao Tse Tung is due to the fact that he is an honest revolutionary; but he has no programme. What is the programme of Mao Tse Tung for Italy? What is the programme of the Chinese for the world revolution? We give a programme. It is not enough to call oneself a party and to say "Down with the leadership of the I.C.P." or to insult it or accuse it correctly. It is not sufficient. What programme does he give for Italy? What is the policy to put forward? They have no programme.

And the policy to carry forward is the united front. It is necessary to enter the I.C.P., it is necessary to feel that the Italian masses will not follow any organisation and any leadership, but will pass from the I.C.P. directly to power. But for this reason, it is necessary and possible to construct an organisation which can influence the I.C.P. from outside. But this organisation can also work internally—it is necessary to say this quite clearly—within the I.C.P., in such a way to be able to break, to be able to develop groups and tendencies which can impel an internal life and allow an advance in the next phase of the struggle for power.

### THERE IS NO HISTORIC TIME FOR A SUBSTITUTE BUREAUCRACY. THE MASSES WILL GO FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO POWER

Political careerism in Italy is finished. The Italian bourgeoisie feels that it has no further perspective in the parliamentary game with the socialist and communist tendencies. The Nenni, and Saragat unification has an historic finality: It has not been determined by the fact that capitalism has to impose it as a means of conciliation; they are conciliatory without Capitalism having to tell them. It is their fear of the final encounter which has united them. It is their consciousness that the fall of Capitalism approaches. They feel the necessity to unite their forces to confront the masses; it is for this reason they have united. This is the essential reason.

not a division, it is a separation of forces necessary to reorganise and find a new orientation. These splits in Italy, the separation of tendencies from the I.C.P. means in some cases the attempt, the intention to carry forward a revolutionary policy, but it is not the same in all cases. One of the risks as we have said before, is that some sectors break in a demoralised way, discouraged, losing faith in the communist future and in communist policy. Remaining within the ambience of the policy of conciliation, they finish by adapting themselves to the Capitalist system and by pursuing a game based on personal interests.

Without putting on the agenda, the struggle for power in a short stage, without putting on the agenda the united front of the masses, with the anti-capitalist programme, there is no possibility of exercising an influence on the Italian masses. The present phase shows that the disintegration is reaching a very advanced level. Within a short stage there will be breaks of groups and tendencies continuously, but which will not attract the Italian masses. The most serious business are these recent strikes. Because these breaks have an echo, it is necessary that our Italian comrades try to enter into a relationship with the tendency which seeks to carry forward the revolutionary policy, try to arrive at an agreement with it, understanding that it is necessary to expect a certain period of time for their maturity, understanding that this policy is possible and necessary, and that it is necessary to lean on the crisis of the Chinese. It is necessary that they don't only support themselves on the crisis in Italy but on the crisis in China, on the development of the political revolution in China and also the revolution in Italy, and also on the crisis in the Soviet Union, on the crisis of the soviet bureaucracy. It must not only base itself on the events in Italy. The masses of the world feel that the moment of the final settlement of accounts is coming, they feel it; they do not understand it in a programmatic form. The masses feel the necessity of being united in one centre: a Communist Party. They see it as a centre. They have developed themselves there, through it, they have waged great struggles, they still hope to impel it and they will only leave it, to take power. It is ingenuous to believe in the possibility of an electoral competition with the I.C.P. It is necessary consequently to await world events, to develop a team which is capable of understanding how to support itself on world events and to impel the Italian revolution. And within the frame work of world events, lies the process in China. The permanent revolution is a unity. The world is harmoniously united in the class struggle. For this reason there is the unequal and combined development. From here lies the concentration and centralisation of the world revolution. The unequal and combined development allows these breaks in Italy but does not allow the independent development of the masses. But with the help of the crisis in China, with the help of the crisis of the soviet bureaucracy in the world, of the crisis of the soviet bureaucracy in Vietnam, of the development of the struggle in Vietnam, the conditions would be prepared because in the new phase and in the historic conditions which are progressing, it will be possible to fight for power.

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## The disintegration of the Communist and Socialist parties . . . . .

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moment that these two facts occur and show the enormity of the crisis.

For all these—and among these the Trotskyist capitulators like Livio Maitan and others—who speak of the “Italian Miracle” who see, who dream of a perspective of 30 years of Capitalist development, here is the result which they find in front of them after only four years. In 1962 we put forward the view “Italian Capitalism already enters into crisis, the Christian Democracy enters already a period of disintegration”. In 1962! And all these people, finding an echo in the petit bourgeoisie, orientated themselves on the basis of a perspective of the economic miracle. Here it is, the economic miracle! None of them forsook the crisis either in the I.C.P. or in the P.S.I.U.P. but even so although none of them had orientated the masses to understand this process, the masses have

neither been discouraged or disorientated. If the masses had been disorientated and discouraged by the process in front of them, they would have voted for the Christian Democracy, they would not have remained concentrated in the I.C.P. in the P.S.I.U.P. or in the trade unions. Thus the masses have received the influence of the world revolution. And this is possible because in their mind, there can be found already the desire and the will to smash Capitalism.

the party. And on the other hand the I.C.P. will not allow such a life to exist. They must be opposed forcibly. But this perspective must be precise clear and present in the groups which are formed and in the revolutionary tendency which exists in the P.S.I.U.P. The I.C.P. will not allow the formation of a revolutionary tendency. It will expell it. If a group exists which develops as a revolutionary tendency it will be a centre of organisation. Inevitably in a short stage many more people will abandon the I.C.P., and they will be expelled. And the development of this current is necessary for the programme of the Italian and world revolution. To attract the rest of the people, preparing themselves for successive favourable conditions to attract the enormous mass of the I.C.P.

There is no possibility of forming a new party which competes with the I.C.P. One of the most serious aspects of the failure of the P.S.I.U.P. was that it did not feel itself capable of developing within itself a tendency, a current, which could elevate itself to the understanding of the necessity to organise a revolutionary tendency. Then it would have been a pole of attraction which instead of allowing the process of fragmentation which is showing itself, would have known how to organise it. The last election with the significant number of abstentions—which even if the number is fairly small has a very great importance—shows that there is already a vanguard which is seeking to exert a pressure on the I.C.P. This abstention is a way of exerting pressure. The existence of new groups and tendencies will not attract these sectors to join with them, because such sectors wish to exert pressure on the I.C.P.

This vanguard must feel and see the revolutionary attitude of these new groups; and they must give to the vanguard the confidence to be able to attract the rest within the I.C.P. In this lies the importance of the trade union struggle, because it is here that they feel themselves to be most secure and firm, it is the environment in which they act, in which they have security and confidence and in which they find a direct relation with the class; then they can feel and organise it. For this reason the trade union activity is the environment in which to influence and to organise

the current; it is not within the I.C.P. This is the centre but not the environment of action. To be able to gain the mass of the I.C.P. it is necessary that this can influence the I.C.P. but the basis in the trade union work; it is here that the base and the vanguard can be found. The vanguard is there.

There is no revolutionary tendency at the summit of the I.C.P. neither Ingrao nor Occhetto and none of the other bureaucrats. The proof is that they have a tremendous fear of the revolution and that now if they proceed to oppose Longo and Amendola, it is because they feel that everything is going to hell. They feel that they are losing votes and they seek to gain positions, to gain historic time to make a career, nothing more. Now they are making a careerism of the left. It is necessary to evaluate the attitude of these people on the basis of where the masses are actually going: the masses are disposed to take power and these people conduct an opposition to propose an activity independent of capitalism and nothing more. The splits from the I.C.P., the Nenni Saragat unification show the depth of the social crisis of Capitalism. And they reply simply with small criticism, with small opposition, to the right, to Longo and Amendola. One can expect nothing from these people, one cannot expect that they will form currents and tendencies. They have no historic time to develop themselves. There is no historic time for right centrists as these are rights centrists who are more connected with Capitalism than the masses, because they are afraid of the revolution. There is no historic time for their development. This tendency of Ingrao would have a magnificent opportunity to propose now the general strike and to appeal for the united struggle of all the masses for example, for political liberties. They allowed the mobilisations of the fascists in Rome. They allowed it. Why did they not mobilise the communist masses! The conditions are ripe for the taking of power, Capitalism has shown that it does not feel secure if the masses mobilise. They have no confidence in Capitalism itself; they have faith in the Communist Party and in the fact that the policy of Communist Party will not allow, will oppose the masses taking power.

It is not Italian Capitalism which allows the existence and the role of the I.C.P.; there is no other way out which it can accept. But Italian Capitalism profits from and uses the conciliatory policy with Capitalism of the I.C.P. And as there are no intermediate roads, there is no peaceful road, the I.C.P. has no other way out—in this fundamental phase of the history of Italian Capitalism—than to serve as a support of

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### THE OBJECTIVE OF THE PARTY AND OF THE GROUP WHICH ARE FORMING IN ITALY IS TO ORGANISE THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY

The objective of the party and of the groups which are forming in Italy is that of organising the revolutionary tendency. The deeper that this is so, the more it can influence the sectors and currents in the I.C.P. in the expectancy of this historic phase of great mobilisations which can lead them directly to power. There is no jump in voting; the communist masses and this leadership are maturing; and in this historic phase, this tendency arises because the masses of themselves decide to break the chains of their leadership; and they are able consequently to launch themselves into the struggle for power. The configuration of this historic phase is united to the development of the revolutionary crisis in China, of the revolutionary crisis in the Soviet Union, in Cuba and in the struggle of the European proletariat. That is to say, it is necessary to know how to meet this phase; it is necessary to have flexibility in the perspective of being able to stand at the head of the masses.

The smallness of our party, of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Italy (Trotskyist) and of the communist groups who have broken from the I.C.P. intimidates the leaderships of the groups and prevents them from carrying forward a dynamic activity; it makes them feel small and encloses them in a small local activity and on secondary, circumstantial or local problems. They believe—because they are intimidated or because they are under the enormous pressure of the apparatus of the I.C.P.—that they will not have success, that they will not be listened to and that their action will have little importance. One must not measure the force, the capacity, the importance, the authority, on a numerical basis. It is necessary to judge it on the base of the possibility of the programme and the capacity for action of the party. The possibility of the programme depends directly on the precision and correctness of the programme and on the capacity of the party, on its dynamism

in intervention, in knowing how to co-ordinate, organise and to have a dynamic activity, intervening in all the problems of the country.

The proletarian vanguard, the revolutionary Italian intellectual vanguard is expecting, awaiting orientation.

It is necessary to intervene in all the problems, not in a separate and isolated way, but as part of a central objective: Italy is approaching a decision, it is going toward civil war. It is necessary to prepare for this. To prepare does not mean to intervene tomorrow, nor to cease from intervening in minimum problems of the trade union struggle. But it is necessary to be prepared taking account of the fact that these struggles will lead in a short stage to the civil war, because Italian Capitalism is in no condition to meet the necessities of the Italian masses. And the Italian masses are not disposed to support it. Hence all these crises, constant strikes, crises and breaks from the parties etc.

Numbers are not important, what is important is the decision to carry forward activity and to have the correct programme to carry forward this activity. With the correct programme, the perspective is determined and this is to develop a revolutionary tendency which together with the development of the struggles in the world and particularly in China, Europe, Africa and Asia together with the struggle in the workers states will influence Italy.

Then the favourable historical conditions will mature because the enormous majority of the Italian masses are listening for this. But from here until then, which is a short period, they must see that this party is disposed to realise this task.

And they must see proof of this. It does not mean that they are going to be gained little by little. Within the I.C.P. itself, the masses will advance increasing their decision. Thus as now a sector ceases to vote for the I.C.P. hoping thus to exert a pressure, thus tomorrow this decision will go beyond the party.

### THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY TO FORM A PARTY WHICH CAN COMPETE WITH THE I.C.P.

A great party is not necessary to compete with the I.C.P.: what is necessary is a secure and firm nucleus. But it must show its decision, it must show that it lives in the class struggle in Italy, and its capacity for action. It is for this reason, that the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) Italian Section of the IV International, must undertake the task of persuading these groups in a united front with them, to carry forward a dynamic activity on all the problems of revolutionary Italian activity, with the objective of preparing and developing the team which carries forward the task, whether in the trade union or political field, the struggle for the anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist programme which will advance, always gathering more authority and organising groups which tomorrow will exert their pressure within the I.C.P. itself.

Within the I.C.P. does not mean in meetings of the I.C.P. but in the contact and the life of the communist milit-

ants. The internal life of the I.C.P. does not mean meetings in the section of the I.C.P., but a method so that the communist base accepts and follow this authority; it means that a communist militant who maintains his authority on a number of elements in his area will attract them without going to the party centre; it is not necessary that he should go to the locale (local party offices) to discuss and hold meetings. He will attract them! He can also call formal meetings but it is not necessary. In revolutionary conditions it is not necessary to call formal meetings in the centres of the I.C.P. The revolutionary militant can attract at the base without the need of formal meetings. When he can make this activity through meetings and discussions, this is undoubtedly better and it is possible that a proportionally large part will decide to adopt this form.

But authority means to gain ascendancy over the base, showing it the necessity for this policy even without the life of

## Teachers must link their own demands to the anti-capitalist programme

Like most of the conferences of the industrial workers unions the conference of the NUT is a ritualistic affair in which the presiding bureaucrats moan and make demagogic speeches and then sit down and do nothing. This year is no exception. A very big wage claim is on the agenda involving in fact a thirty per cent increase on the basic salary. In fact no real struggle is proposed for this at all. It is sheer wind and the knighted bureaucrat Sir. R. Gould has in a long career of manoeuvre given convincing proof that he is not prepared to mobilise the teachers movement. He leans on those reactionary sectors who would like to abolish subsidies for school meals. This type of stupidity isolates teachers from the workers struggle.

The most dynamic sector of the teachers movement is the young teachers. After special professional training young teachers can get as low as £12 a week—an impossible wage in present living conditions. Already committees of action have appeared among them. It is of the greatest importance that these committees organise actions independent totally of the various unions and link their demands with those of the industrial workers and the students. The grievances of the teachers are well known—low pay, bad conditions, too many pupils in relation to the available

staff, an enormous range of other duties added onto a full teaching programme, the attempted dilution by auxiliaries etc. But no programme of action to transform the education system is offered. Capitalism has nothing to offer bar the most trivial concessions to the teachers. Crosland acts as a dictatorial bureaucrat. To obtain the demands for good conditions for teachers, nothing less than the overthrow of capitalism is required and this involves combined actions with students and workers. The basic programme of demands involves teacher student worker control of education—to hell with the bureaucracy of the Ministry of Education. Why should the fate of teachers depend on the official bureaucrats none of whom are involved in teaching? For a teachers union where the union officials are immediately revocable! Out with the representatives of business interests on the boards of governors of colleges and universities. There should be no differences between the pay of the primary school teacher and the university teachers. And we appeal to the teachers to support not only their specific professional demands but the whole anti capitalist programme meaning nationalisations under workers control, equal pay for women, all wages to rise with the cost of living, no worker to be dismissed, or factory closed, factory occupations.

# The disintegration of the Communist and Socialist parties . . . .

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Italian Capitalism. When it opposes the policy and the struggle of the masses for the improvement of their conditions of life, for an increase in salary for security in work, it is because they are afraid, because this means the struggle for power. Capitalism cannot support this. For this reason the I.C.P. seeks to fragment this struggle, to push it back, to contain it. Its terms are apparently class terms against Capitalism but it is really a polemical language of one bourgeois against another. The speech of Longo is capitalist; when he makes declarations in 'Der Spiegel' they are Capitalist declarations of conciliation and alliance with Capitalism. Increasingly as this crisis develops the leadership of the I.C.P. feels itself more connected with Capitalism; this does not mean that it to make appeals, to have the decision to do this, and to prepare itself in a period

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

is actually submitted to Capitalism because it has its own interests as a bureaucracy. But to defend itself and to live, it feels that if it leans on the masses it must answer to what they wish, that is the general strike and the general strike means direct independent class struggle which leads the masses to see that it can overthrow Capitalism. Because of this they are afraid. There is no possibility of an intermediate position. There is neither time possibility or environment for an intermediate position: they must support Capitalism. The leadership of the I.C.P. will mask its submission to capitalist policy and its alliance with Capitalism by critical phrases, but criticisms which are not accompanied by any action against Capitalism.

For this reason the P.S.I.U.P. which appears as an expression of a phase of the revolutionary crisis like this, is not giving a revolutionary programme, in not developing a revolutionary tendency, has been simply an electoral competitor with the I.C.P. The revolutionary conditions create themselves constantly, but they do not last indefinitely. If at the right time, the right moment, the leadership, the revolutionary party, does not respond to the necessity of the struggle for power, this phase passes and the proletarian vanguard consequently takes a step backward. It does not mean that Capitalism can recover what it has lost. In the preceding phase in 1945, then yes, it recovered what it had lost, because the revolutionary conditions which exist today, did not then exist. But today it cannot recover, because in front of the blows which the Italian proletariat receives, in front of the alliance of the I.C.P. with the bourgeoisie, which allows the blows of Capitalism against the proletariat, the world revolution, the revolution in Vietnam, the development of the crisis in China is a compensation for all this and prevents the stabilisation on a world scale of Capitalism. And it is this which counts in the last instance.

For this reason the attitude of the P.S.I.U.P. has led to a stagnation of the party. It has gained votes but this does not mean that it has any more authority over the class, neither does it mean a progress in the struggle against Capitalism. The revolutionary tendency of the P.S.I.U.P. which wishes to survive, must feel, must understand this analysis and throw itself into organising the revolutionary tendency to confront the leadership,

of six months, to link up with the rest of the groups, of the tendencies which exist in Italy, with the Pro-Chinese, with the group in Parma, the group in

Calabria, the groups in different places which are organising. They must intervene and discuss publicly with them. This is more than ever necessary.

## DISCUSS PUBLICLY WITH THE MASSES THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE WORKERS PROGRAMME

It is necessary to have a public discussion on the crisis of Italian Capitalism within the Italian working class, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants. It is necessary to appeal for massive public discussions with thousands of people. It is necessary to discuss and to argue in the streets and in the squares; socialists, communists, pro-chinese, trotskysts everybody; and they must discuss in the universities in the streets, the workers quarters, the trade union centres. This will encourage and stimulate the enormous creative capacity of the masses who will see that they are unified. The masses are united in Italy as in the rest of the world and unified.

It is necessary to call for the United Front with all the pro-Chinese groups, the new groups in the P.C.I.; a United Front to discuss the policy of the United Front, whose essential centre is the activity in the factory front. It is necessary to publish a journal of the United Front, in which to make an appeal for the struggle for the programme of the sliding scale of wages, for secure employment, for the basic minimum wage, for the sliding scale of hours; no one to be unemployed, giving of the land to the peasants, equal pay to the peasants and

the workers, expropriation of the church lands, democratic liberty of the press, word, idea, organisation, freedom for all political prisoners. Out with Imperialism! Unconditional support to Vietnam! Public discussion of events in China, of the crisis of the Soviet Union, of the crisis with the Soviet Union, of the crisis of Cuba, of Vietnam. For the discussion on the programme of the struggle of the masses in Europe; public discussion on the European United Front, for the United Front of the European Masses, for the worker, peasant, student centre. For the United Socialist States of Europe. For the worker and peasant alliance, for the worker and peasant government, with the programme of land to the peasant, collectivisation of the great landed estates.

A new historic situation has arisen accompanied by the crisis of the Chinese revolution, and this will influence the whole world. The spirit of the Italian masses is alive in the class struggle. In the next phase this spirit and this action will be accompanied by the crisis in China and by the progress of the world revolution.

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J. POSADAS

## EDITORIAL

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Capitalism to respond to any of the problems of the masses, the trade union bureaucrats do nothing to organise the struggle for the defence of workers rights, for the economic and political demands of the working class. This struggle must be organised by the rank and file, the unofficial and shop steward committees, organising themselves on a national basis (with the perspective of making contact with European workers organisations) on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme.

The basis exists for the organisation of revolutionary currents in the base of the trade unions, as the last T.U. conferences and the abstentions in the by-elect-

ions have shown. The workers vanguard in the factories, in the trade union and in the workers districts must organise revolutionary currents and tendencies on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme, gaining confidence from the success of the masses of the whole world the defeats of U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam, the expulsion of British Imperialism from Aden, and the attacks on the administrators and conciliators like Liu-Shao-Chi, in the political revolution in China.

It is necessary to link the demands for a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, longer holidays, nationalisations and workers control etc. with demands for the withdrawal of troops from Aden and from the Far East and Germany, and support for the Spanish masses against Franco and the Greek masses against the military coup.

## The Greek military coup

A BLOW TO CONTAIN THE STRUGGLE OF THE GREEK MASSES.

### STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE GREEK MASSES

The military take over in Greece was quite clearly on the agenda for a considerable time. As the Greek masses had no revolutionary workers centre around which to centralise themselves, the initiative has remained for the time being in the hands of the army, but under unfavourable conditions compared with the period 1950 to 1960. Particularly since the fall of Karamanlis in 1963 the mobilisation of the Greek masses has continued unabated. Strikes and demonstrations have punctuated the whole period. The attitude of the Centre Union party led by Papandreou and the EDA. a front for the Communist Party had been one of using the electoral support of the masses for electoral manoeuvres. Such a policy was doomed to failure. Sooner or later the right wing had to strike because the pressure of the masses was persistent and growing—and apparently the coup was precipitated by the fears of the results of Papandreou's proposed meeting in Salonica.

Greece has been in continuous crisis for several years and this has been shown by the acts of terrorism committed by the Greek bourgeoisie against the masses. The most characteristic was the assassination of Lambrakis, a Greek deputy by Greek fascists with the obvious connivance of the police.

In 1965 the monarchy resolved to dis-

pose of the Papandreou government and the original cause arose from the so called Aspida plot which significantly involved Greek army officers who were accused of plotting against the government. Since that crisis the threat of a military coup has been continuous and the existing 'left' parties have refused to lead a genuine struggle against Capitalism and the monarchy, merely campaigning during the last period for a new election, when it was perfectly clear that the right wing was preparing a military coup. The Greek communists did not call for any mobilisation in the form of a general strike, they have simply called for a "democratic solution". The strike of the building workers against arrests of their members and the struggles of the Salonica students showed the maturing towards a new major crisis.

What is particularly significant is that the forces of Capitalism act uncertainly. The split in the bourgeoisie was shown by the fact that at first the coup did not have the support of the king. The king only gave his support after the coup could be seen to be successful. The so-called "left wing" officers plot revealed that forces exist in the army who do not accept the leadership of the right wing fascist fanatics. And in fact we can accept quite certainly that in the final encounter shortly between the masses and

the army, the army will disintegrate.

The military coup in Greece has of course a European significance—the process towards a direct repression of the masses is obvious throughout Europe. In Germany we have the emergency laws. In Belgium and Holland there are imposed incomes policies. In Spain there is continuous conflict between the masses and the forces of repression. In Southern Ireland the government threatens the farmers organisations that it cannot tolerate its defiance of the government.

The military coup in Greece demands the mobilisation of the workers states in full support of the repressed Greek masses.

For the preparation of the European General Strike to smash the fascist military coup.

For the United Socialist States of Europe.

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**The VIII World Congress of the IV International has been held**

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

**Workers of the World, Unite!**

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



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FORTNIGHTLY

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SIXPENCE

## OUT WITH BRITISH TROOPS FROM ADEN AND HONG KONG. STRIKES DEMONSTRATIONS! IN SUPPORT OF THE MASSES

The process leading to the third world war has been obviously abbreviated in the most recent events. Yankee Imperialism has now bombed the centre of Hanoi and invaded the "neutral" zone between North and South Vietnam. Westmorelands call for more troops was part of the preparation for the coming attack on North Vietnam and all the groundwork for this was prepared at the Guam conference. The attack has caused Chou en Lai who represents the conciliatory wing of the Chinese leadership to affirm that China will send in troops if North Vietnam is attacked. But he also said that China would not attack first and repudiated the conception of the preventative war. This speech of Chou en lai shows the way in which the leadership of the Chinese workers state lags far behind the level of maturity of the Chinese masses. The pressure of the Chinese masses, their desire to link the political revolution in China with the advance of the whole world revolution has been demonstrated again with the riots of the workers in Hong Kong. Yet again owing to their lack of an overall revolutionary world strategy with a coherent programme, the Chinese leadership instead of building upon this fearlessly, marching into Hong Kong, appealing to the Chinese masses of Hong Kong and the world masses, resorts to diplomatic protests. But clearly the pressure of the Chinese masses is enormous and we appeal to the British workers in their factory committees to express solidarity with the workers of Hong Kong with strikes, demonstrations etc.

The world revolutionary process has all the features of unequal and combined development. It has an overall direction which reflects itself in the inability of Imperialism anywhere to guarantee itself periods of stability and the inability of the soviet bureaucracy to control the process. But within this there are different levels of mobilisation of the masses. In the upheavals of the revolution war revolution such differences will disappear, but at this stage they can be marked. For example at the moment in Spain, the level of combativity of the masses is extremely high. Strikes and conflicts with the police and army point to the development of civil war. In Greece the Capitalists have been forced to resort to dictatorship; in Italy the army and the politicians worry over the timing of the military coup; in France ten million workers support a general strike and show to the world the centralisation of the French masses against Capitalism. On the other hand in Great Britain and Germany, the process is apparently slower and more complex. This does not mean that the process is going to be any less explosive—the accumulation of class fury continues—but the forms are different and the process is more protracted and tortuous. But the degree of interinfluence at this stage of world history is unprecedented even in countries where the revolutionary process is less marked, the accumulation of influence from the world revolution is enormous.

In Great Britain the crumbling of Capitalist social authority continues. Imperialism shows itself to be in a total impasse. Incapable of containing the masses of Aden and South Arabia, British

the great social crisis which was expressed in the political defeat of the Tories in the last general elections. The Chancellor may report that the balance of payments is out of crisis, but this is only achieved by the complete stagnation of production. The internal market for Capitalism has been relatively saturated for years but now economic paralysis is the rule and this again erodes Capitalist authority even among its supporters. The Tories may jibe at Wilsons elaborate manoeuvres which lead nowhere but they also have no other perspective.

It has been clear for some time despite important actions by the class and the threatened national strikes on the railways for example, that the workers have yet to find their ways to forms of organisation which will centralise their activity and overcome the dissipation of struggles induced by the co-operation of the trade union bureaucracy with the government. For many years the workers in Great Britain have developed the shop stewards committees and the unofficial strike as a means of expressing themselves against the union bureaucracy, in general impervious to their

wishes. However, such organisation as exists does not meet the demands of the new historic phase of struggle. It is essential to overcome the localisation of struggle and the isolation of struggles in one industry from those in another. And this can only be overcome by adopting the perspective of a national unification of factory committees with a full anti Capitalist programme of struggle.

The trade union apparatus shows only a monumental obstructiveness. It bends over backwards to accommodate the employers. Recently in the shipbuilding industry the employers agreed to "respect" shop stewards in exchange for the "elimination" of wild cat strikes. All this is as farcical as the attempt to prevent strikes in Fairfields but it reveals that the union apparatus is totally incapable of leading the workers struggle and wishes positively to prevent it. In the coal industry Paynter the "communist" Secretary attacks the miners for absenteeism and refuses to wage more than verbal attacks on the governments policy of pit closures.

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## The elections in France: the votes obtained by the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) and the organisation of the Revolutionary Vanguard for the fight for power **J. Posadas**

16. 3. 67

The French Section of the Fourth International put forward a candidate in the elections on the 5th March in the constituency of Saint-Denis, bastion of the Communist Party. Out of 38,000 votes we obtained 407, the official figure furnished by the electoral commission. But on a table for counting the votes the comrades saw that in one envelope there were 7 communist bulletins and the programme of the Trotskyists. On another table the comrades saw the party slogans on spoiled or annulled voting cards. The comrades were only able to see this in a very few places, but the little that they saw allowed them to judge that they obtained many more votes than those attributed to them by the electoral commission. The comrades estimated their total vote at 600 and we share this opinion.

The votes for the party, both those recorded and those not, show that there exists a current disposed to support the socialist revolution, to fight for it and to utilise all the centres which it can find to demonstrate this will.

These 407 votes have an enormous significance; in this small constituency they represent 1% of the votes. It is the only area where we have been able to

make this evaluation directly. But in all the other proletarian areas in France it is the same thing. But as important as the 407 or the 600 party votes, are the votes of the communist militants who placed their votes together with the Trotskyist programme. In putting into the ballot box their communist bulletin in this way, this sector wished to express the fact that it felt that the Communist

Party is the centre of centralisation of the working class, that it does not wish to leave it because it feels itself united organisationally to the rest of the working class, but at the same time it shows its will to struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution. These are the sectors which are to be found in the Communist Party who wish to exert pressure, within the Communist Party and who will find the way to do so in one way or another. There is a proletarian and revolutionary vanguard of workers, students, peasants, who only await the opportunity to show in struggle, the way to smash Capitalism. Already before the elections, the proletariat and a great sector of the petit bourgeoisie had shown

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**The VIII World Congress and the first World Cadre School of the IV International has taken place. The next issue of RED FLAG will contain the May Day Manifesto from the VIII World Congress**

# Statement from the European Bureau on the Coup d'Etat in Greece

The recent coup d'etat in Greece is the desperate response which a sector of Greek Capitalism, as agents of Yankee Imperialism through the C.I.A. gives to the anti-capitalist struggle of the masses, to the growing mobilisation of the masses, to the social crisis of Greek Capitalism. Capitalism can no longer govern with the support of the masses and not even of the petit bourgeoisie. The Greek situation showed clearly, from two years ago, that the solution was either Socialist revolution or military coup d'etat. There is no possibility of a third way. Because of this comes the failure of Papandreou. Papandreou represents a sector of Greek Capitalism which is interested in the development of the internal market and which seeks to maintain Capitalism by making certain democratic bourgeois concessions to the masses and carrying on a policy not completely dependent on Yankee Imperialism. But Greek Capitalism can no longer tolerate a Papandreou; be it because of the weakness of the Capitalist sector interested in the internal market, be it because of the growing intervention of the Yankee monopolies, but above all because of the social crisis of Capitalism of the country, where whatever concessions Papandreou might have made to the masses would have been taken by the masses as an impulse to go further forward, passing over Papandreou and passing over the limits of bourgeois and Capitalist 'democracy'. Through the absence of any other centre (the C.P. and the EDA are no longer identified as the centre) a sector of the masses channelled behind Papandreou are in reality fighting for objectives which go further than Papandreou, with a process of mobilisations and of maturing of the masses towards revolutionary, anti-capitalist objectives, programme, and methods of struggle. Moreover, Greek Capitalism has to confront the European Common Market (ECM) and because of this—as with the rest of Capitalism and particularly the weakest sector such as Spain and Italy—it has to concentrate, eliminating a series of weak industries, to modernise, but above all to increase the super-exploitation of the masses, refusing increases in wages, worsening the conditions of work, increasing the pace; and at the same time sacking etc. In order to apply all this they must have a 'strong' government; because of this it is impossible for Greek Capitalism to maintain Papandreou; because of this the first coup of July 1965. They removed Papandreou but for the moment they were not able to impose a directly military coup. At the same time that they intended and showed the necessity of a coup they showed the weakness with which they were going to do it. For nearly two years they have carried on making do with governments of transition while at the same time increasing the repression against the workers, but without being able to stop the mobilisation of the masses. Because of this the moment arrived when the alternatives were posed clearly: revolutionary mobilisation of the masses to impose all their demands and the objective of the socialist republic, or coup d'etat. Because of this came first the coup of Cannellopoulos and afterwards, above all in the face of the capitulatory reaction of the EDA, the CP and the Centre, came the military coup d'etat. It has been the attitude of the EDA, of the CP and of the Centre which has impelled the military to give the coup. These leaderships faced with Cannellopoulos protested but showed that they were not disposed to do anything to overthrow him. Because to overthrow him would have meant resorting to the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, and this would have meant the civil war, the revolution and with this also the death not only of the king and Cannellopoulos, but also the death of all of them. And they have preferred the coup d'etat to the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses. And this animated the military to launch the coup.

But in spite of this one sees at the same time the weakness with which they

have made this coup. According to the latest news not all the military were with the coup and the king himself seemed to have doubts, not because they were not in agreement with the need for a coup, but because they were frightened of the consequences, they feared consequences unfavourable to them and they wanted a softer form of coup. It is their fear of the response of the masses which will not be long in showing itself. This does not mean days or a few weeks, although it is possible that it will be immediate. But the fundamental thing is that there is no perspective of stability for the coup. It is the same as Posadas has analysed about the other military coups which have occurred in the last three years, from that of Brazil to this one in Greece: there are no historic conditions, there are no world relations of forces which permit the stability of such coups. Fascism is not possible in Greece. Because of this it is necessary to reject the attitude of the CPs of Europe which wail about fascism in Greece with the attitude of someone trying to convince the masses that one must now expect and endure a long period of fascism in Greece. No fascism is possible in this stage of history either in Greece or in any other place. Independently of the intentions of those who carried out the coup, there is not a favourable relation of forces to do the thing which characterises fascism; the destruction of the organisation of the masses. It can deliver blows, can imprison, and kill. But it cannot destroy the organisations of the masses. It does not have the strength to do it. The Greek masses are neither destroyed nor disorganised, nor defeated. They have taken a blow but they have not been defeated because they have not been in combat. At the moment of combat they were abandoned by their official leadership. But they have had an enormous experience in these last days and weeks, and not only the base of the EDA and the CP, but also a very important part of the petit-bourgeois base of the Centre, which has seen that there is no possibility of a 'centre' policy but that it is necessary to fight for the overthrow of Capitalism, its King and Imperialism which supports them both and which intervenes here because of the danger which the situation in Greece means for the revolutionary development in the rest of Europe, and in order to carry forward its world policy of the preparation of the atomic war. The masses have made this experience and they only have to provide the revolutionary leadership. They do not feel defeated, they do not feel disorganised, they are intact, the only thing they lack is the revolutionary leadership and the experience of the these weeks will impel them to prepare themselves for the overthrow of the coup and Capitalism, constructing their revolutionary leadership. And in this the Greek section must play a determinant role, it must build itself as the organising centre of the united front which it is necessary to make between the base, the groups, the revolutionary tendencies of the CP, of the EDA, of the pro-Chinese, of the trade unions, and also of the group 'Workers Democracy'. The role of Trotskyism in this process will be of immense importance.

The coup d'etat in Greece will have very important repercussions in all of Europe. The result of the coup in reality is going to be the acceleration of the final settlement of accounts. European Capitalism has reacted with enormous fear to the coup d'etat in Greece because it understands that this signifies the civil war in a very short period. And the civil war in Greece is going to have enormous repercussions in all the rest of Europe, and will accelerate the civil war in other countries of Europe. At the same time this coup will stimulate sectors of the armies of other European countries, particularly in Italy, Belgium, in Spain to do a similar thing to what the military in Greece have done. The military coup d'etat is on the agenda in

all of Europe, and particularly in these three countries. Also in Spain, to restore fascism within the skeleton of what remains of fascism, No longer being able to count upon the petit bourgeoisie, Capitalism has more and more to base itself on military force, on military repression. This is already now a necessity for Capitalism. If it still has not done this it is because of the fear of the reaction of the masses. What Comrade Posadas foresaw nearly four years ago now one can see clearly: in Italy the C.P. itself everyday feels obliged to speak up against the coup d'etat which sectors of the army are preparing: while one year ago the bureaucrats said that Posadas and the Trotskyists were mad because they foresaw this problem. But the C.P. even though it is beginning to denounce that a coup is being prepared does nothing to defeat it. It is preparing to take the same attitude as in Greece. But already there is the development of the revolutionary current which is going

to pass over the bureaucracy but Capitalism continues to hope for the opportunity and prepares itself for the opportunity to strike a blow.

Because of this it is necessary to link closely the mobilisations for Greece with the struggle in each country in Europe. In the leaflets of the party, of groups of tendencies etc. it is necessary to show in the agitation and propaganda, the link which exists between this and the struggle in each country for workers power, starting with immediate demands and the struggle against the attempts which will be made by other coups. It is necessary to discuss with the revolutionary groups and tendencies which are maturing in a united front with the party in order to prepare for these perspectives in order to respond to the coups which Capitalism intends to give, with the revolutionary struggle by-passing the bureaucratic leaderships which will remain paralysed.

Revolutionary greetings for the  
European Bureau

## EDITORIAL

### Out with imperialism from Hong Kong and Aden

Continued from page 1

The trade unions by and large have assisted the government to hold down wages and the masses have been unable to find the leadership corresponding to the level of their centralisation as expressed in the voting strength for the Labour Party (shown in the elections). The viciousness of the apparatus was shown yet again in the recent expulsion of two militants from the woodworkers union because of the unofficial activity at the Barbican site. In France however treacherous the trade unions apparatus can be they are at least forced to call a general strike; in Great Britain the degree of integration of the TU apparatus with Capitalist interests presents an especially serious block to the advance of the masses.

Nevertheless the continuous even if fragmented nature of the struggles in Great Britain and the militant spirit increasingly evident among the most advanced sectors of the student movement and expressed in recent noises about strike action by teachers, plus the abstentions among sectors of the vanguard in the elections, shows convincingly that conditions are preparing for a great leap forward. All the momentum of the political revolution in China, the advance of the world revolution, the resistance of the European masses to the policies of Capitalism lead us to say that the apparent slowness of the mobilisation of

the masses in Great Britain is only a transitory stage. The masses are feeling more and more the full weight of the process leading to the final encounter. We see only the calms before the storm. The specific obstacles before the British masses, the integration of its traditional leaderships with the Capitalist class, the treachery of the Communist Party, the strength of the more conservative aristocracy of labour diminish in power as the whole world process develops. The objective necessity is for a new workers leadership which will have to find its source of influence within the shop stewards committees, the factories, where the workers feel their own power; and the logic of the process dictates the emergence of this leadership.

The world bourgeoisie more and more moves to repressive action; de Gaulle has to rule by decree. Parliament in Great Britain is more and more remote from the real struggles. The rapidly developing situation in Europe demands the preparation of the European General Strike, full support to the French, Spanish, Italian and Greek workers etc in the struggle to overthrow Capitalism. The masses must prepare to push forward their struggles for a 35 hour week, workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, equal pay for equal work etc. with calls for strikes and demonstrations demanding the withdrawal of all British troops from Hong Kong and Aden.

## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).  
*Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73, Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.

**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Rochongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.

**INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay.  
*Rivista Marxista Europea*, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

# The elections in France, the votes obtained by the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) and the organisation of the Revolutionary Vanguard for the fight for power

(Continued from page 1)

their desire to conquer Capitalism, their will to smash it. The loss of votes registered by De Gaulle and the right show this. In their struggles, strikes, occupations of factories, meetings and demonstrations the proletariat has led and influenced the petit bourgeoisie attracting it and concentrating it under its own leadership. This is its response to the social and economic crisis of French Capitalism, to the increase in the cost of living; it concentrates its social forces, and does it in spite of the sabotage of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. On the one hand there is the concentration of capital the logical objective of which is the preparation and the realisation of the nuclear war to try to resolve the social crisis of Capitalism, which causes the absorption and the liquidation of the small and medium industrialists, traders, and landed proprietors. On the other hand the petit bourgeoisie has seen the working class as the leaders and the organisers to combat this social crisis. It is for this reason that it has expressed itself as it has during the elections. It is not the policy of the Communist Party or the Socialist Party which has attracted the petit bourgeoisie. The policy of these parties has consisted in containing, blocking, sabotaging the unified struggles of the proletariat. They have atomised the struggles fought against the enormous will of the workers to resort to revolutionary methods. The leadership of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party have repressed, denounced, persecuted and handed over to the management and the police those militants and members of the Communist Party who rejecting the slogans of the Communist and Socialist parties have organised strikes and demonstrations giving to these leaderships a lesson in struggle, combativity, and class security. The policy of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party tends to intimidate, to paralyse, to smash the combative will of the working class. Such a policy cannot attract the petit bourgeoisie. What has attracted it is the combative will of the proletariat, its unanimous strikes, its resolute struggle for the right to work, its meetings, factory occupations and occupations of mines which demonstrate a powerful will to struggle and triumph. This was shown during the elections. But fundamentally it is the layer of the new young electors which voted for the Communist and Socialist parties. About 7,000,000 votes correspond to this new generation of electors. This has an immense and decisive importance, that is to say the youth incorporate themselves in political struggles, seeking to exert a pressure and to decide against Capitalism. These are the same young men who in an intransigent fashion have organised, led and given victory to strikes. The worker vanguard which abstained from the preceding presidential elections where De Gaulle was elected, has shown in the result its will to struggle in strikes, factory occupations, and meetings. Now it has concentrated its will in voting and in attracting a sector of the petit bourgeoisie, influencing the petit bourgeoisie on the path of radicalisation. Altogether it has assembled about between 45 to 48% of the votes. It is master of the country.

These elections were accompanied by uninterrupted strikes by the proletarian masses in France. The elections are a verdict a political and historic demonstration of the masses who have affirmed in voting for the Communist Party and the Socialist Party that they want power. They have already shown this will during elections, during strikes, meetings, demonstrations. The elections have only confirmed the conscious will of the revolutionary class concentrated in the workers parties and in the trade unions

and workers centres seeking to push forward the centralisation to impell the struggle to defend the right to work, against unemployment, against the increase in the cost of living, for democratic rights but at the same time it shows the will of the class to obtain its objectives to smash Capitalism. There is in France a great concentration and a great polarisation of forces: the elections are a major proof of this. The leadership of the Communist Party and that of the Socialist Party have no interest, are against this manifestation of the French working class, but the masses will know well how to find the means for the organisation of the leadership which responds to this will of anti-Capitalist struggle. Great events, the great struggles are in process of preparing themselves in France not for tomorrow but for a very near future. As throughout Europe there is a polarisation and a progress in the struggle of the masses an elevation, a dynamism, a rapid rhythm in the advance towards the most elevated struggle of

the masses. Spain is the most important example of this process, because of the conditions of repression under which the proletariat still has to live. The Pro-Chinese groups have failed. Their political publicity, their role as propagandists and journalists of events which lie outside France, as commentators on the 'Cultural Revolution' which they do not understand as the political revolution and without appealing for the socialist revolution, have shown themselves useless in France. While the revolution advances in France, the Pro-Chinese vegetate. The world revolution has influenced and continues to influence the masses in France as in all Europe. In particular the political revolution in China has played an immense role and exercised an immense influence on the French masses. With their class spirit and their class decision, the masses have applied themselves in these elections to what is the vital centre of the progress of the political revolution in China: The will of the masses to intervene and to decide.

Party and can be compared to the interventions of the proletarian vanguard in the Communist and Socialist Party in pushing forward the revolutionary and class will, appealing for the organisation of the struggle for the socialist revolution.

The 407 votes collected by the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) at Saint Denis, are an expression of a current of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party which wishes to struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution. These votes, the intervention of our party, the audacity, and the resolution of our small party—small numerically, but immense in capacity, political decision, militant and combative will—have served to stimulate the vanguard to pursue its struggle, to affirm its decision, to push forward its struggle for a revolutionary and class programme, for the recall of officials, for the political and democratic rights of the working class, for the revolutionary and class policy in order to liquidate French Capitalism. Our French section by its interventions in the elections, has shown that it influences, stimulates and orientates sections of the vanguard and receives itself the combative influence of this vanguard.

The security of our French section in the programme, the policy and the objectives of the IV International were not sufficient to allow it to confront the gangsters of the Communist Party; the effective support, sympathy, solidarity of the population of Saint-Denis in relation to our party have served to establish the inter influence even on a limited scale between the political security of our French Section and of the IV International and the will to struggle of the proletarian French revolutionary vanguard. It is one of the expressions of the inter influence between the IV International and the sectors of the revolutionary vanguard who are those who are going to decide and to lead the struggles for power in Europe in the very near future. The political programmatic and organisational security of our section have been affirmed by the support received by this vanguard and it is this which has stimulated our own section. The electoral triumph of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, the electoral triumph of the left, must strengthen itself in the struggle for the transitional programme of economic, political demands and the conscious development and preparation of the conscious and revolutionary leadership for the struggle for power in France. The essential task in the whole of Europe, as in the entire world, is the organisation of the revolutionary leadership which acts, not as a simple opposition to the leadership of the CP and the SP, but which sets itself up as an effective leadership to organise and extend, to progressively enlarge the organisation of the proletarian vanguard, creating the leadership which struggles for the programme of the Socialist Revolution. The stages, the periods, and the tactic are determined by the general course of the class struggle in France and in the entire world.

These elections in France and the votes received by our party demonstrate that Trotskyism is not a small number of people. The party can be numerically small, but it has an ability, an authority infinitely superior to its numerical strength, because there is a whole proletarian, peasant, intellectual, student vanguard which like our French Section, like the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) is fighting for power. The Trotskyists, the French Section with its organ "Lutte Communiste" must act, not with the feeling of being a small group, but feeling itself to be the centre which responds to the necessity, to the will to fight of groups who are becoming larger

## THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD

In China the masses, a fundamental sector of the workers, of the students, of the peasantry, have been those with the initiative with the capacity to impel the activity, the mobilisations to create the organisms which express the will and furnish the means of applying their will to develop the socialist revolution. The leaderships are only a reflection of this will of the Chinese masses. In France the betrayed and repressed proletarian vanguard repressed by the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties has not been discouraged or allowed itself to be demoralised. In basing themselves and strengthening themselves on the influence of the world revolution and in particular of the political revolution in China, the proletarian vanguard has had to meet with the sabotage of the Communist and Socialist parties. Its attitude is dynamic, its combative initiative and resolution have gained the confidence of the masses, have led them in strikes and elections. It is in this process of the preparation and organisation of the re-

volutionary proletarian vanguard that the French Section of the IV International has intervened. Our Party, the French Section of the IV International, the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) and its newspaper 'Lutte Communiste' have experienced a hundred times more pressure, intimidation, sabotage, police attacks than the proletarian vanguard has had to undergo. Our comrades have been attacked, repressed by the Communist Party; veritable groups of gangsters have been thrown against our comrades, to take their material from them, to beat them up, to stop them from speaking, to hinder them from pursuing their activity. Our comrades have resisted with decision, energy and revolutionary security. And they have continued their electoral and revolutionary propaganda, confronting the physical and material attacks of the gangsters of the Communist Party. And our comrades have not allowed themselves to be intimidated; they have not hesitated, they have continued their activities in one of the bastions of the Communist

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# SPAIN:

The University Federation of the democratic students of Spain which has played an important role in the worker and student struggles of February in Madrid, Barcelona, Saragossa, Valencia and the other cities of Spain, has adopted an anti Capitalist programme of the student worker alliance which has been approved with unanimity in various parts of the country.

This programme contains an analysis of the situation in Spain, of the weakness of Capitalism to solve the most elementary problems of teaching in the schools, in the universities and organise the struggle to construct a worker student alliance with the support of the peasants to overthrow Capitalism and institute a workers state in Spain.

We synthesise the principal points of this programme.

## The F.U.D.E. puts forward a programme of the worker - student anti-capitalist alliance

### ON THE POPULAR UNIVERSITY

— Grants for all those whose economic situation demand it.

— Secularisation and state control of education at all levels.

— No private corporation can fulfill the function of teaching to cover all the necessities of the country.

— Subordination of the groups of students and professors to the political, economic and military objectives of the worker's state.

— Mobilisation of students and teachers in the constructive tasks which the workers state determine of an economic and military order.

— Vigilance of students and teachers so that the education imparted in the university should be of a popular character.

— The union of teachers and students determines the programme of teaching.

— It is of the maximum interest for the socialist republic that the popular masses intervene fully in the educational and cultural tasks. The socialist republic will promote this as a fundamental objective.

### ON THE INTERNAL POLICY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

— Political power will be exercised directly by the committees of workers and peasants and soldiers. Such committees will send their delegates to the supreme organ of the workers state: the Supreme Committee.

— The economic decisions taken by the Communes will be carried out by the Supreme Council on an economic plane throughout the country.

### ON EXTERNAL POLICY

The Socialist Republic will break unilaterally

ally all the political, economic, military and cultural agreements signed by the dictatorship with any imperialist country whatsoever and in particular with Yankee Imperialism and the Vatican.

The workers state will conduct a policy of fraternal collaboration with all the other workers states and the popular masses of the world including themselves unconditionally in the WORLD ANTI CAPITALIST AND ANTI IMPERIALIST FRONT.

It will apply constantly the principle of proletarian internationalism supporting materially and morally all the movements of popular liberation throughout the world.

All the decisions, negotiations, political, economic etc will be discussed and sanctioned by the committees of the workers, peasants, students and soldiers.

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

## The elections in France . . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

all the time and who, are only waiting for the opportunity to advance even more in strikes, demonstrations, meetings, for the development of the revolutionary leadership, which fights for power in France. The ascendancy of the world revolution, of the political revolution in China and Cuba, is permanent, and is becoming a more important support for this struggle in France.

In this electoral campaign—which was only electoral in its form basically, the elections have been a trial of strength which prepare for others infinitely bigger.—In this action of our French section, comrades of other sections of Europe intervened: Belgium, Italy, Spain, England, under the organisation of the European bureau of the IV International, which shows the centralised capacity, the discipline, the combative will of our cadres and of the European Bureau of the IV International, which are in their turn the expression of the capacity, of the discipline and of the combativity of the working class in France, in Europe and in the world. These elections are a step towards much more profound struggles in which the proletariat is going to try to impose its anticapitalist actions;

the elections have shown the development of the polarisation of forces. One must count on these perspectives in order to organise the struggle for the united front with the revolutionary tendencies and sectors which can go forward by raising their ability and their radius of action to include bigger sectors of the exploited masses.

The leaderships of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party are going to react in alliance with Capitalism, denouncing our comrades and the communist militants, handing them over to the police, trying to get them sacked from the factories in order to try to put a brake on the development of the revolutionary tendency and the development of the class struggle. But the ability of the Communist Party to denounce is powerless before the necessity of history,

and it is this necessity of history which permits this success of our party and of the proletarian vanguard. But this necessity of history expresses itself in the combative will, in the political security of our comrades of the Parti Revolutionnaire Trotskyste and of the proletarian vanguard in France. The Communist Party has been powerless to prevent the development of our French section and its influence. It is equally powerless to prevent the development of the proletarian vanguard, and it will be less and less able to prevent it in future. By basing itself on these historic and concrete conclusions, our section must dynamically undertake the task, the activity of the organisation of the struggle for power in France.

J. POSADAS

16. 3. 67

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## The strike at Fairfields is a blow against the conciliation of the Trade Union leaders with the bosses

The two week strike by 538 semiskilled and unskilled shipbuilding workers at the Fairfield shipyard, on the Clyde, has ended in victory for the workers. A pay increase of 6d on hour has been gained, but it is only a partial victory. Partial, in the sense that an agreement has been made which provides for the run down, by 100 men of the labour force by 'natural wastage'. The agreement also states that any member of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers Union (NUGMW) will be prepared to do the work of any other member of the NUGMW. However, 6d an hour represents a 10% pay increase for the many workers who are earning 6/- an hour. This victory at Fairfields will have a great effect on the workers of other Clydeside shipyards.

The strike at Fairfields is very significant because the shipyard is part owned by some trade unions and has a 'no strike' agreement. At the end of 1965 the Fairfield shipyard owned by the Lithgow family, went broke. It was 'saved' by the formation of a new company which was supported by the government, by some trade union bureaucrats, and by private investment. Unions like the N.U.G.M.W. sunk large sums of their funds into the new company.

This was a prime example of the completely pro-Capitalist nature of the trade union bureaucracies. When a Capitalist enterprise fails, in the way Fairfields did in 1965, the trade union bureaucrats do

not demand nationalisation under workers control. No! they hasten to use union funds to prop up a failing Capitalist enterprise!

In the reorganisation of Fairfields the official union leadership played their full part as agents of Capitalism. A "no strike" agreement was made and pledges of workers co-operation, in attempts to get higher productivity, were obtained. No effort was spared to give the impression that Fairfields was different from all other Capitalist enterprises. Shop stewards were given their own office in an attempt to make them into bureaucrats. Workers at the yards however, were not impressed and the "no strike" agreement was soon broken. The traditionally militant boiler makers struck first and gained 9d, an hour increase. The apprentices and maintenance men have also struck at different times. Most recently the lower paid workers demanded 6d. an hour but this was refused unless there was a cut in the labour force and the workers refused to accept redundancies in the yard and came out on strike. The "official" leadership of the N.U.G.M.W. true to form, instructed the workers to return to work, but these instructions were ignored by the workers. The Scottish organiser of the N.U.G.M.W. who attempted to address a meeting at the yard had a job to make himself heard. His argument that "union members had no dispute with the company" was as unsuccessful as it was stupid and only

served to completely expose the pro-Capitalist role of the union bureaucrat.

The collapse of the Fairfield company was yet another symptom of the deepening crisis of Capitalism. At this stage of the world revolutionary process the demand for nationalisation under workers control and without any compensation to the former owners of failing Capitalist enterprises is the only correct demand. It is also necessary for workers in ship building, and all other industries to strengthen their own shop floor organisation around the anti-Capitalist programme.

FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL MAJOR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION TO THE FORMER OWNERS.

FOR WORKERS OCCUPATION AND RUNNING OF ALL FAILING ENTERPRISES.

FOR A TRADE UNION CENTRE BASED ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.

FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME AS THE FIRST STEP TO WORKERS POWER.

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Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED FLAG**

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



NO 51

FORTNIGHTLY

JUNE 10th 1967

SIXPENCE

# The workers militias in Syria, the counter — revolutionary reaction of Israel and of imperialism and the development of the permanent socialist revolution in the Middle East and the world

**J. POSADAS 22. 5. 67**

The events in the Middle East rapidly confirm the forecasts of the VIII World Congress of the IV International. Imperialism, by means of the reactionary Israeli bourgeoisie, is trying to repress the development of the Arab revolution, particularly in Syria. The workers militias in Syria and the recent nationalisations show the progress and the depth of the Permanent revolution in the Middle East, the world influence of the revolution and the elevated methods of struggle and of programme.

The forms of the revolution are not clear, but the reactions of the Arab masses are decisive and clear. Nasser sees himself forced to come out in defence of the progress of the revolution. He does it because of the pressure of the masses, because the social weight of the masses and of the nationalisations force him to respond. He tries to gain advantage for the revolutionary Arab bourgeois tendency, but he has to do it by defending the social revolution of Syria.

Such a defence does not suit the bourgeoisie of the Arab countries. The attitude of Nasser is the direct expression of the influence of the permanent socialist revolution in the Middle East. But his response is feeble. It is a bourgeois nationalist response, not a revolutionary socialist one.

The masses are trying to go further than the bourgeois leadership. The masses pose immediately the expropriation of all the imperialist enterprises. These measures were not popular with the bourgeois leadership. The basis of the reactionary attitude of Imperialism and the bourgeoisie of Israel is to contain the development of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to explain this publicly. It is the vivid expression of unequal and combined development, of the concentrated and centralised process of the socialist world revolution. It is necessary to call for the unconditional support of the conquests of the revolution in Syria, for the expropriation of imperialism in the Middle East, the expropriation of all the oil-wells, their functioning under workers control, for the expropriation and distribution of the land in the whole of the Middle East, calling the Jewish masses of Israel to a United front for the nationalisation of all the forms of property in order to constitute the Arab Socialist Federation of the Middle East, for the right of self determination of the masses of Israel, calling them to make a United Front against Imperialism, against the bourgeoisie and against the landowners. It is necessary, to do this, so that the masses of Israel nationalise, appropriate all the property of the bourgeoisie of Israel and form a part of the Arab Socialist Federation incorporating their technical capacity, their higher social development, for the development of the Socialist Arab Federation of the Middle East, of which the Jews would form a part.

The Jewish state of Israel is a reactionary buffer state, organised by imperialism to try to contain the development of the Arab revolution in the Middle East. Imperialism could do it (ie set up the State of Israel) with the collaboration of Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy, because of the

agreements at Yalta in 1945, through the United front between Stalin and world imperialism, against the development of the revolution in the Middle East, and because of the division of the world into zones of influence between imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy and the fragmentation of the Middle East into little states.

But the development of the revolution could, can and will be able to do more than all that which the imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy do. The world forces of the revolution force the Soviet bureaucracy to intervene even though with caution, influencing and restraining the immediate objectives of imperialism to invade Syria and Egypt. For the second time the Soviet Workers State makes its force and historic necessity felt and forces the Soviet bureaucracy to intervene even though limitedly, to express the historic weight of the Workers State. The masses of the Soviet Workers State and the historic necessity of the Soviet Workers State, to influence and advance, rally to the defence of the Arab revolution even though the power of the Workers State is limited because of the conciliatory policy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Independently of the conclusions of this counter revolutionary and reactionary intention of Imperialism, a superior phase of the Arab revolution and also a superior phase of the crisis of Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy is developing and will develop. The development of the revolution is going to effect Imperialism as much as the Soviet bureaucracy and will eliminate the attempts at conciliation between them to contain and smash the revolution. It is one of the effects of the political revolution in China. It will impel enormously the Arab masses to differentiate themselves in a revolutionary way from their bourgeois leadership, will stimulate and impel the development of the

TO ORGANISE THE INDEPENDENT REVOLUTIONARY CLASS  
LEADERSHIP IN THE MIDDLE EAST

world socialist revolution. And it will increase the tendencies in Yankee Imperialism for the preventative war and the world atomic war. There is still not an independent CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## Resolution of the Political Bureau of the RWP (T) on the Middle East war

The present crisis in the Middle East, as states the document by J. Posadas published above, stems from the attempt by American Imperialism working through the reactionary Jewish bourgeoisie to contain the advance of the revolution in the Middle East, particularly in Syria. The military struggle now going in the Middle East will without doubt stimulate the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist tendencies. Already Algeria has put the British and American oil companies under state control, and Iraq, Kuwait and Algeria have cut off oil supplies to U.S.A. and Britain, while Syria threatens to blow up the oil pipeline, and Egypt has closed the Suez Canal. At the same time the revolution advances in Aden, Hong Kong and Vietnam, even without a conscious leadership and without the full support of the workers states, while the political revolution in China impelled by these advances proceeds, even with some temporary delays, to the elimination of the conservative and conciliatory sectors of the Chinese leadership.

The Middle East crisis shows as did the Greek military coup that Imperialism is preparing without a short time to use its military force in order to contain the revolution. Imperialism has no other way, because it is constantly losing its social basis of support and its only defence is the world nuclear war against the world revolution and the workers states. Because of this we can say that the atomic war is very close, this is not to say that it must happen tomorrow, although this is possible, but it is certain there is not much time left before Imperialism launches the war.

The Trade Union and Labour bureaucracies have tried to isolate the British working class from the affects of the world revolution. In the past they have succeeded but today the British masses are feeling these effects. Nevertheless the bureaucracies still succeed in restraining the struggle of the British masses, and the masses do not have a centre or a mass political party which responds to their anti-Capitalist interests. Because of this we see today a certain quietness in the workers movement, a period of reflection, a period of preparation for later new leaps forward. In the past period the British masses have succeeded through strikes and class actions in improving their standard of living and have succeeded in attracting to their side the petit bourgeoisie as was shown in the last general election. Now they see that strikes on purely economic matters will gain little or no concessions. The large absentions in the last local elections reflect on the part of the working class the rejection of the line of the Labour Party; in fact the working class made the only political choice it could in the circumstances, it abstained. In the present situation where Imperialism is preparing the war, the workers must accelerate the formation of a new centre; the National Organisations of Unofficial Committees on the basis of an anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist programme.

It is necessary in this period for the workers to be ready for big historic events; for the nuclear war, for the repression of the ruling class, and for the rapid extension of the revolution throughout the world. The workers must strengthen their unofficial committees, must give them a regular democratic life, must unite them from industry to industry, must seek contact with the workers of Europe, and must make strikes and demonstrations in support of the revolutionary masses of Aden and Hong Kong and demand the withdrawal of Imperialism. The working class must organise their committees with the perspective of the organisation of the general strike and the seizure of power. They must link their immediate demands, to demands for the expropriation of Capitalism, imposing workers control through factory occupations. This is the only way the working class can respond to the present situation, there is not much time left. It is necessary to organise on this programme now.

6. 6. 1967

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE RWP(T)  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

# Manifesto of the 1st May, from the VIII World Congress of the IV International

## TO THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF THE WORLD

The VIII World Congress of the IV International appeals to the exploited masses of the world, to the masses of the workers states, to the masses of the communist parties of the capitalist countries, of Africa, Asia and Latin America, to the masses who struggle to transform the nationalist revolutions into socialist revolutions.

Capitalism is preparing to launch the world nuclear war, trying through these means to sustain itself, to defend what remains now of the world capitalist system.

Capitalism, impotent to conserve its existence through other means prepares all its economic, scientific and military capacity for the elaboration and preparation of all nuclear arms, for the construction of a world strategy and power to unleash its nuclear arms against all the workers states and against the masses of the countries who struggle against Capitalism. There will be no distinction between countries or states, it will try to turn all its military weight where proletarian concentrations exist, against the concentration of the elevated masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America and against the workers states. Its objective will be to destroy the world power of this epoch of history; the concentration of the masses. This is the form in which world Capitalism will try to confront the revolutionary will of the masses of the world to overthrow the Capitalist system and to struggle for socialism.

All the intelligence, the capacity, all the present technical capacity of the savants, of the scientists in the service of Capitalism is devoted to elevate, dynamise and extend the power of nuclear arms. There is no intention, no creation, no progress under the Capitalist system. All the energies of Capitalism are directed to the preparation of nuclear arms, to the repression of the revolutionary world movements to the repression of the nationalist movements, to repression against the insurrection of the masses in whatever part of the globe.

Economically Capitalism concentrates and increases its world financial power, militarily also; socially it retreats constantly. In every part of the world the masses rise, struggle, and together with the Workers States, the masses have established a world encirclement which advances constantly against the Capitalist system.

The masses of Europe rise constantly against the Capitalist system. France, Italy, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland and now Spain are releasing themselves from the yoke of the treacherous leaders conciliating with Capitalism. The masses in Europe show in a clear and uninterrupted way their will to smash Capitalism and to construct Socialism. The great masses in Europe are expressions of the struggle to better their conditions of life, to confront the crisis, the misery, the hunger which stems from Capitalism, to confront the constant repression of democratic rights and repression against strikes, factory occupations, and development of the political struggles of all the masses. The masses in Europe and particularly in Spain rise directly, erupting against the fascist regime to overthrow the Capitalist system and organise themselves in organisations which show their desire for a soviet life.

The decomposition and disintegration of Capitalism at the hands of the world revolution shows itself in an eloquent way by the way in which, while economically and financially Capitalism concentrates and increases its power, the social crisis of Capitalism increases in a much more profound and powerful way because the masses of Europe and the world increase their struggles against Capitalism, in strikes, in encirclement, and the social crisis of all the Capitalist parties.

There is not a single country in the world under Capitalist control which the masses do not struggle to overthrow. There is not a single year and day of Capitalist stability or tranquillity. The masses of the world have declared their will to take power. The women and the children have incorporated themselves in the world revolution and form part of

its vanguard. There is the unique example of the children of Aden who are armed with rifles and use them very well against Imperialism, in the same way as the children of Vietnam and Cuba. This is the present example of culture. The culture that arms in hand smashes Capitalism, the only way to gain life worth living.

The peasants of the world a few years ago, were a social base on which backwardness, exploitation, Capitalist barbarism supported themselves; the peasant masses of the world have welcomed and accepted the development of the struggles under the world leadership of the proletariat. All the peasant movements of the Capitalist countries, of Asia, Latin America, whatever their origins immediately accept the world influence of the proletariat. They welcome and accept it, because they immediately accept the co-operation, the collectivisation, statification and the collectivised development of the land. The peasants of the world have already accepted the influence of the world leadership of the proletariat.

There is no country in Asia, Africa and Latin America in which the peasantry is not intimately connected, socially, politically, intellectually with the world influences of the proletariat. The peasant mind, the peasantry as a socially exploited sector, the poor, middle peasantry, the rural proletariat have already accepted the world leadership of the socialist revolution. For this reason the Chinese, Cuban and Vietnamese revolution find a constant and uninterrupted world support in the peasant masses of the world. World Imperialism and Capitalism has not succeeded in rising any peasant movement against the revolution. Yet a few years ago the peasantry was a source of social mobilisation against the proletarian revolution. This shows the decisive resolution of the revolutionary will of the peasants, influenced, ordered, and directed by the world proletariat, by the existence of the 14 Workers States, by the existence of constant revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Apart from the 14 workers states there exist other states like Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville), who are close to being workers states. Imperialism has no more sustaining force than war, war in a short stage as a reply of Capitalist barbarism to the final settlement of accounts. Vietnam is the example showing that Capitalism cannot postpone its final decision. No doubt it is afraid and desperate. It is aware that it has neither the military nor material force, nor social force to launch the nuclear war, to triumph and maintain its victory. It would need a power of 100 million men alone to occupy the countries where the war is unleashed. Conscious of this, Capital-

ism blindly prepares the nuclear war, blindly, without perspectives or future. For this reason it has neither science or culture nor economic perspectives after the war.

The masses of the world following their own revolutionary decision, welcome, accept and develop each triumph, each advance of the Workers States and the masses. Revolutionary decision is now universalised, a small revolution in whatever part of the world possesses an immense transcendent force. Tanzania coming out of barbarism, enters immediately into the sphere of the world socialist revolution and organises itself with the programme of the socialist revolution. Mali, living within tribal conditions, accepts the collectivisation of the land. The Cuban masses with only seven years of the workers state, have made an economic, social and cultural development which Capitalism was incapable of producing in Cuba for a hundred years. The Cuban masses even under an opportunist political leadership and a centrist leadership, have accepted and developed all the norms of the socialist revolution. Capitalism in Latin America has been incapable of containing the development of the Latin American revolution. Only military governments can contain the economic and social interests of Capitalism. The bourgeoisie is impotent to maintain power by civil and political means, it requires military force. This demonstrates and expresses the fact that Capitalism has entered its final decline.

When the army has to replace the civil government of Capitalism, it is because it has no historic force to sustain it. The masses of the world are united through its revolutionary will. The masses of the workers states have begun their resolution to overthrow bureaucratic power. The Workers States are restrained from advancing in their socialist life, but the worker masses of the Workers States, the peasant masses, intellectuals of the Workers States, feel the influence of the revolution and have already begun the giddy ascent of the revolution in this stage of history; the political revolution.

A centre is lacking to direct, to concentrate, to orientate, to give a practical programme of action. For this decision of the masses of the world, for all those in the countries which struggle in every continent show the same will to triumph, the same will to overthrow Capitalism, and in the Workers States the same will to overthrow the bureaucracy which impedes the development of the USSR, Poland, Yugoslavia etc.

The centre which co-ordinates the revolutionary will of the world masses, in the Workers States, in Africa, Asia and Latin America is missing. The will is common to them, the decision is common to them all. All their struggles have a common objective: to deprive of all power the forces of exploitation, and coercion to remove every obstacle to the development of the socialist revolution. Imperialism is impotent to detain this process. It tries without strength to contain it; it has been incapable of containing the revolution in Tanzania, in Africa, a revolution just emerging from a tribal era. Capitalism with all its nuclear strength, with its direct material means has been incapable of containing the will of the peasant and tribal masses of Tanzania and these are organising themselves into a Worker State. This is a demonstration of the world peasant will which has accepted and welcomed already the force, programme and the proletarian leadership of the world socialist revolution.

At the conference of Presidents at Punta del Este, Imperialism was unable to draw up resolutions against the Cuban revolution which was the central object of the meeting. It was incapable of co-ordinating public action from fear of the political resolution of the masses of Latin America. At the same time that Imperialism is incapable of unifying action against the masses of Cuba and of the world, the masses centralise themselves in support of the revolution in Vietnam and China. Imperialism prepares the unified action of the Capitalist countries of Latin America against Cuba and Vietnam, but its situation demonstrates the fear of the Capitalist governments of the reaction of the poor petit bourgeois and poor masses. But the workers states receive constantly the constant and public sympathies of the poor, middle masses and the peasants and the proletariat of all the countries of the world.

The lack of a co-ordinating centre causes an immense block, an immense delay and an immense harm to history. Neither the Socialist or Communist leaderships have an interest in assuming the leadership of the world revolution. Neither the leaderships of the workers states, of the USSR, Cuba, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, no leadership of the workers states has an interest, feels itself capable or wishes to represent the interest of the world socialist revolution. It has no interest, does not feel itself capable because its bureaucratic interests are remote from the objective interests of the socialist revolution and the masses want the socialist revolution. The internal struggles in the workers states demonstrate that the contradiction between the bureaucracy in the Workers States, possible to maintain until now, is now antagonistic and cannot continue much longer. For this reason the bureaucracy of the workers states beginning with Yugoslavia and the USSR, have introduced into the Workers States Capitalist social norms and relationships. When the bureaucracy of the Workers States takes such measures it is because already the contradiction between itself and the Workers State is profoundly antagonistic. For its existence now the Workers State is not necessary, it must suppress it, it must develop the interest of private property, beginning with the autonomy of enterprise for the introduction of Capitalism in direct ways, whether financial or commercial, opening the gate to Capitalism. When the bureaucracy of the Workers States has to take such measures it is because it cannot co-exist with nationalised property, which condemns it to death and is the historic demonstration that it is useless, impotent and incapable. And these measures of the bureaucracy in the Workers States take place in the full ascendancy of the world revolution. It lacks social force, capacity and power. And the determining factor which forces the Soviet bureaucracy to take such measures is its historic weakness. Imperialism is incapable of being able to contain, to smash this world process of revolution, the Soviet bureaucracy also. For this reason Vietnam is a centre of the world conciliation of the Soviet bureaucracy with Imperialism but at the same time of the weakness, of the historic incapacity of the conciliation between the Workers States and Imperialism. This centre of conciliation which is Vietnam has shown the immense power of this small country. The historic will of the masses of Vietnam is more powerful than all the nuclear arms of Im-

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perialism and is defeating it daily. This shows before the faces of the whole masses of the world and in particular of the Workers States the will to triumph of the Vietnamese masses is stronger than all the arms of world Imperialism and that the Soviet bureaucracy interested in conciliating with Imperialism cannot betray Vietnam because the will of the masses of Vietnam, the will of the Chinese masses and the will of the world masses prevents it. And on the contrary Yankee Imperialism feels constantly that its own home-base is weakened.

The masses of the workers states, without independent and class party, without leaderships, or independent class organisations, and the masses of the United States can feel, express in all ways that the development of the world revolution influences them. The demonstration of students, of negroes, the demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people against the war in Vietnam shows that the revolutionary and socialist consciousness of the American revolutionary vanguard is advancing and is united to the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world to form a united world front against Yankee Imperialism. The actions of the masses of the workers states have an immense historic weight against Yankee Imperialism, because it prevents Yankee Imperialism from disposing freely of the masses of the United States against Vietnam and from justifying its war and making the war acceptable to the American masses. The action of the American masses possesses an immense importance in the struggle against Imperialism. It prevents it relying on all the material, military and social power of Yankee Imperialism.

In this process, humanity has no leadership. But in every part of the world at

the same moment, without co-ordination, the masses show the will to struggle against oppression, against exploitation and for the progress of humanity. The struggle of the masses of the world has the same end and objectives but does not have the same leadership, it lacks a leadership and centre.

**The revolution in China is the centre, which is lacking. Although beginning in an indirect form, timidly and vacillating, the process in constant ascendancy of the mobilisations of the masses in China forms part of this process of the world socialist revolution. In an unequal and combined form, but developing in a process of concentration and of centralisation, the mobilisations of the Chinese masses express the most elevated level reached by the revolution. But this mobilisation of the Chinese masses would have been impossible without the motor centre which determines it in part, which gives it forms and in part nourishes it constantly: the war, the struggle, the unconceivable historic action of the masses of Vietnam.**

The resistance and the struggle of the masses of Vietnam against Imperialism is one of the most elevated factors in the process of the rise of the political revolution and the essential cause of the rise of the political revolution in China. The rising, the action of the masses of Vietnam is an appeal to the masses of the world to follow this example. And the masses of the world see that a little country without resources, confronts the most powerful military power, the most concentrated and centralised power in history, Yankee Imperialism.

The Red Guards are an indirect expression, even rather weak expression of this process in the world. The rapid development of the political revolution and its passage from the struggle against

"monsters" to the realisation of the Pekin commune, of the workers councils of Shanghai and of Mukden, to the struggle against material stimulus and for the socialist stimulus, show that there is an objective centre which unifies the revolution. The will of the masses in China is the same as that of Tanzania, of Europe and of Spain. There is the same world objective centre, the will to overthrow Capitalism, but there is no objective centre which leads.

At this stage, in this period of history, the political revolution in China is the centre which must, which can, which is obliged to answer historically to the necessity to be a directing centre and centraliser of the world revolution.

The forces of the proletariat of Europe, of France, Italy, Great Britain, Spain are repressed and contained by the agent leaderships of Capitalism, conciliatory with Capitalism and incapable of answering to the necessity of history, the struggle against Capitalism. The masses do not feel a centre which can develop its enormous aptitudes and historic capacities freely. The political revolution in China is the centre which tends to liberate these oppressed and repressed forces of the world revolution. The masses of the USSR, of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of Yugoslavia, of Cuba which aspire to release themselves from the oppression of the Soviet bureaucracy see in the action of the Chinese masses the line to follow and the centre which stimulates them to follow the example in each one of these countries. But they are inorganic, disordered examples without leading centres, without programme, without objective. And the world revolution which expresses itself in every continent and country with unequal force but with equal objectives, has neither programme or centre.

**Capitalism survives owing to the action of the alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy and the communist parties, but such an alliance would neither have effect nor force to work if there existed a programme and co-ordinating centre which would express, direct and order the revolutions, the revolutionary will of the masses of the world. China must play this role. The political revolution in China is an expression of this world necessity, of this concentrated necessity. And the actions of the masses in China and the decision of the sector of the government and of the Chinese Communist Party who yield to the pressure of the masses and even in part fearing it, timidly reply in leading the struggle against the conservative wing in China, is an indirect and deformed expression of this world will of the revolution.**

A centre is necessary which prepares and directs all this process of the world revolution. It is necessary that the Chinese communist leadership, the revolutionary sector, responds and fulfills its historic responsibility, to be the organising centre of the world revolution. This is the way to prepare the final settlement of accounts in a conscious form; to organise the powerful forces of history which express the will of the masses to struggle for socialism. The political revolution in China is an aspect of the world revolution, of the will of the masses of the world, of the attack on world Capitalism. There is no political revolution in China outside this process, nor could it develop without taking into account the development of the world socialist revolution.

Imperialism cannot exist as a spectator to the war in Vietnam, it lacks the historic strength to do so. It cannot sustain for much longer the development of the political revolution in China. But the political revolution can advance in great steps, great jumps in history, develop the powerful forces of the revolution in the world, passing rapidly to the plane of the socialist revolution in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe.

The intention of the Chinese masses to impel its leadership to push forward the socialist revolution now finds only a limited reception. There is no program-

me, there is no conscious leadership, nor conscious objectives for the political revolution in China but when the essential points have to be raised and they pass from the "monsters" and Capitalist "demons" to slogans against material stimulus, against the distribution of the land for private use, against the opening of the market, against peaceful co-existence, to accept that the war is inevitable to accept that there are no peaceful ways for the construction of socialism, when this Chinese leadership must admit such conclusions even without adopting them as a programme, it is because this is the courage of the masses in China, this is what the masses of China want, and this obliges the masses of China to make those declarations and such acceptances. This is the will of the masses also of France, Italy, Spain, Brasil, Cuba, Chile, this is the will of all the exploited masses of the world, this is what unifies them. The leadership of the CCP will not be able to last much longer in this struggle without uniting itself to the world revolution. Imperialism will force it to. Imperialism will throw itself with all its force into this process.

The bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and of the communist parties and Imperialism have a common and equal interest; they fear the revolution, they are united by this terror, and it is because of this that Imperialism can intervene in Vietnam. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party must feel that this period of history depends on them.

There is no possibility of conciliation, or agreement or arrangement with the Soviet bureaucracy, which can be beneficial to the revolution. The bureaucracy does not support the revolution, nor the elevation of the struggle of the masses nor the normal struggle of the masses for their anti-capitalist interests. It is not possible to find in any Capitalist country, the smallest sector of the leadership of any communist party disposed to yield to the necessity of the anti-capitalist struggle; they are all perverted and rotten. It is necessary to organise new leaderships.

The leaderships which have emerged on the basis of support for the Political Revolution in China have shown themselves in the immense majority to be conciliatory, opportunist and careerist. None of them are prepared to understand the political revolution in China and the world revolution. It is not possible to support the political revolution without supporting the world revolution. The one is a part of the other. In each country, this conception and the acceptance of this process of history expresses itself.

It is necessary to organise new revolutionary communist parties in the world which fight for the programme of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to extend the political revolution in China into the world and this is the way to do it. This is one of its forms and activities. The principal task is the appeal to the masses of the whole world to take power; to develop the demands for socialist democracy in the Workers States; so that the masses demand the intervention of their state to crush and expel Imperialism from Vietnam. The masses of the world, in all their revolutionary fury, see with indignation how the leaderships of the Workers States allow Yankee Imperialism to intervene to contain and try to crush the world revolution while they feel that they themselves have the historic concrete strength to crush Yankee Imperialism. The masses of Vietnam are not frightened by Imperialism, nor is Cuba, this is sufficient example. Yankee military power, neither intimidates them nor terrorises them. They defy it, confront it and beat it. This is the will of the masses of the world. It is not military force which allows Imperialism to carry on its sinister plan of military devastation in Vietnam, but the policy of the communist parties and of the Workers States.

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## FRENCH 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE

### Great triumph for the French workers, peasants and students

The French 24 hour general strike of the 17th of May marked a new step forward in the struggle of the French masses. The strike was the culmination of the process of continual advance of the class struggle in France which has shown itself recently in the electoral gains of the Communist and Socialist parties and the 407 votes given to the Revolutionary Communist Party (trotskyist) the French section of the IV International, in St. Denis. It was a strike called by the leaderships of the principal trade unions against the proposal of the De Gaulle regime to govern by decree, dispensing with parliament, for the next six months as a response to the growing social and economic crisis of French Capitalism. Thus the unions intervened, not merely on an economic question but on a fundamental political question, and the bourgeois press of France and Britain have been quick to notice it. The strike also had a great significance in that for the first time large sections of the peasantry and the students joined the national stoppage: in fact there was a real proletarian united front.

The French Capitalist class is in an enormous crisis. The recent elections marked a great increase in the votes for the Communist Party and to a lesser extent for the Socialists, while the party of De Gaulle and the centre bourgeois party lost heavily. This is a clear example of the loss of the petit bourgeois basis of support for French Capitalism. At the same time there is a great economic crisis, unemployment is higher than for ten years, there is a balance of payments deficit, and the French masses continue their struggles despite the sabotage of the bureaucracies of the Trade Unions, the CP, and the SP, and bring Capitalism still further into crisis. The French masses have been able to impose their will on the bureaucrats and force them to call this strike, but on the other hand the bureaucrats have been able to block the struggle of the masses to the extent of limiting the strike to 24 hours.

It is the constant struggle of the French masses which forces De Gaulle to introduce rule by decree. He has to free himself from the inconveniences of bourgeois democracy in order to be better able to confront and repress the masses. It is similar to the Greek coup where we saw Capitalism no longer able to tolerate bourgeois democratic norms because the advance of the working class endangered the very existence of Greek Capitalism and could only be stopped by military force. It is part of the progress of all the European Capitalist class towards authoritarian regimes.

This intervention of the French masses on a political issue shows the influence of the Political Revolution in China, which has given the masses the confidence to overcome the sabotage of their leaders. Without doubt it will be followed within a very short time by other mobilisations of the French workers, peasants and students; mobilisations which will go beyond the intentions of the bureaucratic leadership. It is necessary for the workers movement here, particularly the shop stewards and unofficial committees to make direct contact with the French working class to organise a joint anti-Capitalist programme of struggle, with the perspective of organising with other European countries, a single European Trade Union Centre and the European General Strike.

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The masses want to smash Imperialism, and the masses of the United States are waiting to take part in the world revolution, and express this in the mobilisations in Berkeley, and with the demonstration of hundreds of thousands in New York. The masses of the United States cannot raise and develop their struggles to a higher level because they do not see the Workers States intervening in a determined fashion to expel Imperialism from Vietnam and crushing it. One such decided action in Vietnam would elevate the masses of the United States and would be a centre of unification of the masses of the U.S. bringing them to the necessity of the Socialist Revolution. This is the preventative war. This is to advance on the road of the extension of the world socialist revolution. The masses of the world want power, but they lack an organism for this power, and even without succeeding in organising this organism, action is necessary, which even without concrete objectives, allows the masses to unite, feeling themselves unified, centralised in the will to take power. The mass Communist International is necessary.

In order to decide the struggle within China, it is necessary to make the masses of the world intervene, so that they can influence the struggle in China, so that they can exert pressure against the opportunist conservative wing in China, and it is necessary that the masses of the world see that the Chinese revolution, the Chinese socialist revolution calls them to the fight for power. This is the way that the masses intervene, this is the way to unify the political revolution in China with the world socialist revolution.

It is possible to construct the mass Communist International, it is the irreplaceable instrument, and it is urgent to construct it. It is necessary to prepare now by means of a co-ordinating, organising, harmonising, world revolutionary instrument of the masses of the world, to prepare for the expulsion, for the revolutionary overthrow of Imperialism in Vietnam, at this very moment, making the appeal to overthrow Imperialism, with the appeal for the overthrow of Capitalism throughout the world. To defeat Imperialism in Vietnam is not solely a military action in Vietnam. The call to take power in Italy, in France, in Brazil, in Chile, in Mexico, is to throw Imperialism out of Vietnam, is to prepare the conditions and to develop the military forces of the masses which are working, disturbing, and worrying Capitalism. It is necessary to complete this task. In order to expel and defeat the conservative wing in China, it is necessary to call upon the masses of the world to take power. The development of the Socialist Revolution takes away the historic bases, power and possibility of support to all the conservative and conciliatory wings in the world including the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Mass Communist International is necessary, urgent now. The masses do not have the experience of the Mass Communist International. The four first years of the Communist International have not been forgotten by the world proletarian vanguard, but the immense majority of the world has not had the opportunity of being present, of seeing, of living with the Communist International. Its disappearance was not due to historic inability, but because of the chauvinist policy, conciliatory with Capitalism from the epoch of Stalin and his successors, Khrushchev and afterwards Breznev. The Communist International was dissolved as a measure of conciliation in 1943, as a measure of conciliation with world Capitalism, for the policy of Stalin conciliating with world Capitalism. The instrument which was the mass Communist International, organiser of the world revolution could hardly intervene in history, but its few 4 years of existence served to organise and make the masses of the world feel the irreplaceable quality of the world centre of the revolution, the organiser and generaliser of the revolutionary experiences and will of the masses of the world. Today the Mass Communist International has a basis of historical sup-

port superior to 1919-1923, which is the World Revolution, the world unification of the workers and peasants which attracts the petit bourgeoisie, the middle sectors of the countryside and the city, to the struggle for and the support of the Socialist Revolution. This is the force for the Political Revolution in China. There is no possibility of conciliation, nor of an arrangement nor of delay in China. Imperialism will invade China; this is the inexorable necessity of world Capitalism.

Imperialism needs to invade the whole of Asia to contain the revolution. It wastes 20 thousand million dollars each year in order to sustain the war in Vietnam, and this is done not simply for Vietnam but in order to maintain an area so that tomorrow Imperialism can unleash the world war and as part of it, immediately invade, China. The action of Imperialism in Vietnam is to show world Capitalism, and the capitalist class of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the world, that it is disposed whatever the cost, to support the capitalist system.

But the masses of the world have shown for their part, that in spite of this military power, they advance in their struggles and defeat Imperialism constantly. Tanzania is an example. But Imperialism will launch the war sooner or later. It cannot passively allow the ascendancy of the world revolution; feeling that this is its destruction and its death it will launch the atomic war. The Mass Communist International prepares and will prepare, organises and will organise the forces of the world socialist revolution; workers, peasants, intellectuals, students; it will organise them to defeat Capitalism and construct Socialism. The Mass Communist International is not only for now but for the process after the nuclear war. It is necessary to foresee the nuclear war and prepare the organisms, the instruments for the world leadership of humanity before, during, and after the atomic war. This is the most important and necessary function of history which the conscious and revolutionary sector of the leadership of the Socialist Revolution in China must accomplish. They must call for the World United Front. The masses of the world are united in the will to destroy Capitalism, but they do not have a single organism; it is necessary to appeal for the United Front. The VIII World Congress of the IV International appeals to the exploited masses of the world, to the masses of the Workers States, to the Chinese masses and to the conscious and revolutionary sector of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and government, to organise the World United Front to liquidate what remains of Capitalism and to carry forward victoriously the triumph of the world Socialist Revolution in all parts of the world.

The Mass Communist International already exists in the revolutionary will of the masses, they work in unison and influence each other. Rapidly from one

corner and extreme of the world to the other the masses influence each other immediately. Human sentiment and consciousness which accepts the socialist life, is the greatest progress, the greatest conquest of all the centuries of humanity, but this conquest needs an instrument which organises it in order to gain historic time and to decide the world overthrow of Capitalism in this stage. The Mass Communist International is necessary, the programme of the World Socialist Revolution is necessary. This forms a part of the Socialist Revolution in China, the masses accept it and apply it, even without the conscious instrument, without having in an organic form the instrument which centralises the struggle. The eruption of the political revolution in China directly and immediately influences the masses of the world. It liberates the oppressed and repressed forces of the revolution. This is the Mass Communist International in its inorganic form, and it is necessary to give it organic forms in such a way, that the conscious leadership can transmit its influence on a world scale and generalise the experiences, the forces and the support of the world revolution. The leadership of the Communist Party of China must be conscious of its role and launch itself into this struggle in this stage.

Imperialism prepares the nuclear war. It will be its death and its destruction. It is necessary to foresee and prepare now, because at any moment Imperialism could unleash the war. This is the most urgent task, the most historic need for the masses. The struggle of the masses of the world for circumstantial and transitional demands in wages, factory occupations, political and trade union rights are necessary and irreplaceable, but such struggles must be carried out in this period of preparation for the world atomic war, foreseeable at any moment and very soon. Because of this it is necessary to unite this, in an organic form with the programme of immediate demands, such as the sliding scale of wages, minimum living wage, moving scale of working hours, no factory to be closed! Expropriation of all the factories and their functioning under workers control, nationalisation without compensation; expropriation of all the properties of world Imperialism without compensation, elimination of all forms of exploitation of Capitalism calling for the expropriation of Capitalism in all parts of the world; uniting the transitional programme of wages, of democratic rights, liberty for all the political prisoners, liberty of the press, words and ideas in each country adequate to the needs and the objective course of the class struggle in each country, uniting the struggle to overthrow Capitalism, with the world solidarity for the revolution, for the expulsion of Imperialism from Vietnam now, even through immediate and total war. Out with Imperialism from Vietnam is the slogan, which is the wish of the masses of the whole world. And because of this Imperialism increases its military prepar-

ation and its war budget in Vietnam, fearing the loss of its social support.

It is necessary in this period of history to make the appeal for a United Front to all the Workers States, an appeal to the communist parties of the Workers States, to the government of the Workers States, even though considering that they are traitors and will not accept; it is necessary to appeal to them to accomplish the necessity of throwing out Imperialism from Vietnam. It is necessary that the political revolution in China, that the conscious Chinese revolutionary leadership calls to the masses, to the communist parties and to the governments of the Workers States to fight now in a united front for the expulsion of Imperialism from Vietnam and to overthrow Imperialism on a world scale. It is necessary to appeal to them to support in an unconditional way, the struggles of the masses of the world, of the Spanish masses, support a general strike in Europe in solidarity and in unconditional support to the struggle of the masses in Spain. The triumph of the Spanish masses in getting rid of Capitalism in Europe, the development of the revolution in Spain is showing to the masses of Europe their indestructible unity against Capitalism. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of Europe and the VIII World Congress of the IV International appeals for the United Front for the general strike in unconditional support of the Spanish masses. Support to the Spanish masses is support to the masses of Europe. The constant strikes of the French and Italian masses, the constant electoral triumph of the communist parties, itself demonstrates the contradiction between the masses and the leadership, that the masses are concentrated in the communist and socialist parties, but in their trade union actions they are against the leaderships, and show that they are concentrating themselves there for the struggle against the Capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of Europe to respond to the development of the crisis of Capitalism, and to oppose it with the United Socialist States of Europe, with the single Trade Union Centre, the united front of the masses of Europe with the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme for the overthrow of all of Capitalism in Europe and for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of Africa, for the Pan African unification, for the Soviet Socialist Federation of Africa, for the self-determination of the African people, for their unity in a single centre of economic-social planning for the African masses. But it is necessary to call them to take power and to support them openly, even at the cost of Capitalism unleashing the war.

The political revolution brings the war closer, shortens the time before it. It is necessary to take the initiative and the offensive, not delaying so that Capitalism takes the offensive and decides when, how and where it is going to start the atomic war. One must take the offensive, this is the minimum strategy which the world class struggle demands. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky worked in this way.

The VIII World Congress of the IV International calls to the Chinese Communist Party and to the conscious leadership and to the revolutionary wing of the Chinese Communist Party to accomplish this historic responsibility. It is necessary to call to the masses of Asia to unify themselves, through the Socialist federation of Asiatic countries, through small federations, with self determination of nations, and to unify themselves with the programme of socialist unification of all of Asia, and calling the masses to take power.

It is necessary to appeal to the masses of Latin-America to unify themselves through the United Soviet Socialist States of Latin America, to unify themselves in a single workers, peasants, student and intellectual centre.

One must call for the worker and peasant alliance to fight for the land,

## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

*Die Arbeidertrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.

**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc'hongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.

**INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay.

*Rivista Marxista Europea*, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

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# MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY...

dividing the land among the peasants, for the nationalisation of all the bourgeois or Imperialist property, for the expulsion of Imperialism from Latin America; for the organisation of independent class revolutionary parties, in the form of the workers party based on the trade unions. The experience of the masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America immediately concentrates itself in trade union action and this is the basis for later political action; because of this comes the necessity for the workers party based on the trade unions.

In some countries such as Spain, the centre is the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, in other countries it is the Marxist Revolutionary Party and at the same time, the appeal to the revolutionary currents and tendencies of France, Italy, Germany for the constitution of revolutionary tendencies which would directly confront the leaderships of the communist parties, which are agents of the Soviet bureaucracy and conciliatory with Capitalism. The appeal to the masses to resist the policy of conciliation with Capitalism, to strike, to occupy factories, to fight for their own class demands, against the leadership of the communist and socialist parties, and upon this basis to appeal to the masses of the Communist Party to mobilise themselves in actions, independent of the leaderships, to take power.

It is necessary to form a powerful world centre of support for the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world, on the basis of taking power, overthrowing Capitalism and installing workers and peasants governments. This is the way to unite the struggle to expel the conservative and conciliatory wing in China, to the process of world revolution. The world revolution is cause and effect of the struggle of each country, but the central world motor is the existence of 14 Workers States. There is no way more complete and efficacious way to overthrow Capitalism and the bureaucracy of the workers states than to call the masses to take power. It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet masses to overthrow the Soviet bureaucracy, and it is necessary at the same time to appeal to the masses of the world to overthrow world Capitalism.

We call for the Bolshevik functioning of the Communist Party of China, for

the setting up of Soviets and the appeal to the Soviet masses to re-install soviets, overthrowing the power of the bureaucracy through the struggle for the re-installation of Soviets.

On this 1st of May of 1967 the Chinese masses are incorporating themselves in the vanguard of the world revolution in a direct way through the political revolution in China. This is still in a limited hesitating way, because its leadership does not accept, or carry out completely the revolutionary will of the Chinese masses. It is the initiative of the Chinese masses which has provoked the political revolution. It was on their initiative that the Peking Commune was formed and immediately afterwards the organisations of the Workers Councils of Shanghai. It is their initiative which is pushing forward the resolution to eliminate the conservative wings. This is the direct representation of the will of the masses of the world. It is on this conception, it is on this vivid vision and image of the struggle of the masses of China, which expresses the will of struggle of the masses of the world, that the revolutionary leadership of China must hurl themselves resolutely forward, appealing to the masses of the world, appealing for the overthrow of Capitalism. This was what Lenin and Trotsky did. During the seven years when the Soviets functioned in the Soviet Union, they were such a power in the USSR, that world Capitalism was powerless to destroy it, because the masses of the world accepted it and felt the powerful progress which the Soviets represented. Because of this Capitalism was impotent to destroy the Soviet Workers State.

In this year the 50th anniversary of the constitution of the first workers state will occur. This first Workers State passed through the most decisive trials of history, the violent repression carried on by Stalin through more than 20 years, the siege of the second world war. Immediately afterwards the Workers State had the force and the capacity to extend itself in the rest of the world. But if the historic conditions of this first Workers State showed all its historic power and acceptance by humanity, it was due to the seven first years of Soviet life. These first seven years of Soviet life demonstrated the historic ability of the workers state to survive, and the workers

state had overcome the world wide siege of Capitalism, the military siege of Nazism, and maintained the world support of the masses, without which it would not have been able to resist. It is the triumph of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky; the Workers State constituted under the Soviets. Without the Soviets, the Soviet Workers State would have been smashed by Imperialism.

To the leaders of the government and of the Chinese Communist Party, to the leaders of the revolutionary tendencies which aspire to struggle against Capitalism, to the leaders of the revolutionary tendencies which want the progress of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America we appeal for a powerful United Front. The VIII World Congress appeals to them for a powerful world movement to organise the anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist World United Front, to fight for workers and peasants governments, for the workers and peasants alliance, to support in an unconditional form, whatever the consequences, the struggle to expel Imperialism from Vietnam now, carry the war to the territory of Yankee Imperialism whatever the historic consequences. This is the lesser evil which humanity will suffer. The initiative has to be in the hands of the revolution and not in the hands of Imperialism. Sooner or later Imperialism will carry the war to China and all the Workers States. Hence the function, the historic responsibility of the leadership of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese government which aspires to Socialist Revolution in China. It is not possible to separate the development of the Chinese Socialist Revolution from the World Socialist Revolution, it has a single context and centre, and it is this single centre which must work in a conscious and capable way because it disposes of the force to do so. It is Imperialism which fears the war, not the masses of the world. Vietnam is a small example of what the nuclear war is going to be like. It shows the will of the masses of Vietnam and it demonstrates how the masses are going to behave in the nuclear war. The masses do not fear atomic war, they feel capable of reconstructing the world. This must be the consciousness which guides the Communist Party of China, because it is this

which guides the masses of the world. With this historic confidence, the revolutionary sector of the Chinese Communist Party must call on this 1st of May for the taking of power, the defeat of Capitalism.

The VIII World Congress of the IV International calls for a united world front, to the masses of the Workers States, to the revolutionary masses of the world, to the nationalist masses, to the revolutionary nationalist leaderships, to the leaderships and revolutionary currents of the communist parties of the world, to the Cuban leadership, to the Guevarist sector which united to the Trotskyists is carrying forward the 'sui generis' political revolution in Cuba, to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and government which is fighting to carry forward the Socialist Revolution, for the struggle to apply this programme and carry forward in this stage of history, the struggle to destroy what remains of Imperialism, of the Capitalist system in the world, which is at the same time the struggle to overthrow what remains of the Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the Workers States. This is the road for the socialist regeneration of the Workers States, for the elimination of the 'Monsters and demons' of China and for the elimination of what remains of Capitalism in the world.

**LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES OF THE WORLD**

**LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAT**

**LONG LIVE THE MASSES WHO IN CHINA ARE FEELING THEMSELVES TO BE THE WORLD VANGUARD**

**LONG LIVE MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY**

**LONG LIVE THE VIII WORLD CONGRESS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL**

**WORKERS, PEASANTS, SOLDIERS, INTELLECTUALS, STUDENTS; OVERTHROW IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM**

**LONG LIVE THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**

**LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN CHINA**

**VIII World Congress of the IV International**

16 of April 1967

## THE STUDENTS AND WORKERS OF HONG KONG EXTEND THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA INTO THE ATTACK ON IMPERIALISM

In the past the leadership of the Chinese workers state, following the line of peaceful coexistence with Imperialism, have paid little, or no attention to the struggle of the Chinese masses in the British colony of Hong Kong. The exploitation of the Chinese workers in Hong Kong under Imperialism is great and the standard of life very low. In the past, owing to the lack of leadership from the Chinese and the repression of British Imperialism, there have been few instances of militant action by workers in the colony.

However, in the past month thousands of Chinese workers and students in the colony have taken to the streets in demonstrations against British Imperialism. The original cause of the demonstration was the 'lock-out' of workers during an industrial dispute at a plastic-flower factory and a dispute at a cement works. The demonstrations were brutally repressed by the police. Immediately there was an outbreak of demonstrations and rioting in protest at the actions of the police. These demonstrations were supported by strikes of transport workers, on buses and on the Hong Kong ferry, and by a sit-down strike at the colony's largest shipyard.

Court proceedings against those students and workers who were arrested were disrupted by demonstrations inside and outside the courts. Sentences on those arrested were savage and at least one young worker was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment. The courts of British Imperialism have been as brutal and repressive as their police have been in the streets outside.

Workers and students in Macao and students in Singapore demonstrated in solidarity as have the Chinese masses in Peking and Shanghai. The sudden explosion of anti-imperialist demonstrations and strikes in the colony is a direct reflection of the advance of the political revolution in the Chinese workers state. It is not merely an expression of economic grievances. The political revolution of the Chinese masses has, as yet, not had a direct reflection in the foreign policy of the leadership of the Chinese workers state. They still make no direct appeal to the workers of the world to overthrow Imperialism, they still make no direct intervention against American Imperialism in Vietnam. When they do appeal to the Hong Kong masses, it is to tell them to prepare for the expulsion of British Imperialism from the colony. They do not pledge the

full support of the Chinese workers state nor provide a clear programme for workers power in Hong Kong. When the Indian Capitalist state is rapidly breaking-up, the Indian masses receive no direct appeal from the Chinese leadership to take power. However, the process of political revolution within China is having its effect on the workers in South East Asia and the worlds' toiling masses. It is an indirect effect, but it is a very powerful one.

The very existence, despite the backwardness of its leadership, of the Chinese workers state has been, since 1949, an inspiration to the masses of South East Asia. An inspiration in the same way as the Soviet Union was, and still is, to the masses of Europe and the world, and as Cuba is to the masses of North and Latin America. The political revolution in the Chinese workers state has forced the leadership into more revolutionary positions and the continued development of the Chinese masses toward a genuine workers democracy, toward socialism will destroy the last vestiges of peaceful co-existence with Imperialism from the foreign policy of the Chinese workers state.

The workers and students of Hong Kong react to the political revolution

of the Chinese masses by violently demonstrating for the removal of Imperialism. British Imperialism is weak and the masses of Aden and Hong Kong, the last remaining areas of the world under the direct rule of British Imperialism, prepare to hurl Imperialism from their countries.

The struggle for the overthrow of Imperialism by the world masses is a combined, if uneven, process. All the struggles of the worlds masses in Asia, Africa, Europe, North and Latin America are of equal importance and must be supported by the workers in this country. But, towards the masses in British colonies the workers in this country have a special responsibility.

We call on workers in this country to demonstrate, to strike against the savage repression by Imperialism of the colonial workers and students of Hong Kong. The sending of troops to the colony must be prevented by the action of the workers and students at the heart of British Imperialism. The British masses must demand withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO which are directly against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the colonial revolution and the struggling colonial masses.

# The workers militia in Syria, the counter revolutionary reaction of Israel . . . . .

(Continued from page 1)

proletarian leadership in the Middle East. The leadership of the Arab trade unions is still influenced by the bourgeois leadership. But there is a military, civil and proletarian tendency whose consciousness of the necessity of the socialist revolution is growing.

The Federation of Arab trade unions took two resolutions, the first relating to measures of expropriation, afterwards they cancelled this demand. This signifies that a tendency exists which seeks to oppose and to struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie of Israel and of Imperialism with the socialist revolution. The attitude of apparent support of Jordan and Saudi Arabia against Israel, is in order not to lose the support of the petit bourgeoisie and of the Arab masses and to try to contain the revolutionary process in the Middle East at its present level.

The tendency which is going towards the programme of the socialist revolution

understands that it is not a problem of race or religion, but a social — historical problem. Imperialism is suffering a tremendous blow in the Middle East. Its plans fail. But at the same time it has a desperate attitude, which shows a resolution to find military counter revolutionary solutions. All the time it will enter more openly into contradiction and antagonism with the necessities of the Workers States, taking away, because of these contradictions, all the basis of conciliation with the Soviet bureaucracy. This will impel the revolutionary tendencies, the development of the political revolution and the world socialist revolution and in China also will impel the conscious revolutionary socialist leadership.

The declaration of North Vietnam and of China to the Arab states against the counter revolutionary intentions of Imperialism, is of very great importance. In a limited but direct way it expresses the unity which exists between the political revolution in China

and the revolutionary struggle of Vietnam with the struggle of the Arab masses against imperialism and the bourgeoisie of Israel. It is the concentrated and centralised process of the world revolution. Because of this it is necessary to intervene now, to smash Imperialism now in Vietnam and to support militarily the revolutions in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in all the world.

It is necessary to appeal to the masses for the mobilisation throughout the world, calling for the expropriation of all the properties of Imperialism, to nationalise them, to make them

function under workers control, to expel Imperialism from each country, for the expropriation and distribution of the land to the peasants for the worker and peasant alliance, for the fight to overthrow capitalism and imperialism in every country, to unite immediate demands with the demands for the overthrow of capitalism. It is necessary to appeal for a world united front to smash Imperialism, to expel it from Vietnam, calling for the organisation of workers militias throughout the world, uniting the transitional demands and struggles with the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

## FOR THE ARAB SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND FOR THE SELF DETERMINATION OF THE JEWISH MASSES OF ISRAEL

The attitude of Imperialism and of the reactionary bourgeoisie of Israel forms a part of the reactionary world programme of imperialism, of preventative war be it in Asia, be it against Cuba, to try to contain the world development of the revolution. Because of this it is necessary to demand that the Cuban Workers State intervenes in defense of the Arab masses and of the Socialist revolution in the Middle East.

All the plans and programme of co-existence of states of different regimes collapse. The attempts at conciliation of the Soviet bureaucracy have failed. The Soviet bureaucracy has been forced to intervene and try to establish new basis of conciliation with imperialism. All the strategies of pacification, of conciliation with the Soviet bureaucracy, of the Communist Parties, of the conservative Chinese wing and of the conservative wing of Fidel Castro, collapse. Only the IV International has shown itself calling for the struggle as it was resolved in the 8th World Congress.

Imperialism doesn't have any other solution than the atomic world war. It feels surrounded by the world revolution. Because of this it responds with these measures in the Middle East, in Asia and Latin America against Cuba.

In order to help the Arab masses in the Middle East against imperialism and capitalism, and to help the worker and peasant masses of Israel to an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist united front, it is necessary to call for the struggle in each country for the worker and peasant united front, attracting the petit bourgeoisie for the programme of the necessary transitional demands for each country, joined to the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme.

It is necessary to give a class and revolutionary perspective to the masses of Israel in order to unite them to the development of the Arab revolution in the Middle East within the framework of the Arab Socialist Federation of the Middle East.

The leadership which in China seeks to orientate itself towards a socialist programme must intervene in this process. It is a direct support to their struggles to eliminate the

conservative wing. It must agitate, discuss in China, the unconditional support to the struggle of the Arab masses, calling upon the masses of Europe, for the united front in support of the Arab masses. It is necessary to realise demonstrations, meetings in China in support of the Arab revolution, uniting it to the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution', the political revolution; calling the masses of the world to fight for the overthrow of Capitalism on a world scale.

The recent triumph of the general strike in France and the struggle of the Spanish masses show the immense power of the masses of the world against Capitalism. It is necessary to call for the mobilisation of the masses in Europe against European and world Capitalism, calling for nationalisations, for the expropriation of Capitalism for the worker and peasant alliance, for the mobilisation to overthrow Capitalism and take power. And the same must be realised in Latin America, calling for an anti-imperialist united front to establish the worker and peasant alliance and the worker and peasant government.

As the VIII World Congress of the IV International resolved, the un equal and combined development of the world revolution develops itself in a process of concentration and centralisation of the world revolution. The counter revolutionary interventions of Imperialism in the Middle East are its answer which it gives and will give to the world social crisis of Imperialism. The masses of the world must respond with the programme of the socialist revolution, as the masses in Vietnam and China are doing. The revolutionary tendency in China must base itself on this process to appeal to the masses of the workers states, to all the communist parties, to all the revolutionary tendencies for a united world front to smash what remains of Capitalism. This is the response which the masses must give to this counter revolutionary intervention of Yankee Imperialism with the bourgeoisie of Israel in the Middle East.

J. POSADAS

22nd May 1967.

## The Greek section of the IV International has been Constituted :-: Long live the Greek section

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## Press Communique on the VIII World Congress of the IV International

During April the VIII World Congress of the IV International and the first World Cadres school was held in Europe. Delegates attended from 13 of the 17 sections of the International 4 sections were not able to attend by reason of repression and clandestinity; they were not able to be represented directly because of the impossibility of leaving their respective countries. The Congress had been amply prepared on the theoretical level. The documents of Posadas dealing with all the fundamental issues of the world revolutionary process provided the basis for the discussions in the Congress. The increase in the activity of the International could be gathered from the proliferation of the bulletins of the International and the appearance of the Latin American and European marxist reviews. The agenda of the Congress was the following:

**First Report:** World development of the revolution; nationalist movement and its transformation into the socialist revolution; the political revolution in the workers states; the final settlement of accounts, the inevitability of the nuclear war, the socialist reconstruction of humanity and the world triumph of the socialist revolution. Cde J. Posadas.

Report of the development of the revolution in Europe. Cde Arroyo.

Report on the revolutionary struggles and the development of the revolution in Latin America. Cde Ramirez.

Report on Organisation. Cde Posadas.

The Congress was marked by a complete harmony between the levels of political and organisational activity required for the functioning of the Congress. There was a complete harmony between the older and younger comrades and all delegates were centralised around the perspectives of the Congress and the need to intervene dynamically everywhere to overthrow imperialism and fuse completely with the struggles of the masses. All the sections contributed full report on their activities.

The School which followed was conducted around the following themes; dialectical and historical materialism; structure of capitalism and its functioning in the stage of the advance of the world revolution; history of the workers movement and of the IV International; role of the Latin American Bureau; construction and structure of the workers states.

The nuclear war and the construction of socialism after the war. J. Posadas

The ex-Trotskyists and former leaders of the IV International, Germain, Frank, Pablo, Maitan were condemned for their denigration of the IV International, their attempts to conceal the dynamism of the International and their acting objectively as instruments of the communist and socialist bureaucracies with whom they identify themselves in their fear of the nuclear war. These people associated themselves with the attacks of Castro on the International but now that he has ceased this, they remain silent.

The Congress and cadre school ended with greetings to all the sections of the International, vivas for Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Posadas.

Greetings to the world masses who although without belonging to the IV International, have the same objectives.

Long live the revolutionary wing in China which seeks to give a conscious expression to the empirical process in China.

Long live the comrades who are imprisoned throughout the entire world and all the anti capitalist and anti imperialist prisoners.

For the accomplishment and application of all the resolutions of the Congress. Long live the triumph of the world socialist revolution!

Full press Conferences on the activity of the Congress have been called by all the sections of the International. The British section called the main bourgeois Newspapers to a Press Conference and this was attended by the Times.

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



NO 52                      FORTNIGHTLY                      JUNE 25th 1967                      SIXPENCE

## FULL SUPPORT FOR THE ARAB SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE ON THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

With the abandoning (in part) of the Arab workers and peasants in the Middle East, the counter revolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy has once again been demonstrated to the struggling masses of the world. When in May Israel threatened to attack Syria (the country in the Middle East which is advancing most rapidly towards a workers state and therefore the country which Imperialism is most concerned to smash), Nasser had the U.N. force removed and ordered the Egyptian army to the borders of Israel in an act of support to Syria. And yet when it was obvious that Israel was going to attack, the Soviet bureaucracy restrained Nasser, and consequently the Egyptian and other Arab air forces were destroyed on the ground, and the Arab armies fighting in the desert without any air cover were smashed. Now the Soviet bureaucracy is trying to cover itself by saying that the Arab masses haven't the sense to use the up to date equipment with which they are supplied by the Workers States, they are saying that the Israelis are more intelligent, and that the Arab armies composed mostly of peasants who have been poorly educated were not able to make the most of the modern weapons! Kosygin is off to the United Nations, an instrument of conciliation between the bureaucracy and Imperialism, stating that he is going to try to get peace in the Middle East. On top of all this when there is an oil blockade by the Arab countries of Britain and the U.S., Kosygin is offering to sell Russian oil!

This war in the Middle East between the masses advancing towards socialism and the representatives of Imperialism, brings the leadership and policies of the Workers States before the eyes of the masses, and shows the dual nature of their bureaucratic leadership, and their lack of a unified policy. For instance Tito of Yugoslavia has come out very strongly in support of the Arabs and has made some extremely hard statements about the Israelis, whereas so far Rumania has remained silent on the subject. Among the Arab leaderships Boumediene of Algeria who came to power in a right wing coup, to hold back the advance of the Algerian revolution has been forced, by the pressure of the Algerian workers and peasants to place all the oil companies in Algeria under state control, and refused to sell any more natural gas to Britain. When the cease fires were agreed he immediately flew to Moscow for talks saying as he left that the Soviet leaders must face up to their responsibilities in the Middle East, and that the war was a struggle to expel Capitalism and Zionism.

The war showed a great solidarity among the Arab countries. When Syria was threatened all the Arab nations headed by Egypt and Algeria gave their support. Even the reactionary Faisal of Saudi Arabia, and the feudal Hussein of Jordan were forced by the pressure of the Arab masses, and also in an effort to contain revolutions in their countries, to join an Arab alliance in support of Syria; although the leaders of these countries have nothing in common with the leaders of Syria, which is going towards a Workers State. Nevertheless they were forced by the pressure of the masses to intervene. In a similar situation in S.E. Asia where North Vietnam is being bombed daily by the might of U.S. Imperialism, China still does very little directly to help the Workers States of North Vietnam. China does undoubtedly supply some arms to N. Vietnam and also military advisers but as yet makes only speeches about "paper tigers" to U.S. Imperialism, and

lets the bombing continue. During the Israeli aggression China made appeals for a 'peoples war in the Middle East' and demonstrations were held in China in support of the Arab masses, but nothing more concrete was proposed. At the moment in Bengal, India, where the peasants have been seizing the land and terrorizing the landlords, the Chinese re-

main silent. And the local communist party tries to regain control for the landlords.

These examples show at the moment the failure of the Chinese Workers State to advance the revolution with a programme throughout the world. The Chinese masses have shown during the course of the so called "Cultural Revolution" that they are ready to carry the revolution forward, as was seen in the enormous demonstrations against such conservative leaders as Peng Chen, and Liu Shao Chi, and the establishment of revolutionary councils in Shanghai, and other cities. But the leadership of the Chinese Workers State with its conservative tendencies still manages to hold the revolution in China at this point, to prevent the Chinese masses forming Soviets etc. and this conservative element is also obviously in the forefront of the Chinese foreign policy, lagging behind the revolutionary workers, students, and peasants of China who wish to push the revolution forward. During the present situation in the Middle East, the Chinese leadership should be appealing to the workers of the U.S.S.R. to demonstrate

in support of the Arab masses, and to hold demonstrations against Kosygin against the cease fire agreements, and against Kosygin going off to the U.N. where he is primarily concerned to control the Arab revolution. They must appeal for the overthrow of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In Britain the bourgeois press has supported "Little Israel" and nothing has been reported of strikes and demonstrations in other parts of the world in support of the Arabs. But in Genoa in Northern Italy the dockers refused to load ships bound for Israel. In Syria Trade Unions appealed to the oil workers of Venezuela and Iran not to send oil to the U.S. or Britain, and the Syrians have in fact threatened to blow up the oil pipe lines. In Kuwait it has been necessary for the ruling class to establish martial law in order to get the workers to return to work since the cease fire agreements. And in Libya the masses demand the closing of the military bases of British and American Imperialism.

We are now in a period of world history when the masses of the world can make their weight felt, from the setting up of Revolutionary Councils in Shanghai, to the general strikes held by the workers of Aden against British authority there, to the now almost daily riots of the negro proletariat in the U.S.A. The workers throughout the world are making their weight felt. Thus in the Middle East it was primarily the workers and peasants who forced the various leaders of opposing social systems to unite against Israel. The struggle can no longer be confined by national bourgeois leaders. The struggle for socialism is becoming paramount and with this it is necessary to appeal to the Israeli masses to overthrow their Capitalist leaders.

Nasser who is a nationalist bourgeois leader, and even in his speech of "resignation" was speaking of an alliance between the peasant, worker, intelligencia, and national Capitalism, remains a centre, in the absence of any other centre, for the Egyptian masses but the fact that such enormous demonstrations were held in his support by the Egyptian masses will now force him to respond more immediately to their demands, or provoke a new crisis of leadership demanding a socialist solution.

The fact that the Arab armies suffered heavy military defeats in the war will not be the deciding factor in the struggle for socialism in the Middle East, more significant are the placing of oil under State Control in Algeria, the expulsion of the U.S. and British armies from Libya, the ban on selling oil to Britain by Kuwait and the other oil producing countries of the Middle East, and the blocking of the Suez Canal by Egypt. These acts will give the masses the confidence to go forward, although they

### Letter of the Cuban section of the IV International to the Central Cttee. of the Cuban Communist Party

"Havana 18th of May 1967  
"YEAR OF HEROIC VIETNAM"

To the Central Committee of  
the Communist Party of Cuba.  
Comrades

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), the Cuban section of the IV International, speaking in the name of the International, declares its solidarity with the general lines of the declarations of this Central Committee, published in its official organ "GRANMA" of today, in response to the provocation of the capitalist and pro-Imperialist government of Venezuela.

The IV International supports this line morally and materially, in an unconditional way and appeals, to the proletariat, to the students, to the revolutionary intellectuals, to the negro population in the United States; and to the communist parties and revolutionary movements of Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe, so that they, like ourselves, support this line as a base of a programmatic point of the world anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist United Front.

We appeal to the governments of the Workers States and to their revolutionary tendencies, to the proletariat and to the population of these Workers States, so that they support this document, in particular to the revolutionary tendency of the Chinese Communist Party, so that it takes the initiative in developing the political revolution as a means of going forward to socialism. We call to all of them so that they take this declaration of the Cuban Communist Party as a means of impelling the world united front against Capitalism and Imperialism.

**"LONG LIVE THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION"**  
**"LONG LIVE THE INSURRECTIONS, ARMS IN HAND, OF THE PEOPLE FOR THE SETTING UP OF SOCIALISM"**  
**"FOR THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM"**

For the P.O.R.(T) of Cuba  
Section of the IV International  
Idalberto Ferrera Acosta

# CENTRALISE THE INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES IN THE NEXT STAGE, ORGANISING THE WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS

(EXTRACTS) J. POSADAS

(The article refers to the intervention of the Trotskyists in the elections in Tumbes, and the example of the United Front in action.)

The party has gained an important base in various factories, among students, among peasants. The intervention of the party among the peasants, has a great importance even though this Congress of the Peasants (SUCT), which it has organised, has had little weight in the life of the country, the party has been able to intervene and prepared its intervention very well. It sold many publications which is a sign of the authority of the party that it answers the needs of the peasants. The party intervened in the elections of Tumbes, succeeded in gaining the adhesion of university centres of importance—which is a result of the activity of the party—to the Congress of the Peasants of Tumbes practically following and supporting the programme of the party. All this indicates an inclination of a sector of the petit bourgeoisie to the left. The elections have not shown such an inclination because they are selected elections (limited suffrage); not all the population has intervened but only a part. The maintaining of the votes of Odra and APRA does not indicate the persistence, the sustaining of APRA by the petit bourgeoisie, their support for a most reactionary programme; from the facts that we know Odra lost sufficient votes. From the information that we possess the APRA in the last period has adopted and has pretended to adopt, to agitate, for more combative positions of struggle, confronting the government in defence of a series of demands, democratic rights, of wages etc. There is no organised centre, no mass unions, workers centre, outside the miners unions and some peasants unions of the North, there are no mass unions; the immense majority of the masses are not organised in Trade Unions of the workers, peasant and petit bourgeoisie masses. The strike of the teachers, of the telegraphers, a series of strikes and movements, of the petit bourgeois sectors or those connected with the petit bourgeoisie indicates a radicalisation, an increase in the combative spirit of the petit bourgeoisie. As there is no organised class centre, as there is no existing perspective of one, in a short stage, and it does not concretely exist now, a sector of the petit bourgeoisie has opted to try to impel the AP, and another sector APRA with its vote. But in Peru, as in other countries of Latin America, the elections are not a definitive example by themselves. Alone they express limitedly and in a deformed way the combative will of the population. It is necessary to see its behaviour before, during and after the elections; the strikes, the combative spirit to gain improvements, factory occupations. And the masses have done this in Peru, not at the level of the other countries of Latin America. The elections have not stopped its combative spirit.

This leads us to affirm that this break in the Christian Democratic party expresses the necessity for a policy of the left, of the PDC, leading this sector of the right to break. The leadership of the DC tries to canalise the pressure of the petit bourgeoisie towards the left without this leadership corresponding to the aspirations, the will of the petit bourgeoisie masses. We make this characterisation, and it is necessary to characterise this break and the organisation of a new party because this indicates the intensification of the social crisis and in consequence the possibilities in a short stage, of posing the mobilisations of the petit bourgeoisie, intensification of

## THE IMMEDIATE NECESSITY IS TO ORGANISE THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD, TO STRUGGLE FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE SINGLE NATIONAL CENTRE AND THE WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS

We believe that it is necessary to consider that the struggles in Peru now are centralised fundamentally around the necessity for the organisation of the revolutionary leadership and the class party of the proletariat. There is no party, nevertheless the masses maintain a class attitude. In a meeting for Hugo Blanco, according to comrades, there were not voters or communists, nor of any other organisations, but workers, peasants, and petit bourgeois to defend Hugo Blanco; it was a demonstration of the anti-Imperialist, anti-oligarchic spirit, and anti-Imperialist struggle which does not express itself in elections or take a political form, because there is no organisation of the masses and these cannot simply pass in a week to a centre, or to organisms to show their force directly; it is necessary to organise in the next stage tendencies, that is to say to develop tendencies to advance the struggle of the masses around basic demands, wages, factory occupations workers control, democratic rights, trade union rights, freedom for political prisoners, expulsion of Imperialism; expropriation of the land; and it is necessary to give the land to the peasants; nationalisation of factories, workers control of the factories, joined to the struggle for these slogans, the struggle for a single trade union for industry: a worker, student and peasant centre and on this base, basing

the inter bourgeois struggle and this is going to show itself in the internal crisis of Capitalism. It is necessary to follow these events day by day, to intervene and to try to gain access to be able to influence these movements. Without active participation, without being present in these struggles, it is not possible to understand the course of events and to foresee it, and consequently, it is not possible to influence them, whether to elevate the struggles, to impel or win people, to increase our weight and power and consequently to decide more, with greater force the immediate struggles of the masses.

themselves on the development of this struggle, of this activity, it is necessary to launch the slogan for the party which represents the working class in an independent form, to all the exploited sectors of the population, workers, peasants, workers in the field and the city, the exploited petit bourgeoisie, the students. The organisation of an independent party of the working class is necessary and urgent, a party reflecting the programme of the working class; the party must be worker in its programme and in the second place in its composition. What defines the character of the workers party, independent workers party, is its programme and objectives; even the politics and the organisation can be weak but if the programme and objectives are anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist, the organisation will educate, organise and impel the struggle for these objectives. The forms of this party have to be based on the conditions which allow it to see how the working class is going to be centralised, and where the working class is centralising itself. There is no time for the organisation of our mass party, so that the Trotskyists, so that our sections can organise a mass party. The struggles will increase, will extend and acquire a more and more violent character and the final settlement of accounts will take place in a few years, in a process of a few years—it

can be immediate, but if it does not happen immediately and the process is prolonged, it will not be more than two, three or five years. There is no historic place consequently for the independent organisation of the Trotskyists as a mass party; as a consequence the Trotskyists must help in the construction of the independent class party, a most important task in Peru. The communist were incapable of gaining the Peruvian worker masses and not because they were not able to. The communists were able to form a great mass party as in Uruguay in 1946 so that the communists obtained 30,000 votes; in proportion in 1966 they should have acquired four times the number of votes, but with great difficulty they obtained only 100% more. In proportion they lost votes, they did not gain the working class. In 1946 the working class showed that it was following the process, because the social weight, social composition, social number of the working class in '46 was half of what it is now, less than a half; the working class voted for the communist party to impel the CP but then its policy of conciliation drove them away. Consequently the working class cannot make its class experience. And it is the same in Peru. In Uruguay they reject

## LAUNCH THE SLOGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NEW CLASS AND REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The working class is organising itself and is going to develop itself in the trade unions. The forms of organisation which the independent class party must acquire, is the WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS. It is necessary to foresee that there is still not a centralisation of the masses in the trade unions. There is going to be tomorrow. The strikes show that all the class is intervening, in the strikes, in all sectors of industry. Because of this the party must prepare itself for this perspective. For it is necessary to prepare a vanguard a tendency in the trade unions, in the students centres, among the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants trade unions. To make a call, to develop groups and tendencies in all sectors for the fundamental task of the Workers Party based on the trade unions, combined with the necessities of the daily struggle and the stages of the struggle of the masses, corresponding to the struggle of the process and its possibilities, accentuating one or another aspect; the concrete struggle for wages, for workers control, for the struggle for the Workers Party based on the trade unions; but none of these tasks contradict the other; they are united.

The Workers Party based on the trade unions is the revolutionary Marxist party, independently of its denomination. The programme is a Marxist Programme in which the immediate struggles on the demands of the proletariat are combined with the fight for WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT; with the objective of the Workers and Peasants Government. The basis of the objective is the Workers and Peasants Government; the social base in order to achieve the Workers and Peasants Government is the worker and peasant alliance. The social composition of Peru is predominantly peasant, but there is a sector of the peasant, by the agricultural worker on the big estates in the North of Peru, who are organised with a powerful sense of struggle. The proletariat has a very small social number, but what decides the character of the Party is not the social number of the proletariat, but the importance and the historic social weight of the proletariat, even small numerically as in Peru, the proletariat is the decisive factor in society because it is the only one which is in the condition to act independently to achieve objectives which are necessary for the pro-

gress of the country, which represents the interests of all the exploited masses, which is the struggle for the Workers and Peasants Government, for nationalisations without compensation, for workers control, for the planning of the economy, for the state monopoly of foreign trade, for the distribution of the land to the peasants and for financial and technical assistance to the peasants; for the collective exploitation of a part of the lands of Peru. Only the proletariat can have this programme; the peasantry cannot have it nor can the petit bourgeoisie. It is possible to have peasants and petit bourgeois who support and impel this programme but not as peasants and petit bourgeoisie, but as revolutionaries whatever their origin.

Because of this the decisive factor is the proletariat not because of its social weight, but because it is the only one which can have such a revolutionary programme, that is to say such a Marxist revolutionary programme. The name of the party is Workers Party based on the trade unions; the programme is the Marxist revolutionary programme. It is possible that it cannot be called THE MARXIST PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS but this is not important. The name can be useful, can have an importance in order to act as a weight, as an influence, but it cannot be decisive. The programme is the important thing. It can be called the Marxist Party as the Bulgarian or Rumanian parties are called, but one must see its programme to see where it stands. In a recent review on Rumania it was stated "a guy goes to a university to learn music, another to amuse himself, another to see what is going on in other countries" and on the other hand it says "there are workers groups very interested in social history", this is very marked. This is Rumania. The same goes on in all the Workers States, it is logical when the proletariat cannot intervene.

The party must prepare everything, preparing this programme well and organising well the team and the plan of agitation; that is to say calling upon all the trade unions and all the workers tendencies, for the Workers Party based on the trade unions.

This task already has precedence, historic tradition, the most recent, of sufficient weight is the united electoral front for the second time in Tumbes

Continued on page 4

# Trade Unions in the epoch of imperialist decay

L. Trotsky (1940)

There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organisations in the entire world; it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power. This process is equally characteristic of the neutral, the Social Democratic, the Communist and "anarchist" trade unions. This fact alone shows that the tendency towards "growing together" is intrinsic not in this or that doctrine as such but derives from social conditions common for all unions.

Monopoly capitalism does not rest on competition and free private initiative but on centralised command. The Capitalist cliques at the head of mighty trusts, syndicates, banking consortiums, etcetera, view economic life from the very same heights as does state power; and they require at every step the collaboration of the latter. In their turn the trade unions in the most important branches of industry find themselves deprived of the possibility of profiting by the competition between the different enterprises. They have to confront a centralised Capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the Capitalist state and to contend for its co-operation. In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade unions movement the chief task lies in "freeing" the state from the embrace of Capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labour aristocracy and the labour bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of super-profits of imperialist Capitalism. The labour bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the "democratic" state how reliable and indispensable they are in peacetime and especially in time of war. By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in Imperialism.

Colonial and semi-colonial countries are under the sway not of native Capitalism but of foreign Imperialism. However, this does not weaken but on the contrary, strengthens the need of direct, daily, practical ties between the magnates of Capitalism and the governments, which are in essence subject to them—the governments of colonial or semi-colonial countries. In as much as Imperialist Capitalism creates both in colonies and semi-colonies a stratum of labour aristocracy and bureaucracy, the latter requires the support of colonial and semi-colonial governments, as protectors, patrons and, sometimes, as arbitrators. This constitutes the most important social basis for the Bonapartist and semi-Bonapartist character of governments in the colonies and in backward countries generally. This likewise constitutes the basis for the dependence of reformist unions upon the state.

In Mexico the trade unions have been transformed by law into semi-state institutions and have, in the nature of things assumed a semi-totalitarian character. The statisation of the trade unions was, according to the conception of the legislators, introduced in the interests of the workers in order to assure them an influence upon the governmental and economic life. But insofar as foreign Imperialist Capitalism dominates the national state and insofar as it is able, with the assistance of internal reactionary forces, to overthrow the unstable democracy and replace it with outright fascist dictatorship, to that extent the legislation relating to the trade unions can easily become a weapon in the hands of imperialist dictatorship.

## SLOGANS FOR FREEING THE UNIONS

From the foregoing it seems, at first sight, easy to draw the conclusion that the trade unions cease to be trade unions in the Imperialist epoch. They leave almost no room at all for workers' democracy which, in the good old days, when

free trade ruled on the economic arena, constituted the content of the inner life of labour organisations. In the absence of workers' democracy there cannot be any free struggle for the influence over the trade union membership. And because of this, the chief arena of work for revolutionists, within the trade unions disappears. Such a position, however, would be false to the core. We cannot select the arena and the conditions for our activity to suit our own likes and dislikes. It is infinitely more difficult to fight in a totalitarian or a semi-totalitarian state for influence over the working masses than in democracy. The very same thing likewise applies to trade unions whose fate deflects the change in the destiny of Capitalist states. We cannot renounce the struggle for influence over workers in Germany merely because the totalitarian regime makes such work extremely difficult there. We cannot, in precisely the same way, renounce the struggle within the compulsory labour organisations created by Fascism. All the less so can we renounce internal systematic work in trade unions of totalitarian and semi-totalitarian type merely because they depend directly or indirectly on the workers' state or because the bureaucracy deprives the revolutionists of the possibility of working freely within these trade unions. It is necessary to conduct a struggle under all those concrete conditions which have been created by the preceding developments, including therein the mistakes of the working class and the crimes of its leaders. In the fascist and semi-fascist countries it is impossible to carry on revolutionary work that is not underground, illegal, conspiratorial. Within the totalitarian and semi-totalitarian unions it is impossible or well-nigh impossible to carry on any expect conspiratorial work. It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilise the masses not only against the bourgeois but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The primary slogan for this struggle is: Complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labour aristocracy.

The second slogan is: trade union democracy. This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realisation the complete freedom of the trade unions from the Imperialist or colonial state.

In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free Capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e. ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of peoples and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of Imperialist Capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

The neutrality of trade unions is completely and irretrievably a thing of the past, gone together with the free bourgeois democracy.

From what has been said it follows quite clearly that, in spite of the progressive degeneration of trade unions and their growing together with the Imperialist state, the work within the trade unions not only does not lose any of its importance but remains as before and becomes in a certain sense even more important work than ever for every revolutionary party. The matter at issue is essentially the struggle for influence over the working class. Every organisation, every party, every faction which permits itself an

ultimistic position in relation to the trade union, i.e., in essence turns its back upon the working class, merely because of displeasure with its organisations, every such organisation is destined to perish. And it must be said it deserves to perish.

In as much as the chief role in backward countries is not played by national but by foreign Capitalism, the national bourgeoisie occupies, in the sense of its social position, a much more minor position than corresponds with the development of industry. In as much as foreign Capital does not import workers but proletarianises the native population, the national proletariat soon begins playing the most important role in the life of the country. In these conditions the national government, to the extent that it tries to show resistance to foreign capital, is compelled to a greater or lesser degree to lean on the proletariat. On the other hand, the governments of those backward countries which consider inescapable or more profitable for themselves to march shoulder to shoulder with foreign capital, destroy the labour organisations and institute a more or less totalitarian regime. Thus, the feebleness of the national bourgeoisie, the absence of traditions of municipal self-government, the pressure of foreign Capitalism and the relatively rapid growth of the proletariat, cut the ground from under any kind of stable democratic regime. The governments of backward, i.e., colonial and semi-colonial countries, by and large assume a Bonapartist or semi-Bonapartist character; and differ from one another in this, that some try to orient in a democratic direction, seeking support among workers and peasants, while others install a form close to military-police dictatorship. This likewise determines the fate of the trade unions. They either stand under the special patronage of the state or they are subjected to cruel persecution. Patronage on the part of the state is dictated by two tasks which confront it: first, to draw the working class closer thus gaining a support for resistance against excessive pretensions on the part of Imperialism; and, at the same time, to discipline the workers themselves by placing them under the control of bureaucracy.

## MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND THE UNIONS

Monopoly Capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labour aristocracy who pick the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class. If that is not achieved, the labour bureaucracy is driven away and replaced by the fascists. Incidentally, all the efforts of the labour aristocracy in the service of Imperialism cannot in the long run save them from destruction.

The intensification of class contradictions within each country, the intensification of antagonisms between one country and another, produce a situation in which Imperialist Capitalism can tolerate (i.e., up to a certain time) a reformist bureaucracy only if the latter serves directly as a petty but active stockholder of its Imperialist enterprises, of its plans and programmes within the country as well as on the world arena. Social reformism must become transformed into social imperialism in order to prolong its existence, but only prolong it, and nothing more. Because along this road there is

WE ARE PUBLISHING THIS DOCUMENT OF TROTSKY BECAUSE IT STILL HAS ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE FOR THE VANGUARD

no way out in general.

Does this mean that in the epoch of Imperialism independent trade unions are generally impossible? It would be fundamentally incorrect to pose the question this way. Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of Imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of Capitalism. In the epoch of Imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution. In this sense, the programme of transitional demands adopted by the last congress of the IV International is not only the programme for the activity of the party, but in its fundamental features it is the programme for the activity of the trade unions.

(translator's note: At this point, Trotsky left room on the page, to expound further the connection between trade union activity and the Transitional Programme of the IV International. It is obvious that implied here is a very powerful argument in favour of military training under trade union control. The following idea is implied: Either the trade unions serve as the obedient recruiting sergeants for the Imperialist army and Imperialist war or they train workers for self-defence and revolution.)

The development of backward countries is characterised by its combined character. In other words the last word of Imperialist technology, economics, and politics is combined in these countries with traditional backwardness and primitiveness. This law can be observed in the most diverse spheres of the development of colonial and semi-colonial countries, including the sphere of the trade union movement. Imperialist Capitalism operates here in its most cynical and naked form. It transports to virgin soil the most perfected methods of its tyrannical rule.

In the trade union movement throughout the world there is to be observed in the last period a swing to the right and the suppression of internal democracy. In England, the Minority Movement in the trade unions has been crushed (not without the assistance of Moscow); the leaders of the trade union movement are today, especially in the field of foreign policy, the obedient agents of the Conservative Party. In France there was no room for an independent existence for Stalinist trade unions; they united with the so-called anarcho-syndicalist trade unions under the leadership of Jouhaux and as a result of this unification there was a general shift of the trade union movement not to the left but to the right. The leadership of the C.G.T. is the most direct and open agency of French Imperialist Capitalism.

In the United States the trade union movement has passed through the most stormy history in recent years. The rise of the C.I.O. is incontrovertible evidence of the revolutionary tendencies within the working masses. Indicative and noteworthy in the highest degree, however, is the fact that the new "leftist" trade

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# THE WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE T.U.s

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

which shows us that the trade unions needing to advance in their struggles have to intervene in political activity, but as they are not nationally constituted as a party, then there is not the force and their intervention is very weak. Previously, the fifth convention of the Miners of the Centre decided on a programme which in the last instance is the fight for proletarian power.

One must not wait for the pro Chinese because they cannot understand this process. The pro Chinese are waiting for China to give them the power and they are going to act basing themselves on the declarations of Mao Tse Tung! to acquire authority and increase their number until they are the majority! The mobilisation of the masses is not done through its number, but through its incorporation in the class struggle, elevating its experience or permitting the maturation which will attract this. The Chinese do not understand this. They believe in China that there was a process of martyrs and of individuals who devoted themselves to convincing the masses. They believe that it was in this way; that Mao Tse Tung and the team of Mao Tse Tung dedicated themselves to convincing the masses who however

## EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

lack a centralised leadership and programme for their struggle for socialism. Furthermore despite the treachery of the Soviet bureaucracy fundamentally the Arab masses know the Workers States are with them and this sustains their struggle. And the Workers States despite their bureaucratic leaderships will be obliged to intervene more and more in the process.

In this country most of the so called "left" M.P.'s have either refused to take sides in the war, or have supported Israel, one of the few exceptions to this has been Mr. James Dickens who said that the war was the struggle by the Arabs for Socialism. The British Communist Party has meekly echoed Moscow, in calling for peace through the United Nations. They have not even called for the holding of demonstrations in support of the Arab revolution, or for the blacking of cargoes to Israel.

The attack of Imperialism through Israel on the Arab revolution is the same attack only in a different form to that which the Labour Government in this country is waging against the working class, in its policy of wage freeze and unemployment etc. With this war Imperialism has taken a heavy bow, from which in this period of history it can never recover. The Arab masses in their struggle for socialism diminish the power and authority of world and British Imperialism. To support the Arab masses we appeal for strikes and demonstrations in support of the Arab masses and refusal by workers to handle cargoes for Israel. This struggle must be linked with the basic labour demands of the British masses.

The government has managed for nearly a year to hold down wages, but at the same time the cost of living has continued to rise, and now the price of electricity, gas and bus fares have or will shortly be increased. It is necessary for the British working class to organise, to take more militant and determined steps to obtain wage rises, which are not miserable 3½% rises, but which will give a wage sufficient for families to live comfortably on and which will automatically rise with the cost of living. And to fight the governments policy of unemployment with workers control and the occupation of factories, it is necessary to organise in the Unofficial and Shop Stewards Committees.

Intensify the struggle around the anti-Capitalist programme. Full support for the Arab masses, struggling for Socialism. For the expulsion of Imperialism from the Middle East.

were already carrying on an organised struggle incorporating the people every day. This struggle was carried on for 20 years, and it showed at the same time as it triumphed that the basis of the triumph was the enormous weakness of Capitalism.

The party must fight for the Workers Party based on the trade unions, not because it is uninterested in developing itself as a leadership, but because history does not permit it to develop itself as a mass party; therefore it has to impel those who can impel the mobilisation of the masses to take power and, in this struggle, develop our own party. It is in this struggle that it is going to transform itself from a small party into a mass party. This, which is a task which corresponds to this stage, must present

a programme of struggle which combines immediate wage demands, against the cost of living, moving scale of salaries, security of occupation; a single trade union for each branch of industry; a single worker, peasant, student front; proportional representation in the trade union bodies; revocability of all the elected representatives; organisation of the delegates in the factories, delegates submitted to the interests, to the conclusions and resolution of its section. The delegate represents his section and coordinates and harmonises with the rest of the delegates in the sector or in the industry, or in the union for the industry, corresponding to what is most suitable and concerns it. But to represent their sections is a way of expressing the democratic will of the masses and to

compare opinions, to discuss in order to stimulate the will to fight. In the discussions, the masses feel that they have been able to participate, to decide; then they attack and intervene integrally in the action as a mass, because they feel that they are participating and deciding. For a housing programme, prepare a housing programme, a programme of occupation, no worker to be dismissed. The factory stopped? Expropriate it! The factory which cannot increase wages; expropriate it! Expropriate all the Imperialist properties, all the properties of the countryside and the city, and the bank to be nationalised without compensation.

It is necessary to explain and diffuse such ideas and also give concrete examples, demanding support from Cuba and Vietnam; unconditional support for the struggle of the masses of Vietnam. Trade and recognition of all the workers states, and breaking and expulsion of all the military, financial missions of Imperialism. Let all the trade unions organise their own press in which all the tendencies write so that the unions and the workers centre declare and fight for this programme of the Worker and Peasant Government.

## Trade Unions in the epoch of imperialist decay

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

union organisation was no sooner founded than it fell into the steel embrace of the Imperialist state. The struggle among the tops between the old federation and the new is reducible in large measure to the struggle for the sympathy and support of Roosevelt and his cabinet.

No less graphic, although in a different sense, is the picture of the development or the degeneration of the trade union movement in Spain. In the socialist trade unions all those leading elements which to any degree represented the independence of the trade union movement were pushed out. As regards the anarcho-syndicalist unions, they were transformed into the instrument of the bourgeois republicans; the anarcho-syndicalist leaders became conservative bourgeois ministers. The fact that this metamorphosis took place in conditions of civil war does not weaken its significance. War is the continuation of the self-same policies. It speeds up processes, exposes their basic features, destroys all that is rotten, false, equivocal and lays bare all that is essential. The shift of the trade unions to the right was due to the sharpening of class and international contradictions. The leaders of the trade union movement sensed or understood, or were given to understand, that now was no time to play the game of opposition. Every oppositional movement within the trade union movement, especially among the tops, threatens to provoke a stormy movement of the masses and to create difficulties for national

Imperialism. Hence flows the swing of the trade unions to the right, and the suppression of workers' democracy within the unions. The basic feature, the swing towards the totalitarian regime, passes through the labour movement of the whole world.

We should also recall Holland, where the reformist and the trade union movement was not only a reliable prop of Imperialist Capitalism, but where the so-called anarcho-syndicalist organisation also was actually under the control of the Imperialist government. The secretary of this organisation, Sneevliet, in spite of his Platonic sympathies for the IV International was as deputy in the Dutch Parliament most concerned lest the wrath of the government descent upon his trade union organisation.

In the United States the Department of Labour with its leftist bureaucracy has as its task the subordination of the trade union movement to the democratic state and it must be said that this task has up to now been solved with some success.

The nationalisation of railways and oil fields in Mexico has of course nothing in common with Socialism. It is a measure of state Capitalism in a backward country which in this way seeks to defend itself on the one hand against foreign Imperialism and on the other against its own proletariat. The management of railways, oil fields, etc., through labour organisations has nothing in common with workers' control over industry for in the essence of the matter the management is effected through the labour bureaucracy

which is independent of the workers, but in return completely dependent on the bourgeois state. This measure on the part of the ruling class pursues the aim of disciplining the working class, making it more industrious in the service of the common interests of the state, which appear on the surface to merge with the interests of the working class itself. As a matter of fact the whole task of the bourgeoisie consists in liquidating the trade unions as organs of the class struggle and substituting in their place the trade union bureaucracy as the organ of the leadership over the workers by the bourgeois state. In these conditions, the task of the revolutionary vanguard is to conduct a struggle for the complete independence of the trade unions and for the introduction of actual workers' control over the present union bureaucracy, which has been turned into the administration of railways, oil enterprises and so on.

Events of the last period (before the war) have revealed with especial clarity that anarchism, which in point of theory is always only liberalism drawn to its extremes, was, in practice, peaceful propaganda within the democratic republic, the protection of which it required. If we leave aside individual terrorist acts, etc., anarchism, as a system of mass movement and politics, presented only propaganda material under the peaceful protection of the laws. In conditions of crisis the anarchists always did the opposite of what they taught in peace times. This was pointed out by Marx himself in connection with the Paris Commune. And it was repeated on a far more colossal scale in the experience of the Spanish revolution.

Democratic unions in the old sense of the term, bodies where in the framework of one and the same mass organisation different tendencies struggled more or less freely, can no longer exist. Just as it is impossible to bring back the bourgeois-democratic state, so it is impossible to bring back the old workers' democracy. The fate of the one reflects the fate of the other. As a matter of fact, the independence of trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the IV International. This leadership naturally, must and can be rational and assure the unions the maximum of democracy conceivable under the present concrete conditions. But without the political leadership of the IV International the independence of the trade unions is impossible.

## Factory occupation of Germain Anglo in Belgium

All over Europe the crisis of capitalism deepens and the workers seeks a centre around which to mobilise themselves. Strikes, demonstrations and factory occupations are on the agenda everywhere. Recently workers occupied the Dassault and Berliet factories in France. Thousands of German miners have demonstrated with red flags against the ruthless closing of pits taking place in the Ruhr; and now in Belgium, workers have staged a sit down strike at the works of Germain Anglo, makers of railway rolling stock and dust carts

The strike has attracted wide support from other workers in the Walloon region of Southern Belgium. As is to be expected the unions have done nothing to extend the strike and have merely pressed for the creation of more jobs-manifestly impossible for the interests of Belgium capitalism.

The workers, including office staff took possession of the factory buildings on May 16 and quickly other workers sent in food supplies etc.

The area of La Louviere, where the factory of Germain Anglo is situated is an area which has been especially hit

by unemployment and has the perspective of further unemployment. It has been estimated that the area has lost about 20,000 jobs over the last ten years. It is another example of "under development."

In one of the "advanced" countries this action of the Belgian working class is an indication of the new phase of struggle in Belgium. The masses of the region regard it as a centre for struggle. It could be rapidly extended and generalised but for the sabotage of the existing leaderships. The problem of factories such as Germain Anglo and the unification of the masses throughout Europe with a common programme to meet unemployment and prevent closures.

For the European programme of nationalisations without compensation under workers control. Factory occupations with the workers running factories about to close. The best way British workers can help the Belgium workers at Germain Anglo is to apply this programme in Great Britain and appeal for the European unification of struggles.

For the general strike in Belgium for the European General strike.

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# Letter of Cde. Posadas to the Greek Section of the International

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

## Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



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## THE ACTION OF THE RAILWAY WORKERS SHOWS THE NECESSITY FOR THE UNIFICATION OF ALL THE UNOFFICIAL COMMITTEES

The nationalisation of certain basic industries carried out by the 1945-51 Labour Government has provided Capitalism with cheap fuel, power and transport. In giving part of the new London freight terminal at Stratford to private hauliers the present government has inevitably continued the same policy. However, in attempting to hand over the use of the terminal to private Capitalism the government have been faced with a strike of workers determined to defend their jobs. In striking to defend a nationalised industry against private Capitalism the workers imply the need for great nationalisation, for the nationalisation of private hauliers and hence all the transport system.

The rapid spread of the strike, from Stratford to other areas of London, reveals the extent of the unofficial organisation of the rail workers in the London area. The bureaucratic leadership, who had done nothing about the Stratford situation, only came into action as they saw the strike spreading. In making the strike official the N.U.R. bureaucrats were attempting to confine the strike to London and to isolate it from the rest of the country. It was the threat of a spread of the strike to other regions which impelled the bureaucrats to declare the strike official. The London railway workers had shown their intention to call on other regions for support before any action was taken by the union officials. Once again the strike breaking role of the union bureaucrats is revealed.

The crisis of the N.U.R. bureaucracy is particularly acute in this situation. The fact that the issue of the strike has been referred, by the N.U.R. executive to the national conference of the union is a reflection of this crisis. It is obvious that the bureaucrats of the N.U.R. hope that the conference will vote to end the strike, but the fact that they risk the possibility of a vote in favour of a national strike shows their weakness in front of the unofficial organisation of the workers. It is, of course, necessary to call a national strike, but such a strike must have a definite programme of demands and it is not enough just to defend the workers at Stratford. It is also necessary to call for workers control on the railways and nationalisations of the private hauliers without compensation.

We are, in the development of the workers struggle in this country, reaching a new stage where despite the lack of a genuine workers organising centre, the workers in various industries, dockers, seaman, and now railway workers show an increased power of organisation at the base of the unions.

The fact that the British workers lack an organising centre and their struggles are sabotaged by one of the most corrupt bureaucracies in the world, has enabled Capitalism to lower the living standards of the masses in the last year. There has, in the last eighteen months, been a process of continual rise of prices, and the recent rises in the price of electricity and petrol will push the cost of living even higher. But the ending of the period of 'severe restraint' by the government is a very modest sign that Capitalism feels that it is dangerous to push the workers too far.

The weakness of British Imperialism is shown by the fact that the Arab masses of Aden are able to openly defy the

armed forces of British Imperialism. In Aden the Crater district was taken completely out of the hands of British Imperialism and controlled by the armed Arab masses. The labour government proposed a phoney independence for the South Arabian Federations under the present federal government which represents nothing more than the feudal interests of the sheiks. This independent South Arabia would be in reality under the control of British Imperialism. But, the masses of Aden have given their answer to this proposal. They have taken control of a large sector of Aden and they are engaged in a continual struggle with British Imperialism by armed force and by general strike. The Adeni workers have not been discouraged by the military defeat of the Arab forces by Israel, rather they have shown more determination than ever to remove British Imperialism completely.

The historic isolation of the British working class can be seen in the fact that the Adeni masses have received no direct support from them. In Genoa Italian dockers went on strike in support of the Arab masses during the conflict with Israel and British and American Imperialism. But in this country there was very little echo. The same is true of the militant struggle of the European workers. In Italy workers are engaged in a continual process of strike action. In Belgium the workers occupied the factory of Germain-Anglo and in France the workers organised the 24-hour general strike. In Spain the workers are organised to overthrow the Franco regime, but, as yet, little of this is felt directly in Britain.

In this situation the Labour government are able to continue the charade of application to join the European Common Market (ECM). It is obvious that

no possibility exists for the entry of British Capitalism into the ECM. It is the desire of sections of British Capitalism to enter. But the entry of Britain would undermine completely the basis of De Gaulles strength and authority before the French petit bourgeois. Capitalism cannot unite Europe. Despite this Wilson is forced to cover the complete lack of perspective for Capitalism by the smoke screen of talks about talks, about entry. The present visit of Lord Alport to Rhodesia is part of the same tactic. British Imperialism has no solution to the Rhodesia crisis, only the African masses can provide a solution, but Wilson is able to continue the charade because of a lack of a real workers opposition.

The British CP cannot provide any opposition to the Capitalist policies of the Labour government because, as an aide of the Soviet bureaucracy, it follows the

line of peaceful co-existence. In the last week we have seen the master peaceful co-exister, Kosygin, in action. At a time when American Imperialism is in armed conflict with the masses of Vietnam, is bombing the Vietnamese workers state and now even soviet ships, at a time when the negro masses of the United States are attempting to smash Capitalism, Kosygin sits down to talk with the leader of American Imperialism. No agreement was reached during the talks between Kosygin and Johnson because no agreement is possible between the exploited masses of the world and Imperialism. The Soviet bureaucracy is forced, in some degree, to reflect the needs of the Soviet workers state and these attempts at conciliation with Imperialism only serve to heighten its own internal crisis. The fact that a leading member of the

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## Long live the Greek section of the IV International

GREETINGS FROM THE BRITISH SECTION TO THE NEW GREEK SECTION

The British section of the IV International enthusiastically greets the decision of the Greek comrades to form themselves into a section of the International. This action, taken in the face of the military coup, shows the enormous confidence and courage of the young Greek comrades, and at the same time reflects the combativity of the Greek workers, peasants and students. The Greek masses have not been crushed by the military coup; Greek Capitalism lacks the social strength to smash the organisations of the working class and the coup was only able to succeed because of the criminal policy of conciliation of the Communist Party and its front organisation the E.D.A. But the military coup will accelerate the construction of a new leadership, and it is in this process of construction that the Greek section, acting in a centralised way with the strength of the whole International, will play a fundamental role.

Our section also salutes the organising ability of Cde Posadas and the International Secretariat, which has been the basis for the speed with which this section has been organised, while at the same time the capitulators, the ex-trotskyists, decompose rapidly.

We salute in the formation of the Greek section, the speedy realisation of one of the resolutions of the VIII World Congress of the IV International.

We greet the decision of the comrades to regularly publish a newspaper 'Communist fight' which with the programme of the IV International, the documents of Posadas and the International will be able to build on the great Trotskyist tradition which exists in Greece, attracting and organising the vanguard. The formation of a section in Greece is of tremendous importance to the International, and will have a great influence on the formation of new sections in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Egypt.

LONG LIVE THE GREEK SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

LONG LIVE THE GREEK MASSES

LONG LIVE CDE. POSADAS AND THE CONCEPTION OF A BOLSHEVIK TEAM, CENTRALISED IN THE INTERNATIONAL, WHICH HAS MADE THE FORMATION POSSIBLE.

The Political Bureau of the RWP(T)  
British Section of the IV International

## The Conference of Punta del Este

# The plans of U.S. Imperialism to organise the "Inter American Peace" force have failed

The principal objectives of the recent Conference at Punta del Este were to obtain support against the Cuban Workers State and prepare an inter American force to prevent new "Cubas" and this was not achieved. Although the collusion between Imperialism and Capitalism continues in Latin America, it has proved impossible publicly to form a centralised alliance against Cuba and the Latin American revolution. This registers the lack of support for Imperialism and Capitalism throughout the length and breadth of Latin America. The failure to obtain any concrete objectives was shown up by the smokescreen on other topics. Vague generalities replaced concrete actions.

The great myth that all are expected to digest, is that the common market of Latin America and the Central American States is a genuine possibility under Capitalism. In fact the bourgeoisie and Imperialism are as incapable of uniting the continent as they are incapable of uniting Asia or Europe. The perspective proposed is ludicrous—the common market should begin in 1970 and reach completion not later than 15 years after! Despite the fact of the close co-operation between the US military and Latin American bourgeoisie, the declaration actually talks about the need to eliminate "unnecessary military spending" and to raise the standard of life etc. with more spending on education etc. This is the identical nonsense spoken in Europe about the need to raise expenditure on

education and housing when capitalism has shown quite clearly that it has no tangible way of doing this.

The extraordinary weakness of the Latin American bourgeoisie is shown by the fact that they thought it advisable not to make mention of "communist threats" but found it necessary to talk about the need to "strengthen democratic institutions" at the very time when the military are in power in two of the largest South American States: Brazil and Argentina. President Arosemena of Ecuador actually refused to sign and said that the United States should send more direct aid to Latin America. Arosemena felt that he dare not sign any declaration, however innocuous.

American Imperialism simply does not possess the resources to invest in or develop the countries of Latin America. Geared fundamentally to the preparation of the counter revolutionary war against the workers states and the world masses, any possibility of economic aid to delay the advance of the revolution in the Latin American continent is ruled out and Imperialism knows it. Johnson could offer nothing to its allies in Latin America. The reality of South America is not the empty statements of Punta del Este, but the military pacts and arrangements between American Imperialism and the bourgeois governments of Latin America.

In May 1966 the sixth meeting of chiefs of the air forces of the O.A.S. member countries was held at Lima. In August 1966, the fifth meeting of heads of the

naval forces of American States convened in Caracas. In October and November, Buenos Aires was the centre for the seventh meeting of commanders in chief of the ground troops of the OAS member countries. October 1965 saw "operation Unitas 7" carried out with the US, Venezuela, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay participating.

In August 1966 the Latin American bourgeoisie held a conference at Bogota in which they held forth on the gains from economic integration. They protested at the low prices they received for raw materials and the high costs of manufactured articles and protested about the methods of the international banking agencies, which by their relentless interest charges exploit the borrowing countries. The participants in the conference were also full of pious thought on the need for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question, the need to reduce military expenditures for the sake of an increase in the standards of life of the masses. But Frei is incapable of taking over the copper mines in Chile from the Imperialists and Venezuela and Colombia go along with Imperialist exploitation of their oil resources. Bogota was a ritualistic protest by the enfeebled bourgeoisie of Latin America against the misfortunes of being allies with American Imperialism. It was an attempt to make it appear that the governments were capable of taking an independent stand against American Imperialism. It was all entirely false and today we see the real truth

about the concern of "native" Capitalism for the interests of the masses.

Now not only are the military co-ordinated throughout the continent, but the police also unite to deal with "subversion". In August 1966 the police bosses met in Lima to deal with "extremist activity" and "guerrilla warfare".

Inevitably the struggles in Latin America will become more and more ferocious. Guerrilla struggles will merge with the struggles of the workers and peasants as a whole. As was the case in Guatemala, the Imperialists and the national bourgeoisie will use all methods including wholesale extermination to try to smash the masses. As a result of guerrilla activity in Colombia in August 1966, the areas of El Pato and Tolima were subject to bombing and according to reports, hundreds of peasants were massacred and tortured; so much for the "liberal" actions of the Colombian bourgeoisie. Behind the failure and the front of Punta del Este, Yankee Imperialism, the armies of the bourgeoisie are preparing to terrorise the masses but the advance of the revolution in Latin America will not only encourage the masses throughout the vast continent, but contribute to demoralise the armies and police forces of the exploiting classes.

Punta Del Este was a real defeat for Imperialism. The preparations for joint military action in the continent will go on regardless, but it has proved impossible publicly to organise an inter-continental force against the advance of the Latin American revolution.

## The self criticism of the Indonesian Communist Party shows in advance towards revolutionary Trotskyist position

At a meeting held recently in Albania, the leadership of the PKI the Indonesian Communist Party made a profound self-criticism for its failures in Indonesia which led to the massacre of half a million of its members. The PKI admitted that it had completely failed to recognise the class nature of the Indonesian state; it had failed to realise that even though the state had to respond to the pressure of the masses, because it lacks a firm social support, it remained nevertheless an instrument of the Indonesian landlords and bourgeoisie. As a result of this un-Marxist characterisation, the PKI on its own admission, tailed behind the so-called progressive bourgeoisie and was completely unprepared for the coup when it came.

The PKI's previous policy was the Stalinist one of the bloc of four classes, which meant an alliance between the workers, peasants, petit bourgeoisie and the 'progressive' national bourgeoisie, and in practice meant subordinating the exploited masses to the interests of the bourgeoisie. As Trotsky said, we will make an alliance with the devil himself if we can gain advantage for the revolution in this way, but such an alliance can only benefit the proletariat and all the exploited masses if it is made on the basis of the proletarian programme and under the leadership of the proletariat. The PKI now proposes a united front of all forces opposed to military dictatorship based on the workers and peasants alliance and under the leadership of the proletariat. This is certainly an advance on their previous position, but at the same time they do not ensure that the leadership of the alliance is proletarian, which would be assured by putting forward a proletarian programme; a programme of expropriation of Imperialist and Indonesian Capitalism enterprises and land without compensation and under workers control. But in spite of its limitations it shows an advance towards Trotskyist positions, an approach towards the Trotskyist formulations of Permanent Revolution.

This self criticism is of tremendous importance to the world revolution. The PKI which is already carrying on an armed struggle, has recognised the necessity to fight for the agrarian revolution, to fuse itself with the masses and to stimulate a healthy political and democratic life within the party. All this will have repercussions in the Chinese leadership which in the past never corrected the mistakes of the PKI for the simple reason that it shared the same incorrect policy which was a heritage of Stalinism.

In this re-orientation we see the example of an honest revolutionary leadership learning through bitter experience, overcoming its theoretical limitations and groping empirically towards the programme and policy of the IV International.

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## THE RWPT(S) SALUTES THE EXPLODING OF THE CHINESE H-BOMB AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE ECONOMIC SCIENTIFIC, AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF THE CHINESE WORKERS STATE

### EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

central committee of the CPSU was demoted immediately after the attack by Israel on the Arab revolution because he disagreed with the conciliatory policy of the Soviet bureaucracy, indicates the crisis that exists. The fact that the partial return to capitalist norms in the Soviet economy has caused a dramatic rise in costs and will produce a rise in the cost of living deepens the crisis of the bureaucracy even further, and stimulates the intervention of the masses. The fact that no statement was made following the meeting between Kosygin and Fidel Castro indicates a failure to agree and is, in itself, another symptom of the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The struggle of the workers in Hong Kong has continued with a general strike. The Hong Kong workers feel the developing political revolution in the Chinese workers state and it encourages them to remove British Imperialists, but they receive no real support and no political leadership from the Chinese workers state.

The workers and peasants of West Bengal also receive no support or leadership from the Chinese workers state. The peasants of West Bengal have been seizing the land and the workers striking in conditions of virtual starvation. Trains have been stopped by the masses and the necessities of life taken from them by the masses. The pro-chinese Communist Party reflects the lack of a lead from the Chinese leadership and is, in fact, helping the forces of the Indian Capitalist state to repress workers. The Indian Capitalist state is crumbling and the time is ripe for the masses to take power. It is criminal in these conditions for the

Chinese leadership not to call on the masses of India to take power. The removal of a leading member of the Chinese workers state who 'is taking the Capitalist road' without any further explanation gives no lead to the world masses. But we can be convinced that the Chinese political revolution will in a short time reflect itself in the leadership and in the foreign policy of the Chinese workers state and this will be of immense importance to the development of the world revolution.

The struggle of the workers in Hong Kong, and in Aden is directly against British Imperialism and British workers have a particular interest in their struggles.

All workers struggles are impeded at this stage in history by the lack of a world centre. The British workers in particular have been isolated for a long historic period from the influence of the world revolutionary process. But, this influence is beginning to be felt, and this will inevitably increase because of the total inability of Imperialism to control the world revolution.

In the face of the lack of a world centre, the workers in this country must build their own centre based on the unified factory committees and the anti-Capitalist programme, a centre based on the programme of the IV International which despite its smallness of numbers is the only organisation providing the conscious revolutionary lead to the world masses. It is necessary to build a centre in this country and to join with the workers in Europe in the building of a European workers centre on the anti-Capitalist programme. On this basis the isolation of the British workers will be completely broken and the road towards socialism, towards the overthrow of Capitalism will be a very short one.

# Letter of Comrade Posadas to the Revolutionary Communist Party

*(Greek Section of the IV International)*

## The social crisis of capitalism, the Coup D'Etat in Greece and the tasks of the Trotskyists

There are two fundamental aspects of which the first is not the analysis of the general situation in Greece, but is the construction of the section, the means to adopt, constitute and develop the section in Greece.

For the task of construction of the team which is going to construct the Greek section, a small group is sufficient. A number is necessary for the tasks which it is necessary to carry out, for the proposals and objectives, but it is possible for a section to be one militant.

Trotsky was practically all the left opposition which remained and Trotsky organised the IV International with a group infinitely smaller than the tasks proposed. From the world point of view he was one. And he organised the IV International.

The present task is to affirm the comprehension, the capacity, the theoretical and political dominion to organise and develop the section. It is not necessary to seek an extension in numbers before having a certain political security. Without this it is not possible to advance. A party can and must be audacious when it is based on knowledge, political and theoretical security. And even though it does not have political and theoretical security directly, it is sufficient to have the political security to be able to act. The International can compensate for the lack of sufficient theoretical security, the lack of individual security of a group or sector. But political security is necessary, for what the section can do. And the deficiencies, the limitations, in political comprehension, all this can be overcome.

To understand what is happening in Greece now and tomorrow is of less importance. It is not because we must be indifferent in front of the political events but the most urgent task now is to organise the section. However it is necessary to understand the means to take, on what points to base oneself, the instrument by which to be able to develop the section. The section is one comrade, two or three; a good programme, a correct policy, even though in general and with an organ of expression. But so that the life of the section has a base and can extend itself, and support itself, it is necessary to seek new supports, and this means its own means of expression, a newspaper. Now it is necessary to have newspaper. This is

### THE MILITARY BLOW WAS AIMED TO SAVE CAPITALISM

The events in Greece are part of the world process of the revolution. But the world process of the revolution has three different forms in each country. Although the objective can be the same and the content is the world revolution, the forms present themselves differently. It is necessary to understand the forms. And in the forms, the various steps and stages.

The coup was not directed against the Communist Party or against Papandreou. The blow was directed because the Greek bourgeoisie was not capable of confronting the process of radicalisation and the social decomposition of the Capitalist system. For this reason they made the coup. It has a certain similarity with the coup of Ongania because it sees that the bourgeoisie is incapable and in the democratic game they are not going to be able to contain the elevation, the radicalisation of the class struggle; neither Papandreou or anyone else. And this process is going to accelerate not towards the Communist Party, but to the communist base which seeks to advance towards and is preoccupied with guerril-

the base to organise in Greece.

Another aspect which it is necessary to consider within the analysis of the constitution of the section, is that there are four groups (with us, five), who declare themselves part of the IV International. We reiterate that it is no longer possible to put any trust in "Workers Democracy". It has no importance. But it is necessary to take into account that there are four groups. And it is necessary to raise a theoretical and political fight against them to establish a public differentiation. But this theoretical and political struggle is not a polemic with them. The theoretical and political differentiation must be made, expounding our positions over all phenomena, over problems, over the objective course of the world revolutionary struggle and over the particular problems of Greece. That is the polemic. In this the difference will be established, not directly polemicising with them, simply establishing the difference, showing that this is Trotskyism, that it holds this and this position.

These four groups who declare themselves Trotskyist or of the IV International, have nothing to do with Trotskyism and the IV International, they exploit the heritage of the past of Trotskyism, in Greece, hoping to canalise it for themselves. It is necessary to refer to them to point out, to determine this with objective differentiations. To realise such a task, it is necessary to lean on the conclusions of the 8th World Congress of the IV International, which are simple, very didactic, very flexible but very certain.

las and which has had twice the experience of struggling for power. Hence the contradiction of the coup, because it is not directed against any sector of the bourgeoisie. It does not represent a new or particular interest.

There is an inter Imperialist struggle and possibly this military team represents the Americans more directly than the British. This is possible but even this is not decisive. The proof is that Great Britain and France immediately recognised the new coup, rapidly in order to sustain it. For this reason, it does not enter into conflict with the church or with Cyprus because their game is to sustain Capitalism. For this reason the king can yield because also he was not against it. It is going to affect the interest of one or another sector of the bourgeoisie, to make a defence of the Capitalist system. Undoubtedly it is going to cause the rise and development of other types of interest, so that it is not excluded that there may be some interest of the commercial, industrial bourgeoisie interested in the development of the internal market. And in this, want com-

merical ties with the workers states. There is nothing against this. There is no absolute contradiction.

The decomposition of the crisis in Greece, is not the same as in France. In Greece there was a revolution which during four years the masses sustained and did not abandon. They assassinated 20,000 or 30,000 of them but in Yugoslavia many more were assassinated, in Poland, in Rumania likewise but the revolution triumphed. Hence the language of the army. It is not a polemic against any bourgeoisie sector, it is not the language of contempt but says it was necessary to have a coup and it has carried it out. They intend to sustain the Capitalist system because they see that the bourgeoisie is not capable of doing so. And at the same time the results of the coup are going to clarify what interests the coup serves. If Kanelopoulos knew, Papandreou knew also. And why is Papandreou silent?

If the king discusses two days before, how does Papandreou not know? All the sectors of the bourgeoisie learnt and Papandreou is silent because he realises that to oppose it is civil war. The king also. And this was because it was not a blow against a sector of the bourgeoisie, it was a blow against the ascendancy of the revolution. Hence they are all silent.

The left sector of the army possibly reacted seeking to exert pressure, seeking to ally a little with NATO to defend a most direct interest of the Greek bourgeoisie, a type of nationalist interest. It is not excluded that these people can do this. For this reason the reporter of "Le Figaro" was mistaken when he said that it was a type of Peronism. It is not excluded that they will trade with the worker states. But it is the product of a stage in which the Communist Party and the soviet bureaucracy offer aid to whatever the regime, even the fascism of Franco.

The military see this and before Papandreou won they took over. They feel more security now to trade, to use the soviet bureaucracy and prevent the revolution as Franco does. This is the general course of this coup. Although this might not be exactly the case, the general line is this. But this is not fundamental, because their policy was not determined by this coup in particular, but by the social crisis in Greece. This was the determining factor, this was determined by the electoral growth of the Communist Party which attracted 36% of the votes in the municipal elections, which means 40% or more if there are free parliamentary election. In the municipal election the proletarian sector, the poor voted less, had less interest, felt itself less attracted. And the Communist Party did not raise any great question, did not call great mobilisations because the soviet bureaucracy saw to it that it remained quiet.

What interests us most, more than the analysis of the objective situation which is important and which is necessary to understand, is that the social crisis in Greece is not expressed through the coup.

The coup is an effect of the social crisis. The social crisis shows itself by the fact that in Greece in spite of the fact that they assassinated the revolutionary communist wing which led the guerrillas who sought to take power and who defended itself on the mountains, it was nevertheless not destroyed. It is reborn constantly. And in the next stages and in reply, it is not the coup in itself but in the consequence of this coup and in the later struggles that the masses are going to advance towards the guerrillas; this is inevitable. The masses are going to tend towards guerrilla war.

The military who will deliver the blow have just communicated the fact that they are going to shoot all who they consider communist and anyone who distributes communist leaflets. They are very weak. In this way they show their weakness. They wish to show to the bourgeoisie that they have the strength to make a coup and decide. If they felt strong they would not apply such methods. To gain the support of the petit bourgeoisie, they do not terrorise by means of shooting. When they terrorise by shooting which they are going to do, and they have arrested 5,000 prisoners in a few days, it is because they feel that there is a great social resistance, a great social opposition. Within the heart of another sector of the bourgeoisie there is a resistance and at the same time as the great social resistance they feel that the other sector of the bourgeoisie cannot mobilise the masses because they are against them. This is their strength. They are a small group who have made the military coup, maintained the King and used the influence of the king against the rest of the bourgeoisie, against all of them. If the other sector of the bourgeoisie had security and strength it would have mobilised the masses. It does not mobilise them because it is afraid and because it knows that it is going to be surpassed by them. This is the perspective for our Greek section.

It is not to be expected that the masses move now and take power but the attitude of these military people indicate that there is a social climate going towards civil war. We do not know when the open state of civil war is going to develop, but it is a preventive coup for the civil war. And the civil war begins with this blow. It is a preventative blow of civil war favourable to Capitalism. They try to take the main positions in the state to prevent the masses being able to profit from and use parliamentary conditions. For this reason they say that they are going to have elections later.— Arranged in such a way the masses cannot exert a pressure or intervene but only in an indirect way through bourgeois circles.

This is a coup aimed directly at containing the masses. But at the same time when they are obliged to launch a coup in these circumstances it is because the climate advances towards the third world war. It was necessary to give this blow joined to the meeting of the Presidents of the American States; the previous meeting of the ministers of external relations and

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# Letter of Comrade Posadas to the Greek Section

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of the economy, of the OEA and of the new meeting which they pose now to organise the "Inter American Peace Force". In a period of months there have been four international meetings, in one of which Johnson participated, which demonstrated the magnitude of the importance which they gave to this meeting and its immense failure, measured by the magnitude which it had. That is to say that Capitalism is preparing the war, increases its preparations for war. When it will break out we are not able to foresee now, but its preparations increase constantly. And this coup in Greece is a warning and at the same time a stimulus to the bourgeoisie in Europe so that it can gain time. It is a game in which they try to use the weakest place for the proletariat because it has no leadership or organisms through which it can be represented directly. For this is a preventative counter revolutionary coup to animate the rest of the European bourgeoisie to prepare for the war and to try to manacle the masses and prevent the development of the revolution.

It is not necessary to see in the coup a struggle of sectors. Undoubtedly every blow wins a benefit for one sector against another. There is no economic policy of the government, it was not defined. In world policy yes, it is clear as before; that is trade with all the world which shows that it is going to trade with the workers states. The attack on communism is a convention. It is not a particular attack on communism, they have no intention of making a pure anti communism, that is to say anti communism exclusively. Their declarations are anti-communist and with anti-communist conclusions but at the same time their declarations to trade with all countries means that they are directing themselves to the Soviet bureaucracy as does Franco.

None of the other groups who call themselves Trotskyist or Communist have taken a correct position. The policy of the communist basically is a policy of national bourgeois unity: we are united to confront the danger, but the position of Pablo, Healy and the others is also going to be this. They are not going to interpret the coup as does the IV International i.e. that it is a preventative coup in the preparation of the civil war and in preparation of the world atomic war of Imperialism. None of them has an interest in this.

If the European bourgeoisie attaches so an great importance to the coup and they are greatly preoccupied with it, it is because Greece has an immense importance for the world strategy of Imperialism, for the nuclear world war, for the counter revolutionary world war against the worker states and against the revolution. Hence its preoccupation. Hence the declaration of the Greek military leaders that they are not going to alter anything in relation to NATO. This is at least the declaration which they are making. And for this reason the Americans immediately recognise them. And this was to support them and give them strength before the king and the bourgeoisie. The real issue is not NATO.

The elections, the triumph of the Communist Party would have resulted in immense pressure from the masses which would stimulate the sector of the army which seeks a certain independence from NATO, to trade more directly with the Workers States. A greater independence from NATO is an open gate to trade more and receive advantages from the Soviet bureaucracy. Already it has shown that it is disposed to do this with the help that it gave to Cyprus, with the sending of arms to Cyprus. And the Americans to try to contain this pressure which makes its base in NATO more difficult,—an immense strategic base for the Balkans and the Middle East,—intervene. It is very possible that they were the stimulators of this coup and that the weakness of these people from the numerical point

of view has been compensated by the support of the Yanks. It is possible that this is the case. It is not very clear, there are no specific declarations from these military people as to what economic policy they propose to follow. The only position which is clear, the only positions which they adopt is that they continue with NATO. And this is aimed at the Yanks.

The reaction of the Communist Party and of the Trade Unions is weak, but the impression is given that the masses move on their own account. The resolution decreeing the death penalty for all those who paint communist slogans is directed at the masses, who on their own account are taking the initiative. But it is not excluded that the Communist Party might be obliged to go further than its leadership wishes under the pressure of the masses, so as not to lose control over them. This is not excluded. It is in these circumstances that it is necessary to prepare documents to analyse this process and at the same time to appeal for later activities. It is necessary to unify action and the struggle now, for democratic demands not calling for elections in the abstract but for democratic demands, for Trade Union political rights, for a programme of nationalisation, for a programme of workers control, for a Worker and Peasants Government. The slogan "Down with the King, Down with the Military Coup" is not the appeal for elections. "Down with the Military Coup, Long live the Worker and Peasant Government", this is the slogan.

But all these other people say: "Down with the Military Coup, for Democratic Elections". No. Against all this: "Down with the Military Coup, long Live the Worker and Peasant Government". It is necessary to appeal to the masses to organise themselves to overthrow the military government and the monarchy and to install and workers and peasant government. It is necessary to intervene in a united front if there are mobilisations, whatever might be the nature of these mobilisations against the military coup but to intervene in these mobilisations with our own slogans to intervene in the agitation in a united front against the military coup and proposing the solution of the Worker and Peasant Government. And it is necessary to try to intervene, to participate in meetings and discussions whatever the nature of discussions to be able to launch the slogan. The way, the only form of launching the struggle against this military coup means the progress and freedom for the working class that is to overthrow this military government and the king. And to overthrow the king "for a Worker and Peasant Government", is the slogan which it is necessary to propose. This is not against the struggle for democratic liberties but this is the conclusion. The capitulators Pablo, Healey, Germain, Maitan, confine themselves to democratic slogans. The democratic slogans are simply a bridge to raise the workers and peasants government, particularly in this stage. It is undoubted that the masses are going to be preoccupied to launch the slogan to be able to mobilise for its democratic liberties. We are in agreement, it is necessary to struggle, for trade union liberty, for political liberties, for the freedom for all those politically arrested, for the sliding scale of wages, for the sliding scale of hours, for the expropriation of Imperialist enterprises, for the expropriations of big and medium industry and also in support of the poor and medium peasantry. It is necessary to appeal to the peasantry to include themselves in the movement as do the militants of the communist base. And the slogan of the middle and poor peasantry with the agrarian workers; to eliminate the state control over what they have to produce, an increase in wages, credits, better conditions for prices, and at the same time for work in co-operatives and an appeal to the peasants for a communal way of working. And to do this a

government is necessary which gives them support. It is necessary to call for the support of the workers movement so that these possibilities can succeed, in the system of cultivation and work. The peasantry in Greece is very poor. There is a sector of the very poor peasants which supports the communists and also the partisans. It is necessary to aim at this peasant sector to seek support and alliance with the proletariat so that the proletariat may form a programme which interests the peasants. If there are bourgeois parties, a wing of the party of Papandreu which intervenes, very well, it is necessary to have a united front with them but with this condition: in this united front we do not lose our independence and we call at the same time for a struggle against and the overthrow of the military government. We call for the worker and peasant government. This is the struggle with which it is necessary to intervene, at the same time that we struggle for democratic liberties, for trade union liberties. The slogan out of NATO is not a slogan independent of Capitalism. The two are united. Out of NATO, Death to Capitalism, to unite the masses around the break from NATO, is to free them from Imperialist oppression which is

Capitalist oppression, submission to the world policy of Yankee Imperialism. Out with Capitalism. They cannot do this. They say out of NATO but nothing more. But they leave the initiative, the leadership to the bourgeoisie to conduct such a struggle. This is not a struggle against Capitalism. We say: Out of NATO, Death to Capitalism. And we appeal to the masses in a single way in a historical and concrete way that to leave NATO is to overthrow Capitalism, there is no other way. Even with all the policy of De Gaulle in the form in which he went out of NATO, he does not make himself independent of the political leadership of the Americans. NATO means the united front of the Capitalist class against the Workers States. And he is involved with this. The line which de Gaulle seeks and the "left" sector of Papandreu, is a certain political independence from Yankee Imperialism, to make their own policy to try to bargain. In this path, it is not excluded that this sector of the left, gives some support to de Gaulle and he has an interest in this. This is not excluded. One thing is political independence of the Americans, the other is the class independence from the Americans; there is none; they are united with Imperialism.

## THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT EXPRESSES THE ENORMOUS PROFUNDITY OF THE SOCIAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

When the Greek bourgeoisie has to make a coup at the very time that there is a difference between the King and this military team, it is because the crisis is already very big. If not there would be no coup. Otherwise they would have preferred a Papandreu type solution. That is to say a solution which maintained a certain social stability and dominion over the petit bourgeoisie. In exchange this blow is going to push the petit bourgeoisie inevitably under the influence of the world revolution in a much more profound way than now. The advantage for them of a short transitory period, very short, is that in the absence of a revolutionary policy of the Communist Party, there is no other organisation which can make a revolutionary mass policy. Trotskyism is very weak. Capitalism therefore has a certain advantage. But one of the conditions on which this military coup is based is peaceful co-existence and trade with the Capitalists at any cost by the Workers States. This is one of the conditions of the coup. There is no attack on the Soviet Union, no attack on the Workers States. It attacks communism in Greece, seeking to trade with the bureaucracy of the Workers States. It is not excluded that they seek trade with them but they trade as does Ongania. He attacks the oligarchy but creates "The

Inter American Peace Force". That is to say one sector of the bourgeoisie of the country to save Capitalism favours a new financial sector which has developed in the last period, interested in part in the internal market.

The tasks of the Greek Section is neither complicated nor difficult. It requires patience and much preoccupation to advance politically. It is simple, it is not complicated because the political line in general, the modes of organisation, the vision of the world, the objective policy and the programme already exist. It exists. The application in Greece nevertheless has a certain complication because now there is not a solid team. And now the coup means a clandestinity more than before. Before it was semi-clandestine, now it is completely clandestine. The coup will create difficulties for a short period. A policy is necessary which takes into account the necessity of facing this coup which is a military dictatorship.

This is logical and the workers are going to feel this necessity. And the communists and the left wing of Papandreu are going to have the possibility of being able to discover the support of the masses with the fact that the struggle against the military dictator-

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## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

*Die Arbeidersrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73, Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.

**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Rochongar, 21 avenue du Seigneur Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.

**GREECE:** Communist Fight. Clandestine. **MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.

**INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay. *Rivista Marxista Europea*, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

# Letter of Comrade Posadas to the Greek Section

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ship, for democratic liberties, is going to have an echo. But at the same time a large sector of the proletariat, of the petit bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, among them many university students is going to feel that this is the consequence of the former policy of peaceful co-existence and through the defeat and the blow as great as this, they are going to learn and prepare for the next stage. This is the conclusion which it is necessary to draw. From this process the intellectual and professional worker and in part peasant sector has drawn the conclusion that the revolutionary policy is necessary. It is a little group not the majority. It is on this that you must base yourself for the immediate perspectives.

The four groups who say that they are Trotskyist and who have something in common with Trotskyism are going to be less and less connected with Trotskyism. They are going to degenerate directly, but these four groups are going to be a quite serious difficulty. It would not be a difficult for us if it was in the Argentine, because there exist sections with strength who have shown their strength, but in the case of Greece this is not the case. We enter in the struggle against the so-called Trotskyists with a young group and the young group seeks immediately to seek numbers, numbers. You seek numbers to find the strength to confront them. But this is not the way to confront them. It is not a question of numbers but it is a question of political comprehension. In this way there is a mathematical equation. It is not numbers, it is your capacity which is going to gain numbers afterwards. The "groups" are not going to gain them, they are not going to draw from the proletarian vanguard which is advancing.

Of all the people who follow the groups of "Workers Democracy", Pablo, Germain, Healy and Maitan, from all these groups, it may be possible to gain two or three, nothing more. While it is possible to gain many outside them. And do not believe that in these groups they have good people, they have the worst.

In these groups there is an attitude of arrogance, of contempt towards the masses. Hence the struggle to attract people from them is erroneous. The attempt by our comrades to form new regional centres does not obey a logical correct conclusion, from observing the forces which develop, but shows the desire to seek to increase their forces to confront these four groups and then to be able to militate. This is correct in intention, that is to seek to increase strength but this is not the way to do so. This is not the way. The first way is that you yourselves should increase your political capacity. This is the first thing to do.

Greece is going towards civil war, when we do not know. The coup is preventative, as with Ongania's coup. Such a preventative coup of civil war means that the bourgeoisie lack strength to dominate by the usual ways. The sector which has taken control understands better than the others that a crisis has arrived and they are preparing for the war. There is no harmonious development in the process of the class struggle and in the action of the bourgeoisie. The sector responsible for the coup has used circumstances. This is not the epoch of fascism. The language of the military who gave the interviews is fascist. The fact that they threaten to shoot is not fascist. Ongania and Branco made the same threats. They shoot in different ways. They put one against the wall and impose 30 year sentences which is terrorism. There are distinct grades of terrorism. 30 years in prison, 10 years in prison are different from the death penalty in that this reflects a much greater pressure. But both seek the same effect; to manacle, prevent, intimidate, make retreat; this is not the epoch of fascism nor of fascist perspectives. Fascism triumphed because it could lean on petit bourgeois desperat-

ion, on the basis of the lumpen proletariat and of the world retreat of the revolution through the treason of the communist parties.

Today these conditions do not exist. It is completely the opposite. The revolution is world-wide, and the Communist Party continues with its treacherous and rotten policy but the revolution advances more than it is possible to control.

They cannot count on a historic period, for they are small military groups who have made the coup. Fascism was not based on small military groups. Those who made the fascist coup were a small civilian group supported by the military, but basing themselves on the petit bourgeoisie, which directed its hatred against the proletariat and against the Jews. And fascism was successful in launching itself against the proletariat. It was the fascist terrorist team which liquidated the workers organisations. Also the petit bourgeoisie as a social sector hurled itself massively directly against the proletariat, it launched itself against the Jews. This is not the period of fascism.

## THE TROTSKYIST-COMMUNIST TRADITION IN GREECE IS THE BASIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS POWER

None of the revolutionary currents in Greece start from objective honesty, among them the people of Healy and others, who are revolutionary people, but who lack the objective honesty with which you have to fight disinterestedly, not with a party, or group, or sect purpose, but for the objective development of the revolution. They lack what you have. This is the basis which is going to put you in contact with the proletarian vanguard in Greece.

There is already a precedent which you have in Greece and it has an enormous importance. Marcus broke with Moscow. One sees that it was not only Tito, the break of Tito was contained in the break of Marcus. Because of this the bureaucracy liquidated him and afterwards they intended to smash Tito, because they saw that this meant the revolution in all Europe. And this was not a chance thing. The Communist Party was paralysed for 4 or 5 years. Moscow took all the leaders to Moscow in order to corrupt them and in spite of this there was a renaissance of the Communist Party. This is going to repeat itself; this is history. When Marcus had the force to split the CP, it was because the base wanted it and the base still wants it, and because of this the military have made this coup. And this coup to prevent the civil war is going to advance and produce a new Marcus.

The others are making the civil war but trying to dominate it. You prepare yourselves so that you are going to have an influence within the Communist Party, and you are going to influence them well. All these groups will capitulate, abandon, desert. Do not expect a future from these bases, and moreover they have no importance. The Trotskyist tradition and authority is immense, but it is not theirs. And in the base of their groups those who can still be gained, will be gained after the publications which you bring out. Publications of the International.

When the world press, and the world press means "Il Tempo" of Rome which is one of the expressions of the biggest newspaper in the world, that is to say the thought of the bourgeoisie, of the most important sectors, put Guevara, Posadas and Lin Piao in a united front, it is because they have seen that this is the road. When the Brazilian Communist Party, the Regional Committee of Niteroi publishes an article of J. Posadas with his name and is going to publish others, signed, it is because on the Capitalist side and on the side of the communist base, we are showing our immense forces. We are small in number, but we have an immense capacity of organisation, decision of organisation and capacity of orientation. This is your strength. At present you

are going to encounter enough difficulties, but all this base which the communists and the so-called trotskyists have, if it is worth anything is going to be gained by us, but after publishing, publishing and organising; and after you have carried on a strict party life. There has not existed a Bolshevik party in Greece, with Bolshevik morale or relations. Outside of ourselves nobody has this, because they don't prepare themselves for this, because they fear the future. They are all frightened of the future just as the bourgeoisie has a panic fear of the future. It feels lost and all these groups are the same. A good publication of ours in Greece, is going to have an immense effect in 6 months.

It is over. Because of this all the Jewish bourgeois organisations, the wealthy Jewish bourgeoisie, the Soviet bureaucracy, the communist parties who say "the fascist danger in Germany", "there is a danger of fascism in Greece", are lying, and use this to justify a policy of alliance with Capitalism, nothing more.

This is a preventative blow by Capitalism, by the bureaucracy, by the monarchy, by the church; and it was given by a sector of the army in the name of all these. As it cannot be given in a vacuum, it is given in this stage which is one of preparation of the war against the development of the conditions of the civil war and of the development of the struggles of the proletariat. This is clear, there can be no mistake, there can be small mistake but no mistake on the perspective.

Greece is a country where the guerrillas have been one of the most important and most advanced in Europe and in which the revolution nearly triumphed, and remains latent in the proletarian vanguard. It is because of this that they gave the preventative blow.

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The conditions are infinitely better than when we organised the first section or the Spanish Section. The world process is more elevated, is clearer, the International is already present. The team is young and has difficulties and it is going to have more difficulties. To overcome the difficulties means to prepare oneself, studying scientifically, concentrating scientifically on the texts. One must not be intimidated by the fact that you will commit mistakes because you lack the maturity to apply what you consciously understand. You take the texts of the International understand them, but in applying them you make mistakes. It is necessary to measure the relations of forces in concrete daily life, the factors which occur and are not outlined in the general article and which cannot be. The general article concentrates all the elements and afterwards it is necessary to apply it daily, and this needs personal maturity, the maturity of the team, of the section. This is acquired. Each mistake must mean a source of experience so as not to commit further errors. On the other hand the other groups, those which call themselves Trotskyist, do not merely make mistakes but have a false conception from the start. You are going to make mistakes, you are going to make mistakes because you do not understand, you are not mature. They make mistakes because their false conception leads to this and it ceases to be simply making mistakes, their conception is false.

Because they do not defend the revolution they cannot understand reality. For you this is not the case and there is a good team to develop. One must call for a united front in the mobilisations against the dictatorship, and against the military coup. A mobilisation of the United Front which unites the programme of demands of the masses; of salaries, of work, of democratic rights, for the workers and peasants government, not putting as a condition of the United Front now, the Workers

and Peasants Government. It is the United Front in which the struggle to take away the power from the bourgeoisie must be the centre. At the same time it is necessary to agitate for the programme of economic and democratic demands: freedom of speech, of the press, of meetings, trade union and political freedom, liberation of political prisoners, minimum living wage, sliding scale of wages and hours of work, expropriation of the agricultural properties—without compensation—and distribution of the land to the peasants, and expropriation of the big industries. It is necessary not only to pay a good price for the products of the peasants, but to eliminate all their debts. The big Greek land owning proprietors draw a rent from the land which is rarely equalled in the rest of the world. A differential rent. They make these peasants work like slaves, and what they produce are the bases of the differential which the landowners take. They receive the difference between the cost of production, which is very high in Greece and the cost of production on those lands which are very poor. This is an enormous accumulation of wealth. (See note)

They still have the whole apparatus of monarchy. And the bourgeoisie is not disposed to overthrow the king because they are afraid. With whom would they replace him? All those who speak of the republic are stupid. One cannot have a republic in Greece, except the socialist republic and then it is no longer a republic but the Workers State. That is why the king is still there, because they have him as a symbol, the centre capable of winning the petit bourgeoisie, and as a centre which unifies the feudal, industrial and commercial sector, the church and the bourgeoisie. This is why they have not overthrown him. It is not the social force of Capitalism which maintains the monarchy, but the conciliatory policy of the communists. All this is transitory, the crisis is profound. But it is not going to be possible to overthrow Capitalism with one blow because there is no leadership. Capitalism still has an advantage for a period because there is no leadership. Even if there is an uprising of the masses now it will be without leadership and this would mean it would be confined and suffer blow. But this process is already helping the worker, peasant, student, professional, university, vanguards to understand the necessity for the revolutionary party. The masses are seeing the guerrillas and it is very possible that they are looking to the guerrillas.

It is necessary to support the guerrillas and to call for their constitution but this must not replace the life of the party within Greece; the life in the party and within the trade unions. The guerrillas must not substitute themselves for this. The guerrillas must develop themselves on the basis of the revolutionary programme, to overthrow the Capitalist government and impose a workers and peasants government. It is necessary to organise the struggle for workers and peasants power on the basis of the towns which support the organisation of the party and which reflects and expresses these wishes. Also it is necessary to produce documents which respond to all these needs. There is going to be spontaneous tendencies of guerrillas. This is quite natural. They are going to be against the Albanians, the Yugoslavs. They are going to be against the bureaucracies of the Workers States. It is possible that the Albanians will support them in order to try to control them. It is possible that the Chinese will also but it will be a very limited support. Good documents from you are going to immediately attract the attention of the pro-chinese groups and the support of the pro-chinese groups, rapidly. It is possible

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Note. The landowners benefit from the differential rent whereby the prices of agricultural products are determined by the cost of production on the worst soil.

# Letter of Comrade Posadas to the Greek Section

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that there will be a defferentiation, and that the pro-chinese groups of Greece will be more influenced by the Albanians than by the Chinese, because of the direct contact.

The documents which the section publishes are going to attract the attention and the interest of the pro-chinese groups, but for this it is necessary to have a firm solid team first. It is necessary to publish the programme we have made. It is necessary to unite the fight for the Workers and Peasants Government, the workers and peasant alliance. And the worker and peasant alliance means the land to the peasant, expropriation of the big and medium estates and landlords, suppression of all the debts of the peasants, cheap credit to the peasants, increase in the price of the

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade, Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

products which are bought from the peasants, co-operative work for the peasants to prepare the forms of the communes and to pass to collective exploitation. This is the basis of the workers and peasants alliance. And one must join to this all the programme of expropriation of the big and medium industries, down with military dictatorship, down with the king, for a Workers and Peasants Government.

The programme of down with the military government, down with the military coup, down with the king is the programme for the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT. There is no other. This is the fight for the unconditional support for the political revolution in China, support for Vietnam, support for the revolution in the Middle East, an appeal for the United Front of workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, professionals to overthrow the military government. The mobilisation for democratic demands must be united to the programme of economic demands, and for Workers and Peasants Government.

Without waiting for the Workers and Peasants Government, one must fight for these demands in order to make the masses advance to liberate themselves from the bourgeois leadership. The petit bourgeoisie is not going to support this for a long time. Papandreu is going to try to mobilise. All the attitude of the military junta is to intimidate the petit bourgeois base of Papandreu so that it does not mobilise. But the petit bourgeoisie is going to move and demonstrate that it is capable of mobilising itself. The student mobilisations, the mobilisations of building workers, these demonstrations which have been held recently are an index that they want to mobilise. This is the

prospect which the section has, and the world situation which influences Greece gives it an even greater perspective.

The capitulation of the Communist Party, the fight within the Communist Party between the base which wants to act, which wants to work and the leadership which is impeding, which is diverting the struggle, will accentuate in this stage and it is necessary to intervene in this.

The Party, the section, has to have a base in order to be able to reach these objectives. First of all, it is necessary to solidify and strengthen the party internally. The small team which studies, which discusses all the problems, which learns, eliminates and overcomes impatience and substitutes conscious comprehension, revolutionary patience and revolutionary hope, and moreover the need to learn. But without a regular publication it is not going to be possible to perform any important task.

There is a vanguard in Greece which we can influence, a vanguard which looks for and wants the revolution, this vanguard is going to be influenced by good articles and good activities. Now you cannot carry on an independent activity because you don't have the strength, but with good articles you are certainly going to attract people. When there are bases for four groups which call themselves Trotskyists and ourselves it is because there is a vanguard which wants the revolution. We can win, not those groups which call themselves Trotskyists, but the vanguard which allows the existence of five Trotskyist groups. In spite of all the extermination the only reason that there are some Trotskyists is that there is a vanguard which wants to advance. The important thing is that the development

of the Greek section is necessary in order to present the Trotskyist revolutionary policy before the Greek masses in this stage of the crisis, and of the growth of the struggles of the civil war. It is necessary to dedicate particularly but not exclusively a period to interior formation, to interior security. It is necessary to write and publish, to produce a good newspaper. There is a certain doubt and timidity in your organisational conclusions. This is logical; it is not bad nor a defect. It is logical because of the magnitudes of the tasks, and you still feel yourself to be weak. This is logical, but being logical does not mean that this is what one should do. There isn't any reason for being timid, you have the force, you have the strength. The force is what we all have, the experience which you are making is to develop the section, to mature and to bring out a publication. The publication is going to attract new people. The publication is going to be a centre and in Greece there is no political organisational centre of the immense proletarian vanguard. A revolutionary vanguard is not solely proletarian, it is worker, student, peasant, and in the universities. These are the conclusions for this stage. The rest will come of itself, that is to say it will come with the action of the International, with the action of yourselves, because you are going to extend and strengthen yourself in the objective correct policy, in the struggle for the WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN GREECE and it is necessary today to appeal to all the revolutionary militants for a United Front to overthrow the military dictatorship.

3rd May 1967

J. POSADAS

## For the Student — Teacher — Worker alliance

In the absence of a centralised proletarian force which can act as an organising and attractive centre for the students and teachers, Capitalism has the opportunity to manoeuvre and to contain at least to some degree the demands of teachers and students, their economic demands, the necessary social demands for better education and improved conditions of education.

Recently there have been threats of strikes from sectors of the teachers, although the struggle has not been properly prepared at its most elevated level with appeals to the trade unions and workers for support and with demands that relate not only to the demands of the teachers, but which show support for the demands of the workers for wage increases and workers control. The N.U.T. leadership of Gould has no love of any strike struggles and in practice only supports the demands for strike action from fear of losing control of the process. The leadership does nothing to overcome the very marked fragmentation of the student teacher struggles in this country. It refuses to relate the struggles of the teachers to the struggle to overthrow Capitalism.

In the last period as was shown most clearly in the student struggles at L.S.E., the student vanguard took the initiative against the authorities and acted against the despotic authority which demanded the suspension of student leaders for violating university "discipline". Students affected by the world situation showed their growing antagonism to the policies of Wilson over Vietnam at Colchester, so that the venerated representatives of the failing powers of British Imperialism had to be protected by the army and the police. A detente in the situation has developed and in the absence of a clear programme and a clear student leadership with an established authority, the

various bourgeois authorities in the university make various unctuous remarks about the need or consulting students and eliminating the more arbitrary aspects of university life. In practice the bourgeoisie intend to operate a system of modest student "participation" which parallels workers "participation" in industry—in other words it is a method of dealing with minor trivial aspects of the educational system without changing its fundamental basis—only a workers state can eliminate the hierarchical structure in education and satisfy the economic and social demands of teachers and students.

Thus at Bradford, for example, students are being represented on committees of teaching methods, planning and building etc. The President of the students Union has a place on the University Council. A joint committee of students and members of the senate "meets frequently" and discusses academic matters. Student representation is the key to solving the student "problem". The object of the sudden turn to accepting student "maturity" is simply to incorporate a sector of the students into acting as willing reasonable adjuncts of the system. In practice the way is opened for this type of arrangement because any idea of an abstract "teachers & student" control divorced from a real united front with the struggles of the working class is nonsense. It is significant that students at the L.S.E. voted money to support the strikers at the Barbican site, this is correct but the most valuable intervention would be to propose the programme of the united front against Capitalism and participate at all levels in the workers fight against Capitalism. Occupations—as at the L.S.E. or the University of Mexico for that matter—have an political educational character, if they are used particularly as a means of calling for the over-

throw of Capitalism with the appropriate programme of expropriations, workers control, factory occupations. Slogans merely orientated to student power conceal the true crisis of education—education for Capitalism or for the social interests and needs of the workers state.

Great Britain remains one of the most privileged countries in the world. The majority of students are recruited from conservative bourgeois and petit bourgeois families. The representation of workers remains very small and hence the hope of the bourgeoisie that they can tame the student movement and buy it off. The factor which constantly militates against this is of course the clear political and social and now economic decomposition of Capitalism, and the dynamic advance of the world revolution. Such is now also the economic crisis of Capitalism, that "loans" are suggested as substitutes for grants.

It is necessary to unite all the worker, student, teacher struggles in Great Britain. Teachers should appeal to the workers, students and school children to support them in their struggles but they must relate them to the wider issue of overthrowing Capitalism. All the basic demands of the teachers simply cannot be met by Capitalism and the overthrow of Capitalism demands the action of the workers. The solution of many problems of education demands the full participation of the worker masses in education and this also demands the social revolution. Narrow professional preoccupations are a sign of conservative attitudes and are an obstacle to the struggle.

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**Long live the Revolutionary Hong Kong and Chinese masses!**

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

**Workers of the World, Unite!**

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



NO 54 FORTNIGHTLY JULY 25th 1967 SIXPENCE

## THE FACTORY COMMITTEES MUST SEIZE THE OFFENSIVE AND IMPOSE WORKERS CONTROL AND OCCUPY THE FACTORIES

**Inexorably the advance towards the third world war continues. American Imperialism prepares to send in more troops to Vietnam and in the Middle East neither the Soviet bureaucracy or the forces of Imperialism can control the process which is one of the progress of the Arab masses towards Socialism and no peace with the Israeli bourgeoisie, the instrument of Imperialism in the Middle East. British Imperialism as part of the world counter revolutionary alliance against the Workers States and the world revolution has shown its customary savagery in dealing with the masses of Aden and Hong Kong, and as part of the inevitable consequences of preparing for the world war, is committed to the lowering of the standard of life of the British masses.**

The economy of British Imperialism has been moribund for many years now. Its rate of growth, low level of investment and falling share of world trade has long revealed its decadence and paralysis. Imperialism has no great confidence in its ability to expand the home market. Enormous investments have been made abroad rather than at home. Vast resources are wasted on the needs of military expenditures. The balance of payments is placed in constant jeopardy because of the imbalance caused by military expenditure. This in turn leads to all manner of restrictions on economic expansion and to a further deterioration in the possibilities of an expanded economy. The capitalist economy is in fact disrupted by its own military needs. At the same time as the stop go policy inevitably continues, the process of centralisation and rationalisation of production increases and with it a direct attack by the monopolies on the wages of the workers and wholesale dismissals. British Capitalism during the "Butskell" period was proud of its policy of full employment and attached great social importance to it, but now it is impossible to maintain such a line and the ability to contain the social and political crisis, by economic stability is greatly diminished.

The curious speech by Crossman giving no perspectives for any economic improvement and Heaths speech which visualised the control of the unions by the state and reductions in social expenditures, are symptoms of the general policy of the Capitalist class and thus the Labour government, in the period which is coming. Although the British masses have sustained a reduction in the standard of life, the Capitalist system inevitably demands more of the same medicine. And again in the next phase of the class struggle in this country, as before, the collaboration of the trade union leadership is of the highest importance to Capitalism. We have already pointed out in previous issues that in the final analysis there has been little to choose between the "right" and "left" wings of the trade union bureaucracy. Cousins has made more "left" remarks than Carron, but as the line of the TGWU has shown in the docks and in the car industry, Cousins is not prepared to mobilise workers and is quite capable of leaving them to their fate. It is perfectly true that even his muted opposition to the policies of the Labour government can act as a stimulus to the

masses but in practice the line of Cousins is one of verbal opposition to Capitalist measures without proposing any concrete measures which would mobilise the masses.

The attitude of the TGWU leadership was shown at their recent conference. Here again Cousins made the ritualistic opposition to the incomes policy, called for a £15 minimum wage and the nationalisation of North Sea Gas and the road haulage industry. He opposed any motions calling for the break from the Labour Party or the abandonment of the political levy. This shows the real intentions of Cousins. It is perfectly true that the mass of the worker base will continue to centralise themselves around the Labour Party even at this stage of collapse of British Imperialism in the absence of any immediate alternative, but this is not the

basis for Cousins defence of the LP. He wishes to maintain the fiction of the Labour Party apparatus being open to the influence of the trade union bureaucracy, to deny that the LP is in essence a Capitalist party. He is fearful of that sector of the workers, the vanguard, who wish to finish with the Labour Party, finish with the subservience of the labour bureaucracy to the interests of Capitalism. He wishes to submit the LP masses to the line of the Labour government suitably modified. His perspective of extracting concessions is totally unreal and the £15 a week minimum is not much more than bare subsistence for a workers family under the pressure of rising prices. There is a sign that the TGWU wishes to control its sponsored MP to see that in Parliament they do actually oppose the incomes policy. But again this is merely another parliamentary manoeuvre. A refusal to mobilise the workers directly at this stage of the struggle means to passively allow the intensification of exploitation by Capitalism and condone the intervention of British Imperialism against the masses in Aden and Hong Kong. On the Common Market Cousins gave no perspective for the United Socialist States of Europe, and also made no call for the withdrawal of troops from Aden or

Hong Kong. The Congress of the TGWU is the faintest echo of the resistance of the British workers to Capitalism but in essence it was an expression of the manoeuvrings of the bureaucracy and gave no perspective to the masses. The preparation of the most reactionary sectors of the trade unions to oppose with all their force the struggles of the masses is shown by a recent modification of the rules in the NUR. Any future strike declaration must have the support of two thirds of those present at a meeting of the 24 men executive whereas previously a majority of one was sufficient. The NUR is sufficiently bureaucratized already. It never seriously responds to the demands to the workers but now it even takes out an insurance policy against it ever yielding to any pressure from below. This is the most striking example of the tenacious refusal of the bureaucrats to do anything which might imperil the continued existence of Capitalism. All this shows again with even greater clarity than before that the workers can put no trust whatsoever in their trade union leaders. They are highly paid servants of Capitalism in the workers movement. There is no democracy in the unions. Officials are not open to immediate re-  
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### PRESS COMMUNIQUE ON

## THE VIII WORLD CONGRESS AND THE FIRST WORLD CADRE SCHOOL OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

*(Extracts)*

**During April, the 8th World Congress and the 1st World Cadre School took place in Europe. Thirteen of the existing sections were able to participate. Four sections were not able to attend for reasons of repression and clandestinity. They are not able to be represented directly because of the impossibility of leaving their respective countries.**

**Of all the Congresses of the IV International, this Congress was the one which was prepared in the most elevated manner. All the documents of Cde Posadas and of the International were the basis for the preparation of the Congress, of the political preparation. More than ever the sections of the IV International were and are in harmony with the thought and the objectives of the world anti-Imperialist anti-Capitalist world front, of support for the political revolution in China and in Cuba, support for the proletarian revolution, for the world socialist revolution. The 17 sections of the IV International, 9 of Latin America, 6 of Europe and two in Africa prepared their intervention in the Congress, developing in each section and in a world scale, the activity of each country united with the masses for worker and socialist power, for the socialist revolution; intervening actively in support of the political revolution in China and in the other workers states, intervening with all their force material and organic, in the mass struggles in Asia, Europe and Latin America.**

All the sections of the International are indissolubly part of the struggles of the masses which they represent. They are at the head of the initiatives, of the activities, of the movements which impel and develop the struggles of the masses to free themselves from the bureaucratic leaders of the Socialist and Communist

parties, to organise tendencies and sectors in the centralisation of the struggles for the revolutionary leadership, for the socialist revolution, to lead the masses to power and overthrow Capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

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The previous political preparation for the Congress was demonstrated in the publication of the papers and publications, of the Latin American Marxist and the European Marxist Review in Italian, 18 bulletins on the principal problems of the Socialist revolution, of the political revolution in the workers states, the development of the world revolution, development of the nationalist revolution towards the Socialist revolution, the militia, the soviets, communes, factory committees, planning of the workers states, on all the essential problems of the

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# THE VIIIth WORLD CONGRESS AND THE FIRST WORLD CADRE SCHOOL OF THE IVth INTERNATIONAL

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struggles of the masses, advancing from their transitional demands to the taking of power, 100 bulletins were published in many languages, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Italian, British, Greece, some in Flemish and Arabic, treating the problems of organisation and agitation of the struggles for transitional demands, the experience and conclusions for each stage and giving the orientations for the next stages, periods and phases of revolutionary activity. A dozen bulletins on the experiences and conclusions of the imprisoning of our militants of the IV International in Cuba, Mexico, Spain, Brasil, Bolivia, Peru, Argentine and Guatemala, were produced, including documents analysing the forgery of Voz Proletaria of Argentine by Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy, which indicates the immediate preparation of the war and a massive repression against the International, against our militants and our sections; the document of the "Functioning and Structure of the International" acts as a continuator of the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, in organising the IV International and its revolutionary organisms in this stage.

The preparation of the Congress was demonstrated equally through the political activity of the comrades in prison in Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico, Spain, Brasil, Bolivia etc., who continued their activity as revolutionary militants, influencing the currents and tendencies who together advance towards the revolution, educating new revolutionary currents on the road to take part in the revolutionary leadership of Latin America in particular, with the conceptions, sentiments, morale, programme, and the policy of the Socialist revolution and of Socialism. The activity of the Cuban comrades who launched a public appeal to the government of Fidel Castro, to the revolutionary tendency in China and in Cuba, for a public world discussion on the world united front to overthrow what remains of Capitalism and develop the political revolution in the Workers States, in freeing themselves from the bureaucracy, was particularly significant.

For the 27 days when the Congress took place and also the school, the sections maintained regularly their activity. The Congress had to realise itself clandestinely because of the repression and the obstacles imposed by Capitalism.

The Congress and the School which followed were realised without interruption and in harmonious continuity. The objects of the Congress and of the School were to harmonise the will, the decision, the political capacity, the theoretical and organisational capacity of the IV International to intervene in this period of the final settlement of accounts, in which the world Socialist revolution advances, in which the masses of the world unite objectively in their will to struggle and in their objectives for the Socialist revolution to overthrow what remains of Capitalism on a world scale, realise workers states, eliminate the bureaucrats and counter revolutionaries of the Communist parties and Workers States, to realise the political revolution and develop the world revolution unifying it on a world scale. The Congress harmonised in a unique way the consciousness of the IV International that Imperialism will resort inevitably to the world nuclear war to try to defend itself from the world development of the Socialist revolution. But the masses demonstrate the incessant progress of their struggles. They demonstrate that it is the Socialist revolution under all its forms which is in constant progress, while Imperialism even with its atomic war, will be destroyed at the same time as its accomplices, the bureaucracies of the Workers States and of the Communist parties who reject the Socialist revolution and oppose it.

The concentrated and centralised process, the unequal and combined development of the world Socialist revolution

has found an elevated expression in the 8 World Congress of the IV International. The masses without a programme which orientates them, act with the historic consciousness that it is through the nuclear war that the liquidation of Imperialism and world Capitalism will be achieved.

While the masses orientate themselves objectively towards these historic conditions acting and struggling as a function of these ideas, this Congress of the IV International seeks the same objectives, consciously, through the programme and the policy and the preparation of the cadres who will determine in a later process, the fusion with the revolutionary cadres and tendencies, with the revolutionary masses of the world.

In 1938 Trotsky foresaw that ten years later millions of revolutionaries would guide themselves by the revolutionary programme and the objectives of the IV International and that the masses would move heaven and earth to attain these objectives. And in 1948 the masses routed Capitalism and constructed 12 new Workers States and applied in this way the forecasts, the programme the revolutionary policy of the IV International.

No other leadership, either Socialist nor Communist was prepared with this perspective of 12 new Workers States. Only the IV International has demonstrated its capacity and its historic weight. Trotsky wrote the Extraordinary Manifesto of the IV International to prepare the cadres for the war which was coming. Trotsky was not able to foresee the forms of the process: in that epoch the functioning, the force and the development of the IV International, and the world development of the revolution, of this process of history did not exist as today. In 1940 at the stage of Trotsky the revolution was in retreat. Today the IV International can foresee the forms and the course of the process.

This 8 world congress and first world cadres school has prepared consciously its cadres with the perspective of the world settlement of accounts, of the end of Capitalism, of the end of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, of the bureaucracy of the Communist parties, and the world development of the socialist revolution before, during and after the nuclear war. For this reason, this 8 world congress and the first world cadre school prepares itself with full confidence in the future, with the full consciousness that the nuclear war will be necessary to eliminate Imperialism but with the full confidence in the development of the Socialist revolution, because humanity has already understood and felt the irreversible progress, which the development of the Socialist revolution means. Humanity has already constructed the most powerful instrument in history, the consciousness that Capitalism and the bureaucracy of the Workers States are an obstacle to life and that Socialism corresponds to the aspiration for the progress of humanity. It is this consciousness of the collective progress which guides the masses of the world who are in process of developing throughout the world with the same objective; this is consequently its identification with the masses of the world which will allow a later identification with the programme, policy and revolutionary methods.

There was no interruption between the development of the Congress and the School, there was no contradiction between the immediate objectives of the Congress and of the Cadre School, there was no contradiction between the immediate objectives of the Congress and of the political and theoretical preparation furnished by the School because the two were consecrated to the concentrated and centralised objectives of this stage of the revolution. The Congress has shown the immense force of the revolution, the forms through which develop the revolutionary process, the varied, multiple forms, leading from the national to the

political revolution in China, the constant dissolution of the social forces of Capitalism and the constant world unification of the will to struggle, of the experience and the political capacity of the masses.

Each section intervened expounding and analysing the objective progress of the revolution in each country and centralised and harmonised the experiences, the capacity and the development of each section with the unity of the sections of the International, giving thus a central equilibrium at the highest level, to intervene in the next stage for the struggle for power, to understand and intervene in particular in the process of the political revolution in China, Cuba, taking into account its interruptions and transitory retreats.

The Congress has centralised the decision of the IV International to intervene, which it is in process of doing with all its forces and at whatever the cost to aid the development of the political revolution in China, Cuba and in all the Workers States: unconditional support in the struggle of the masses to smash Imperialism, calling upon the unconditional support of the Workers States, to intervene militarily in Vietnam to expel Imperialism, calling upon them for unconditional support for the struggles of the proletariat in Europe in particular to overthrow the dictatorship of Franco and the Capitalist regime, to organise the revolutionary leadership in the course of the process, to destroy Capitalism, to intervene in Africa, Asia, in Latin America, to develop the struggle of the masses in the nationalist revolutions towards the Socialist revolutions, creating, organising and developing revolutionary leaderships in the very course of the process, counting for that on the unanimous will of the masses, leaning on the world course of the Socialist revolution which unifies and compensates for the unequal and combined development of the revolution, concentrating and centralising it in the fundamental and dynamic centres of the revolution, which liberates the suppressed and repressed forces of the world revolution. These forces express themselves globally in the contradiction between the unanimous will of the masses to take power and to overthrow Capitalism and the opposition of the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties and of the nationalist leaderships, of the bureaucracies of the Workers States, who were going objectively and programmatically towards Imperialism to try to contain, to block the world course of the revolution. But they have all failed and will be checked by the masses. The revolution in China and in Cuba, play the essential role, at the same time as the struggles of the masses in Europe, in Asia and in Latin America, of liberating the repressed and oppressed forces of the world revolution. The Cadres School realised immediately after the Congress and without interruption developed the ideas, the analyses, the objectively concrete principles and the historic conclusions of the class struggle to give assurance to apply these principles in this phase of history. The practical, theoretical revolutionary course responds to the necessity of this concentrated and centralised process, the unequal and combined development of the process of the world revolution.

The agenda was the following

—Report—World development of the revolution; nationalist revolution and its transformation into the Socialist revolution; political revolution in the Workers State, the final settlement of accounts, the inevitability of the nuclear war, the Socialist reconstruction of humanity and the world triumph of the Socialist revolution; given by Cde Posadas.

—Report on the development of the revolution in Europe (conclusions and programme): given by Comrade Arroyo

—Report on the revolutionary struggles and the development of the revolution in Latin America (conclusions and pro-

gramme) given by Comrade Ramirez  
—Report on organisation; given by Comrade Posadas

This point was followed by an exposition and an intervention of two hours, by each section represented at the Congress, of the objective development of the class struggle in each country. Later, in the political as well as the organisational discussion, each delegate intervened for half an hour. The report of the sections and the intervention of the delegates were of fundamental importance for the knowledge, the experience and the generalisation of the ability of all the sections of the International. Each delegate was pre-occupied to demonstrate the objective centre of the class struggle in their countries, how to improve the functioning of the parties in order to elevate their capacity of action to the maximum, in order to intervene as an organising and co-ordinating centre in the process of the revolution, by acting with the certainty that it was an inseparable part of the objective course of the revolution. It is the first time in a congress of the IV International that such forms of functioning have been adopted. During the Cadre School, after each course, meetings of teams, for discussions, study, and practical conclusions from the course, took place. A large number of young comrades intervened with the same assurance as the old comrades.

In the functioning of the discussion teams, as during the Congress, during all the stay of nearly one month, a climate of the most complete socialist and bolshevik morale dominated all the relations, all the discussions. The delegate comrades were concerned to elevate functioning, capacity and efficiency to the maximum. The delegates of the Congress alternated the functioning with practical tasks of all kinds, maintaining the house, organising the food, the cleaning, the daily organisation of the centre, combining harmoniously the tasks of discussions of the expositions and assistance at the Congress, with general tasks of all kinds. The Congress saluted the special efforts of certain comrades responsible for the cooking, the correspondence, the technical work, and voted a salute to all the comrades and the section where the Congress was being held, for the effort which they had made, so that the Congress could be held. During its development, the Congress harmonised the homogeneity, in particular of the young comrades who elevated their capacity and their formation as militants, as leading cadres. The Congress has shown the harmonisation of a team of young and of old Trotskyist cadres, in the resolution to struggle in this process of the Socialist revolution, to attain the objectives proposed by the Congress and to submit all their concerns of daily life, to these necessities, in the resolution to organise their family life and their personal life submitted to the needs of the activity of the IV International. One of the fundamental influences and harmonious influences of the Congress was that a great quantity of comrades decided voluntarily to give up smoking, and the Congress went on without anybody smoking. The composition of the delegates at the Congress was half young cadres, half old comrades, a large percentage of militants and leaders of cadres has shown the fusion between the young and the old Trotskyists, establishing constantly equilibrium and harmony between the capacity, the experience, the security in the ideas and in the programme of the old Trotskyists and the tradition and principles of Socialist morals and the audacity and combative morale, the dynamism of the young cadres, who are going to integrate themselves in the dynamism and in the experience and in the security of the older cadres.

The place of the assembly was decorated with a banner on which could be seen more than a hundred and ten Trotskyist publications newspapers, reviews, books of the International and in

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particular many texts by Comrade Posadas. The publications were in seven languages. On another banner could be seen inscriptions and texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and Posadas; a quotation from The Communist Manifesto, two quotations by Lenin, one by Trotsky, one by Posadas; all showing the historic continuity of the programme of the ideas of the Socialist revolution, the continuity between the objectives of Marx and Engels, and the objective of the bolshevik party and of the IV International at the present. All the inscriptions were in six languages: French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, English and Portuguese. The Congress was held under the Presidium of the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. A big flag with the inscription "IV International" decorated the room with the inscription: "Viva the 8th World Congress of the IV International", "Viva the First World Cadre School of the IV International". A flag bore the phrase by Comrade Posadas; "The IV International is the historic continuation of the thought, of the actions, the will to triumph and of the Socialist historic world objectives of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky".

The Congress sent salutes to the imprisoned comrades of Guatemala, Mexico, Cuba, Spain, Brazil (during the Congress the news of the liberation of Comrades in Peru and some in Spain arrived). The Congress sent salutes to all the sections of the IV International, and to Comrade Posadas, The European Bureau, and all the masses of the world who like the IV International, are fighting for the Socialist revolution and Socialism; to the masses of Vietnam, of China, of Cuba, fundamental centres of the Socialist revolution; to the revolutionary leaderships of China and of Cuba, who are seeking empirically the road of the Socialist revolution; an historic salute to the masses of China and Cuba who, in the obligation to confront Yankee encirclement and its atomic bombs and the counter revolutionary pressure of the bureaucracy, have impelled and obliged their leaderships to take the road of the political revolution to impel the Socialist revolution. The Congress hailed the memory of our beloved teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky; it recalled their self denial, the certainty, the continuity for the construction of the organisms, for the most complete human progress, Socialism. The Congress saluted and proclaimed with enthusiasm the activity of all the sections of the International who with great economic difficulties, with some tens of their members in prison, in confronting a constant disproportion between the necessities of activity and the lack of material means, are incessantly developing their activities.

The Congress recorded the objective development of the publications of all the sections, the increase in the number of their publications and their political elevation, the development of our cadres, workers, students, and peasants, the organic growth of all the sections of the International; among them, the success of the electoral united front of the Peruvian section who, in the small locality of Tumbes, obtained 79 votes in alliance with the Trade Unions. These 79 votes represented 19% of the total of the vote cast, the government party obtained 350 votes and the Socialist Party only 25 votes. In France, in the single constituency of St. Denis, bastion of the Communist Party, the French Section obtained 407 acknowledged votes, which we can say is more than 500 votes, taking into account the blank votes; this denotes the existence of a very numerous vanguard influenced by Trotskyism; in the same way the Belgian Section in the locality of Charleroi obtained 377 votes; the Mexican Section, who had to withstand the imprisonment of the leaderships, maintains its activity, and has republished its newspaper; the comrades of the Cuban Section in spite of the repression of the government, the imprisonment of two comrades, the refusal to give them work, have taken the resolution to make a public document calling upon the government of Fidel Castro to a united front with the Chinese to push forward the Socialist Revolution.

The World Congress represented its support by its greetings and its resolutions, to the political revolution in China, in

## THE VIIIth WORLD CONGRESS

Cuba and with other Workers States.

The Congress was inaugurated with the opening speech of a young Comrade, Comrade Rafael; the closing speech was given by an older Comrade, Comrade Xavier; the opening of the Cadre School was carried out by an older Comrade, Comrade Jacinto and the closing speech by an old Comrade, Comrade Arroyo.

The agenda of the Cadre School was as follows:

### DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM, HISTORICAL MATERIALISM, MARXISM: THE FUNDAMENTALS

its development in the course of history, and its application and living dynamic expression in this period of history.

### CAPITALISM: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT REMAINS OF IT

its historic origins and structure were shown, and also its organic development in this period of history when it finds itself besieged by the development of the Socialist Revolution.

### HISTORY OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT AND OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

Ideas were developed, showing the origins of the workers movement and Marxism, and how starting from Marxism, which is the fundamental centre, and organiser of the leaderships, of the activity and of theoretical, programmatic and organisational struggle, we construct the leadership, the party to organise the Socialist Revolution, the Workers States and the construction of Socialism. The construction of the programme, of the party, the practical experience of the masses, the experience of the methods, of the forms, of the content of each revolution for the taking of power and the construction of the workers states, which has given and will give to the vanguard and to the masses of the world the experience, the ability and the historic security to throw out Capitalism and to build the Workers State, to develop the Socialist Revolutions, and to construct Socialism were elaborated, as were the following themes:—

The birth of Marxism, the First International, the Paris Commune, the Revolution of 1905 in Russia, the 1917 Revolution, the organisations of the Second and Third Internationals, and their historic functions and the historic role of the Trade Union movement, the creation of the party, its historic role, the creation of the irreplaceable instrument of history, the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, and its historic confirmation in history. The historic reasons and transitory success of the bureaucracy in the U.S.S.R., the expulsion of Trotsky and the murder of Trotskyists in U.S.S.R. and the later murder of Trotsky, the historic role of Lenin and Trotsky in the preparation and in the triumph of the Russian Revolution and in the creation of the first Workers State, the triumph of Thermidor in Russia, the triumph of the counter revolution, the start of the Bonapartism of Stalin, the ebb of the world revolution, the organisation of the Left Opposition, the organisation of the IV International, the importance and the influence of the IV International, its influence in the revolutions starting from the second world war, the influence of the programme, of the methods, of the IV International and its influence in the world revolution. The struggle of the IV International for the continuity of the Marxist programme, the importance of the organisation of G.C.I. (Group Cuarta Internacional) of the Argentinian Section of the IV International of the Latin American Bureau in the development of the IV International and in the development of the organisation, of the experience in the world wide maturing of the masses of the revolutionary conquests in Latin America, particularly and its historic influence for all this period. The struggle of the G.C.I. and of the Latin American Bureau against the capitulators, Michel Pablo, Pierre Frank, Ernest Mandel, and Livio Maitan; the historic importance of the role, of the function of Posadas, continuator of the IV International. The importance of Posadas, worker, his historic significance. The actual struggles of the IV International for the united world anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist front.

### CONSTRUCTION, STRUCTURE AND THE FUTURE OF THE WORKERS STATES

The analysis of the development of the Workers States was developed, their difference from the Capitalist structure, the historic role of proletarian democracy, the transitory function of the law of value to the benefit of the development of the Workers State, the transitory role of the market which, differs from Capitalism, as it can be controlled and directed, the historic function of the Socialist stimulant and morale, the historic function of the soviets, of the Chinese peoples communes, their importance and function in the creation of the Workers State and in the building of Socialism. The reactionary and usurping function of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, its antagonism and contradiction with the Workers State; transient function of the proletarian state, which different from Capitalism disappears in the future in the measure that the Socialist society advances and progresses; the function and historic necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the necessity of the world economic, political and military planning of the Workers State, the development of the national reactionary interests on the part of the bureaucracy of each Workers State; the obstruction and opposition of the bureaucracy to its own Workers State. The bureaucracy as an excrescence on the Workers State (Trotsky), development of measures of its own structure of thought and its own interest antagonistic with the Workers State; reactionary measures, Capitalist stimulants and structure and functioning in the Workers States led by the bureaucracy, Sino-Soviet divergencies, the political revolution the form under which the political revolution expresses itself and the progress already attained by the political revolution. The political revolution, world revolution and the world settlement of accounts. The maturity of the masses of the Workers States and of the world for the construction of Socialism and for the application of the moral socialist stimulant, which is the development of the application of measures of collective interests, of equality, which means enormous social progress before reaching Socialism.

The last point dealt with was the atomic war, its consequences and the tasks of rebuilding after the war. In both the organisational resolution and in this point of the school the analysis of the programme and of the activities before, during and after the war in the immediate reanimation of the social activity towards Socialism was developed.

The IV International is the only organisation which is preparing consciously for the final settlement of accounts and for the atomic war. The Communist parties and the Socialist parties, and the groups who say they are Trotskyist of Frank, Maitan, Pablo, Mandel, hide themselves behind their individual fear, their politics and personal cowardice in front of the atomic war and its consequences. This

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call but have practically permanent tenure. Only the shops stewards organisations mobilised around the anti-Capitalist programme with a rich democratic participation of workers, with no one occupying bureaucratic positions, will provide the workers with the instrument to combat Capitalism. There is no other way forward.

After a period of extraordinary calm, the class struggle is again going forward. **Printers in Scotland, by means of unofficial action, have gone forward to strike action. Railway workshop workers prepare for struggle in favour of their long delayed wage increases. Workers at Vauxhall walk out in face of the managements despotic policy of obstructing new wage claims until 1969! (After a small increase now). But it is necessary for the workers to take a unified initiative on a national scale. Relying on the spineless acquiescence of the trade unions, the bosses are dismissing car workers or putting them on short time as at Standard**

is the reason that they don't have confidence, because they don't believe in the objective reality, because they are afraid to see it. They hide their faces in order not to see the inevitability of the world war, because they don't believe in the masses, because they still believe in the strength of Capitalism and of the Soviet bureaucracy, because they think they are the ones who will decide history; they don't believe in the masses, they believe in the apparatus because they don't have any confidence in the creative capacity of the masses because their lack of perspective, their petit bourgeoisie individualism prevents them understanding the inevitable course advancing towards the atomic war and the development of the political revolution in China and in Cuba. In this way they become identified with the bureaucracy and the Communist parties and Socialist parties and like them, they don't want to look to the historic reality because they are afraid. The bureaucracy of the Workers States and of the Communist parties isn't able to see the historic reality because their interests are antagonistic with Socialism and prevent them seeing it, and they can never give a programme favourable to the masses. This is the only attitude they can have. Pierre Frank, Maitan, Mandel, Pablo, try to replace the objective struggle for the socialist and revolutionary ideas, the objective and real process of history, with their own petit bourgeois and individualist limitation and frustration. They are the refuse of history which Capitalism still uses to restrain the development of the revolutionary tendencies using the personal ambitions of ex militant revolutionaries. The objective course of history decides the revolutionary programme and policy and the organisational goals and the behaviour of militants. Not to feel that the world atomic war is inevitable, that the historic process in China has its own forms, but that in essence it is the political revolution, is to shut ones eyes to reality and to grope about like a blind man, and consequently to serve the bureaucratic ends, to serve the bureaucratic tendencies, acting as the means which serve Capitalism to contain the revolution. And to this purpose, the tendencies of Frank, Mandel, Maitan and Pablo are devoting themselves to insulting and denigrating Posadas and the Trotskyist militants, for their audacity and their resolution to advance in the development of history, in the world settlement of accounts, in the world atomic war and the world development of the Socialist revolution.

They associated themselves with the attack of Fidel Castro against the International, against J. Posadas and Gilly. And now they hide that in this same speech of Castro, later republished by the Cubans, the attacks against the Trotskyists and the IV International have been removed. They have deformed slanderously the incorrect criticisms of the 13 November Movement, in connection with the use of money; but they have hidden the fact that Yon Sosa, at the same time supported the programme of the IV International and declared that he had learnt

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**Triumph. There is only one path whereby the British workers can defend their own interests and contribute to the downfall of Imperialism on a world scale and that is by so building their own organisations, factory committees, that they can impose factory occupations and workers control and present a powerful alternative leadership to the trade unions leaderships. The programme of the factory committees and the unofficial bodies in transport, docks etc. must contain the demand for the expropriation of the main industries, under workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, equal pay for women, expropriation of luxury properties to meet the housing shortage, full support with strikes and demonstrations for the colonial revolution, closing of all Polaris bases and their means of supply. With the national unification of dockers, car workers, transport workers, miners, engineering workers, building workers, on this programme—and not on the pathetic bureaucrats call for mere defensive pressures—it will be possible to overthrow British Imperialism, and contribute to the world construction of Socialist States.**

# The World permanent revolution influences the struggles of the American masses

American Imperialism continues its attempt to hold back the revolution in Vietnam by military force, but this terror does not, and cannot, hold back the advance of the revolutionary masses of the world. American Imperialism is weak and near its end, having no authority, but that of its armoury of weapons. The failure of American Imperialism to crush the revolutionary masses of Vietnam has diminished its authority before even the petit bourgeoisie of the United States and large sectors of the US petit bourgeois are actively in opposition to the Vietnam war. This can be seen in the demonstration of April 15th. against the war. It is estimated that more than

500,000 people in New York and San Francisco marched in this demonstration.

At the same time as American Imperialism can make no progress against the armed people of Vietnam, it is faced by the growing struggle towards socialism of the masses within its own citadel, the United States. It is the Negro masses, the most exploited sector of the workers, who have been in the Vanguard of the struggle. In city after city the negroes have shown their hatred of Capitalism, and their determination to smash it. In Rochester and Nashville, in Cleveland and Chicago, the negro masses have filled the streets, with violent demonstrations and the negro ghettos in the major cities have become armed camps. In Sacramento recently Negroes armed with rifles, shotguns and pistols invaded the California state assembly chamber in protest against a proposed law which was designed to disarm them. In Tampa, Florida an estimated £90,000 worth of damage was done during a riot following the shooting of a young negro by a policeman. In Prattville, Alabama, 200 National Guardsmen and state troops surrounded a house after Negroes had opened fire on the police. This accident was after Stokely Carmichael, the leader of the SNCC had been arrested.

The days when negroes peacefully 'sat down' in pacifist, civil rights demonstrations have gone. The repressive forces of the state can no longer arrest, beat, kick and shoot Negroes with impunity. Now the negro masses are armed in their own defence and are developing their own militias like the 'Deacons for Defence and Justice'. A 'civil rights' leader has recently stated that "there is no city in the US in the summer of 1967 that's really free from the possibility of violence".

The pacifist and conciliatory leaders such as Martin Luther King, are being rapidly pushed aside by the advancing masses at the base of the various 'civil rights' organisations, or are being forced to take a more militant position. Luther King has recently 'come out' against the war in Vietnam and he has been one of the most conciliatory leaders. He is forced into this position by the negro masses who feel the influence of the struggle of the Vietnamese masses and are encouraged by it. They feel the influence of the existence of the Cuban workers state and of the whole advancing world revolution. The slogan of 'black power' raised by such leaders as Stokely Carmichael reflects the desire and determination of the negroes of the US to smash Capitalism.

The conciliatory leaders lose influence because there is no possibility of Imper-

ialism giving any concessions to the negro masses. The war in Vietnam and the preparation for the coming war are draining the resources of American Imperialism. The 'new society' campaign of the Johnson administration has done nothing to alleviate the poverty of the poorest strata of the population of the US. It was reported by a group of doctors who carried out a survey of the Southern States of America that in this area, particularly Mississippi, Negroes are literally starving. The doctors wrote: "In every child we saw evidence of vitamin and general deficiencies, serious untreated skin infections and ulcerations, eye and ear disease, also unattended bone disease secondary to poor food". The only new society, and the negroes of the US are becoming conscious of this, is the new society which will be built by the masses after the destruction of Imperialism.

The Capitalist press talks of the 'long hot summer' of racial violence, but, in reality, it is not just the negroes who are involved in a struggle against Capitalism in the US. Every sector of the American masses are involved in this struggle. The Auto Workers, at their recent congress, have demanded a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay. This demand was put forward by rank and file delegates at the congress of the United Automobile Workers of America (UAW) and workers demonstrated on the floor of the congress hall for this demand. In New York in the last year many sectors of workers have been involved in militant action on demands for improved conditions of life. The public employees have been the most recent sector to take militant action and before this it was the transport workers, and the workers of the New York Fire Department who received the support of the police. On a national scale the Airline mechanics won large demands after a national strike and sectors of nurses have also won their demands. A national rail strike was recently averted by government action, but the possibility of a national rail strike still exists.

The American workers are faced with the same kind of bureaucratic leadership of the unions as are workers in this country. Reuther of the UAW is, at the moment, being forced to put forward militant demands by the workers at the base of the UAW and this has resulted in a clash within the AFL-CIO, the American equivalent of the British TUC. But Reuther revealed his conciliatory role when he refused to accept the full demands of the workers at the UAW congress and talked of flexibility in negotiations with the bosses. Reuther's flexibility in the past has meant productivity agreements with the motor industry bosses

which have resulted in the rhythm of work in the industry being raised to an inhuman level and in large scale unemployment. A delegate at the congress pointed out that production in 1967 would reach the level of 25 vehicles per man (in this country the level is between 8 and 11 vehicles per man, per year).

Already this year 170,000 (including 10,000 staff workers) have been laid off. This unemployment results from a general drop in world markets and the rise in productivity. Reuther talks of more productivity because he is committed to the support of Capitalism. This is his role. But, the workers demand 30 hours work for 40 hours pay which is a way of saying that all profits of automation must go to the workers. These demands pose the question of workers control and of nationalisation of industry.

The workers in America lack, as do the workers in this country, a real political centre for their struggle. The Democratic Party is as much a Capitalist party as is the British Labour Party. It is necessary that the American workers develop their factory committees as the base for a workers party based on the trade unions with an anti-capitalist policy.

The demonstration of April 15th. against the Vietnam war was not just a demonstration of beatniks, or the beautiful people 'with flowers' in their hair. It was not just one of the old pacifist demonstrations. No! It was a demonstration which reflected the whole of the masses, a demonstration supported by white and negro workers, by students, and by many of the political groups that exist in the US. It represented the desire of the American masses to finish with Imperialism, to finish with Capitalism.

A revolutionary tendency is developing in the United States, but it still lacks any centre. The political revolution in the Chinese workers state influences sectors of the American masses and with the development of a new leadership in the Chinese workers state, this influence will grow.

We appeal to the vanguard of the America masses to take the programme of the IVth International, for the nationalisation, under workers control, of all major industry; for the formation of workers committees, on an anti-Capitalist programme in all factories, mines and shops! For the Workers Party based on the trade unions with the anti-Capitalist programme! For the defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, sabotage and the sending of arms to colonial workers! For the United Socialist States of North and Latin America!

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc. directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

## VIII WORLD CONGRESS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Marxism thanks to Posadas and the Trotskyists. Pierre Frank, and Livio Maitan have only a little group in France and in Italy. They don't function like the IV International. Except for France and Italy, they have no publications or functioning which can prove this. They have presented Hugo Blanco as a member of their party, when Hugo Blanco is not and is not even a Trotskyist.

These people use their past as ex-trotskyists, their opposition and their divergencies with the bureaucracy of the present Communist Party, their defence of some principles of the class struggle, to hide their pessimism, and detachment from the programme of the World Socialist Revolution. To this purpose they furiously attack the IV International, serving the interests of the world counter revolution.

The Congress, and later the Cadre School, finished with the singing of the

International, in the name of all Trotskyist sections of the IV International, in the name of all comrades in gaol throughout the world, in the name of the masses of Vietnam, in the name of the leadership and the masses of China, of the Cuban masses, of the Guevarist tendency and of a sector of the centrist leadership of Fidel Castro which, like the IV International, tries to smash Capitalism and to build Socialism. The Congress and the Cadre School finished with Vivas and Salutes which have shown the security in the victory and in the triumph of the IV International, of its sections and its cadres; with vivas to the congress itself and to the first World Cadre School of the IV International, a viva to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. A viva to Comrade Posadas, continuator of revolutionary Marxism in this historic period, continuator of the work of the role of Trotsky in the construction of the IV International. Vivas for all our comrades who, in a different part of the world, have the same function and have

the same purpose as this Congress. Vivas for all sections of the International, for all the world masses who, without being in the IV International are fighting for the same purpose. Vivas for the revolutionary wing in China, who try to give a constant expression to the unconscious Chinese Revolution. Vivas to comrades in prison all over the world and all anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist prisoners. Viva the IV International and the revolutionary wing in China, who try to continue the revolutionary marxism with different stages and forms. For the achievement and application of all resolution. Viva the triumph of the World Socialist Revolution.

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IV International

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

NO 55

FORTNIGHTLY

AUGUST 17th 1967

SIXPENCE

## The failure of the Counter Revolutionary objectives of Imperialism and Israel will impel the permanent Revolution in the Middle East

(Extracts) J. Posadas 11th June 1967

The crisis in the Middle East will inaugurate a new phase of the world development of the revolution. It is necessary to be quite clear; this is not a simple military crisis; it is a new phase of the permanent world revolution which is extending throughout the world, because the masses have defeated Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy. The masses have imposed their decision.

The contradictions among Imperialism are enormous, they have no solution. The logical attitude of Imperialism was to invade the Middle East. All the oil wells have been closed, relations have been broken off—but this is not 1956. The masses have beaten the right wing tendencies who were influenced by Imperialism, or who Imperialism wished to impose. And the masses are going to see that they do not reopen the wells, and even if they do reopen them, it is not going to be for long. It is a new phase of the world revolution which is going to have tremendous consequences within the Workers States and thus within the communist parties. For this reason we foresee that the Cubans are going to adopt correct positions, more correct than the Chinese, and that they are going to have to intervene.

This concentrated stage each time will demand in an ever more pronounced form a complete dominion of the process to know how to orientate. While all those idiots said "fascist" in relation to Boumedienne and to his team, we said that he was not a fascist, but a conservative leadership under the pressure of the revolution.

The problems of the Middle East have concentrated the preoccupation of the world vanguard because in this they see an aspect of the final encounter. They see that all the forces concentrate there. Capitalism and the Soviet bureaucracy seek to conciliate by means of all manner of telephones in a host of various colours. Breznev may speak with Johnson at every stage but the masses of Egypt take no notice. And to Nasser who was prepared to go, defeated, the masses said "You go nowhere, you stay here". The essential factor in history are the masses, who have intervened.

### THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT MILITARY BUT SOCIAL

The events in the Middle East have their world repercussion which will alter, influence the course of the political revolution in China, in Cuba and will give a most elevated impulse to the political revolution in the USSR and to the Workers States of Europe. It will impel the nationalist, socialist revolution in the Middle East, will accentuate the socialist aspect of the revolution and will accentuate in consequence the Bonapartist role, going towards socialist measures, of Nasser and of the other Arab states. This will be particularly so in Syria where according to the information which we have, through analysis and information sent from Syria, there already exists a Workers State. By its economic characteristics it is a Workers State. It is necessary to await confirmation of the information to be able to determine it as such.

In Syria from the economic point of view, the nationalisations have already surpassed in importance the weight of Capitalism. The major part of the economy is already nationalised and in this sense, it is already a Workers State, and no longer a Capitalist state. But it has neither the political organs nor the forms nor the functioning and structure of the Workers State, it is for this reason that it is a Workers State without its forms. This is a new characterisation in the

same way as we insisted on characterising China in its first stages. If it is certain as information tells us, that 80% of the land is nationalised; that the banks, commerce, the principal industries are nationalised, then this is a workers state. Now the form of organisation and leadership is in the hands of sectors, of tendencies, which are not representative of these interests. It is an unformed Workers State, economically it is a Workers State, the economic bases are those of a Workers State; in the legal structure, in the structure of political power the proletarian organisation does not however exist. In Cuba the same state of affairs existed, for this reason we described it as a Workers State "sui-generis", with the difference that in Cuba there was the petit bourgeoisie, whereas in Syria there is not only the petit bourgeoisie and the army but the workers militia also intervening.

This is the fundamental reason, the fundamental cause why Imperialism through Israel unleashed the war in the Middle East, whose central objective was to destroy the advance of the Syrian revolution. We believe that it has failed, through the information we have been given, Imperialism has failed. Its objective was to smash the masses, to intimidate them, to smash their combative spirit, to overthrow the government, to establish a military dictatorship and liquidate the

conquest of the revolution, to impose a retreat in the measures of nationalisations, to destroy all the proletarian vanguard which formed the popular militias, the workers militias. And they failed. The Imperialist army of Israel was not able to enter Syria because the masses were ready to confront them, one by one, children, men, women, grandfathers, grandmothers, everybody.

These events have produced a very elevated development in the politicisation, in the political maturity of the masses. It is an aspect of the permanent revolution, the form which it is acquiring in the Middle East. From this a very active intervention has followed which impels and demonstrates the forms which self-

defence must acquire, the means of organisation for the advance of the Arab states of the Middle East, of Africa, Algeria, Mali, Guinea, Iraq. They have felt and seen that they cannot wait on exterior aid because it is insufficient, even if it is good, even if it is necessary, and that to confront the reactionary forces which are opposed to the progress of these countries—and the only form of progress of these countries are socialist measures—is unification among themselves. The struggle of all Arab countries who have intervened has been against Yankee Imperialism; the masses of all the countries of Africa and of the Middle East have seen

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## Statement of the Political Bureau of the RWP(T) correction of the line of the British Section

The Political Bureau discussed the letter of Cde Posadas, arising from the VIII world Congress in which the British Section was criticised for a certain lack on centralisation with the International with the result that in August 1966 and in some later issues of Red Flag slogans were put forward on the need for a new Socialist Party and new Trade Union Centre, which did not express the position of the International on the situation as it is developing in Great Britain. The Political Bureau unanimously accepted the fraternal criticism of the International and Cde Posadas and in applying the resolutions of the VIII World Congress resolved to centralise more profoundly the activity of the British Section with the International. The letter of Cde Posadas of which we publish some extracts below was in part a reply to a letter from the section requesting the criticism of the International on the slogan particularly "For a new Socialist Party based on the trade unions and the factory committees."

"... with respect to the slogan of the "workers party based on the trade unions, we are opposed to this slogan because it does not correspond to the spirit and attitude of the British masses. It is certain that there is not the same possibility as in France and Italy, for the

existence of independent groups and tendencies which can break and separate themselves from the parties. But it is possible for a whole period in England to work for this, appealing as you are doing, for interventions, independent of the leadership, either of the Labour Party or Trade Unions. To obtain influence, force as a movement and confidence, the vanguard and the important sectors of the masses must see that they can work without breaking the centralisation of the masses, so that they can work in an independent form in some aspects and give themselves the confidence and the security so that their action does not separate them from the unification of the masses, from the centralisation of the masses. For all this stage, it is necessary to do this, in such a way as to give confidence. After this has been done, it is possible to pose at a certain stage a break, and the formation of a united front of various groups and tendencies on the basis of a concrete programme to prepare the class and revolutionary leadership and tendency, for immediate objectives tending towards the workers' government. As regards the present activity in the Trade Union movement, in the independent Trade Union actions, it

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## EDITORIAL

# The armed struggle of the negro and white workers in Detroit shows the deepening crisis of Imperialism and the advance of the Socialist Revolution in the USA

The revolution has advanced rapidly within the United States. The negro riots which have extended to the industrial cities of the North are reaching the scale of insurrections, with areas passing completely out of the control of the police and the army. In Detroit, one thing showed itself quite clearly; it was that the riots were not racial, black and white fought together against the forces of the Capitalist state. This is of tremendous significance and will have repercussions later, and it means that, despite the purely racial statements of the black nationalist leaders, the white working class is being attracted by the anti-Capitalist struggle of the most exploited sector of the American working class—the negroes.

American Imperialism has no solution to this problem. It has no resources to provide jobs or houses or education for the negroes because all its resources are channelled into the war in Vietnam and the preparation of the world nuclear war. Increasingly the U.S. bourgeoisie drops the mask of concern about the plight of the negroes. Congress threw out a bill to provide funds for a rat extermination programme while thousands of negro children die in the ghettos each year from rat bites, while Congressmen at the height of the Detroit riots proposed the bombing of sectors of the town in the hands of the rioters. As in Vietnam U.S. Imperialism cannot make concessions and so it increases its military repression, and when troops destined to go to fight in Vietnam are diverted to Detroit it shows the objective united front which exists between the struggle of the Vietnamese masses and the workers of the United States. U.S. Imperialism intends to send another 45,000 troops to Vietnam and to cover the costs of the war, it increases taxes by 10%—thus loading the costs of the war onto the backs of the American masses. This will have the effect of further contracting the internal market and increasing the crisis of U.S. economy in the sectors dependent on home consumption.

### IMPERIALISM IS PREPARING THE WAR

The struggle of the negroes which is attracting the white workers, the growing economic crisis of U.S. Imperialism, are two factors impelling U.S. Imperialism towards launching the war. Another factor is the announcement that the Chinese Workers State will possess an I.C.B.M. system with hydrogen bomb warheads by (on the American estimate which is probably too long) 1972. This shows the tremendous scientific and technical potential of the Chinese Workers State, but as the International has said, it cannot compensate for the lack of a correct programme of the Chinese, because Imperialism is not going to allow China the time to develop such a system. It is absurd to think that U.S. Imperialism will sit back and wait; they are planning now to attack China. The discussion between U.S. Imperialism and its allies in South East Asia which has led to a decision to intensify the war (in an unspecified way) is a part of the process towards the invasion of North Vietnam and China. But in spite of Imperialism and in spite of the absence of a leadership the revolution advances. The centrist leadership of Mao in China still lacks confidence in the masses and continues to conduct the struggle against the right wing in a stupid and bureaucratic way, while attacking Trotskyism and the currents within China which are moving towards Trotskyism. As an extension of this centrist line elements of the Chinese army protect

Hong Kong from attack from the Chinese masses. In China the masses are showing that they want to destroy Capitalism and Imperialism, and all vestiges of bureaucratic privileges. This is the universal desire of the masses of the world which has been shown in the Middle East crisis, the peasant revolt in India and the uprisings of the negro masses in the U.S.A.; only the leadership is lacking.

### IMPERIALISM FAILED IN ITS OBJECTIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

In this country Imperialism is in the some crisis. The economic situation worsens, and the gold reserves fall, unemployment rises, and production stagnates. Because of the sabotage of the Union officials and the weakness of the unofficial committees, Capitalism has been able to push forward a policy of rationalisation in the mines, shipbuilding, railways and car industry etc., and in the future it will keep up the pressure in this direction. British Imperialism too, is preparing for the war, and its policy towards the working class is becoming harder. As with the masses of the world, the British masses are hampered by the lack of a centre around which, on a national scale to organise, their anti-Capitalist struggle. This has allowed Capitalism to keep the initiative in its policy of rationalisation. It will be able to push through more such measures unless the working class mobilises aggressively against them, through the unofficial committees, demanding that no workers be dismissed, all the profits of automation to go to the workers etc., 30 hours work for 40 hours pay as the U.S. auto-workers have demanded, workers control etc. A national organisation of committees must be built including these and other anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist demands to counter the plans of the bourgeoisie and to organise the struggle for power.

All the events in the world show the advance of the crisis of Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy. Neither can control the process of the world revolution. Imperialism scored a military victory in the Middle East, but failed in its central objective to overthrow the revolutionary regimes of Syria and Egypt, and smash the social conquests of the masses, while the actions of the bureaucracy in relation to the war have served to sharpen its own internal crisis. The crisis of British Imperialism is shown in the events in Aden, Hong Kong, and in the growing economic crisis. World Imperialism is preparing for the war as the only solution to its problems. The revolution is polarising itself around the two centres—China and Cuba, and in these two Workers States revolutionary currents close to Trotskyism are emerging, which will, in the next stage, play an organising and orientating role in the world process.

**Sell RED FLAG in your factory, College, University**

## INDIA

# Peasants and left communists set up "Free Zone" in West Bengal

## NEED FOR WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

During the last six months the revolutionary struggle of the peasants of the Northern part of West Bengal, gained strength. By the beginning of March a 'free zone' of some 270 square miles and a population of 80,000 people had been set up with the peasants working the land they had seized from the big landowners. Now the united front government of West Bengal, which contain both pro-Moscow and pro-Chinese communists, has, after a long period of hesitation which permitted the movement to extend itself and deepen, moved in heavily armed police to crush the revolt. But the example of the revolutionary seizure of the land has already spread to the neighbouring state of Bihar, while within West Bengal itself the process of strikes, occupations, and the formation of new trade union branches under the leadership of what the bourgeois press has called 'extreme left wing communists' continues unabated.

The hesitation of United Front government of West Bengal to crush the 'free zones' has stemmed from its fear of disturbing its internal stability. For it is made up of socialist and dissident Congress members as well as the two communist parties. Now because of the threat of the direct intervention by the Central government if it continued to do nothing, it has acted to suppress the 'free zones', and the pro-Moscow and a sector of the pro-Chinese C.P.s have gone along with this line.

The action of the West Bengal peasants in seizing the land has caused a crisis in the pro-Chinese C.P. One sector, the one which went into the rural areas to help the peasantry, has been expelled from the party for 'Ultra left adventurism', while the leader of this sector has accused the leaders of the pro-Chinese party who have remained in the government of 'shamefully betraying the mass movement'. We can say that whatever the limitations of the 'ultra-left' sector, it has declared against the peaceful road and for the revolutionary struggle for power, and by so doing (just as the Indonesian C.P.) it approaches Trotskyist positions.

The Chinese leadership have enthusiastically greeted the setting up of the free zones, but have done little to help them; the peasants had to confront the heavily armed police, with only bows and arrows to defend themselves. They have praised the 'revolutionaries in the Communist Party' who are leading the peasants but have made not one word of criticism of the sector which has remained in the government even though they attack the 'Dange revisionist Clique' of the pro-Soviet CP for their involvement. Although saying that there is no peaceful road to socialism they make no attack

on the pro-Chinese CP in the Indian state of Kerala, which formed the state government after the last election, and is acting like any other reformist party. This is part of the continuing opportunism of the Chinese leadership which will give support to any CP whatever its policy, providing it attacks the 'revisionist' Soviet leadership, and which has given rise to the appearance of dozens of pro-Chinese groups and parties with policies as conciliatory or more conciliatory than the pro-Moscow CPs. The events in West Bengal, whatever the temporary successes of the Indian bourgeoisie, will have profound consequences within the Chinese leadership itself, stimulating the revolutionary tendency to go forward supporting the struggles of the world masses whatever the consequences. Just as in the Chinese revolution, the initiative and actions of the masses are compensating for a lack of a Marxist leadership, and forcing a sector of the leadership to advance despite its own timidity and lack of ideological clarity.

The crushing of the free zones has been facilitated by the isolation of the movement from the towns where the workers have been in constant mobilisation. The pro-Chinese CPers who joined the revolt did not have the conception of the workers and peasants alliance under the leadership of the proletariat. They do not realise the importance of the programme to unite the workers and peasants struggle, but mechanically try to transplant the experiences of the Chinese revolution to this situation. As an example of this, the editorial of 'Renmin Ribao' on the 5th of July said in relation to the West Bengal struggle 'The Indian Revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in the protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities!' Such a perspective fails to recognise the leading role which the proletariat can and must play in the revolution. In West Bengal we see the further advance towards the International Civil War. In Burma 60% of the country is under the control of the guerrillas of the CP, in South Korea and in the Philippines the guerrilla struggle is increasing. In Indonesia the PKI is leading an armed struggle against the military dictatorship, the masses of Hong Kong hurl themselves against British Imperialism, and in the centre of all this and acting as a constant stimulus, is the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese masses against US Imperialism. In this situation the crushing of the free zones of West Bengal can only be of short duration.

## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.

**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.

**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.

**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.

**ITALY:** *Lotia Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc'hongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.

**GREECE:** Communist Fight. Clandestine.

**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.

**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.

**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.

**INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay. *Rivista Marxista Europea*, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

# ...PERMANENT REVOLUTION in the MIDDLE EAST

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that it was a struggle against Yankee Imperialism.

Imperialism has wished to cut short the progress of the Middle East and to some degree it has secured a military triumph. But the consequence of a military triumph which Imperialism intended to block the development of the revolution has proved quite the reverse. It has stimulated the revolution. The world influence of the revolution has sufficient weight to impel them to the defence of Socialist conquests. Even against the Soviet bureaucracy. The Syrian masses have armed themselves with tooth-picks to defend themselves from Yankee invasion and Imperialism. It is not possible to speak of the Israeli army. It is the Imperialist army not simply the Israeli army. These are the forms which Imperialism adopts; it has done the same with Duvalier, the same in Santo Domingo, or in Vietnam with Cao Ky. There is no difference. It is an Imperialist army which calls itself Israeli, nothing more.

The importance of the advance of the Israelis is that they made a surprise attack, smashed the air force, eliminating the essential factor in the war. They were able to advance rapidly, but in advancing they became more remote from their base of support; with a greater distance from their base of support a very great territory is left with the possibility of counter attack, and in proportion to military power it is a little country which cannot sustain it. Economically it cannot support it because all the nation has to be dedicated to this. It is a country which has few resources. They produce two mandarins and four potatoes. Outside the Kibbutz they have little production, they have to import almost everything. They cannot sustain a war. And a country which has such economic military conditions, why does it throw itself into such an adventure? Because it has all the support of Imperialism, if not it could not do this. This is what Nasser says. This is what Boumedienne said "Let them advance ten days more and then the population will surround them" because then aviation counts for nothing, the struggle in the city is man to man. As in Cairo, as in Damascus, aviation is of no account. For this reason the Israelis want to stop now. The real object of the Israelis was Damascus, to destroy Damascus and then Egypt, but the principal enemy and the most powerful enemy was Egypt. For this reason at first they wished to liquidate Egypt and after launch themselves against Damascus.

To measure the level of this struggle, it is sufficient to compare the work of the Arab states and Israel. In Syria they have nationalised almost 80% of the property, there are popular militias. There is an immense historic progress. In Egypt a great part of industry is nationalised, the banks are nationalised and a great part of foreign trade; electricity is nationalised, the Aswan Dam is nationalised. There exists a popular assembly of which 40% are workers, even though they may be bureaucrats, they are still

workers, whilst in Israel what is there? An immense concentration of finance capital; the Kibbutz are small, they have no importance; neither in social or numerical importance. The Kibbutz have ceased being what they were originally, that is an attempt at collective development and they are now simply a co-operative enterprise in which there are some who have more than others and it is these who decide. In this lies the origin of the war. It is sufficient to compare the Arab states and Israel. If Jordan and Saudi Arabia intervened, it is so that they would not be left out, and in a determined moment to serve as a centre for the counterrevolutionary blow as Hussain intended. That was the intention, but the people who decided were neither Hussain or Feisal.

**The Syrian and Egyptian masses are going to influence the Israeli soldiers and these in one way or another are going to see that the Egyptian and Syrian workers are struggling to expropriate, imperialism, feudalism and Capitalism. And in one way or another the masses of Israel are going to feel this action, this objective of the Arab masses. The petit bourgeoisie masses of Israel are going to see that the workers, the peasants and revolutionary petit bourgeoisie, the young revolutionary officers of Syria, Iraq and Egypt are against Hussain and Feisal. And they have made with them a united front, through the conciliatory policy of Nasser. This conciliatory policy of Nasser must not be taken simply as a line of conciliation but as an expression of his Bonapartist role, as he fears to confront directly all these feudal gangsters. But this activity will oblige him to confront them. For this reason the masses impel Nasser, pushed him into the presidency and will oblige him to take measures closer to socialism than to his Bonapartist position.**

Even admitting some manoeuvre on the part of Nasser to be able to remain, his resignation was a real resignation. He resigned as a product of the military pressure and the proof was the complete re-organisation which he made in the military commands. He tries to mobilise the masses and liquidate the most right wing sector of the movement. But the masses mobilised on their own account, and they felt the necessity to demonstrate, to intervene to make themselves felt and to decide. For this reason the mobilisation was instantaneous. The masses were not surprised by the military defeat. This is one of the most important events in the history of the world in a country which is defeated in a violent war, the masses, in place of being defeated and retiring to their houses to weep, to hide, went into the streets and shouted Forward! This is an example of the spirit of triumph of the masses who do not feel themselves defeated and understand very well that the decision is not military but social. For this reason they shout for Nasser—Forward! This is an example for the whole world and is going to have an influence in China, in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America.

ency in the U.S.S.R. is going to try to express the will of the masses to confront most severely and energetically, the will of Imperialism.

The soviet masses defend their Workers State and are conscious that they have an immense power. And the Workers States prevails over the influence of the bureaucracy. For this reason Kosygin and Bresnev can conciliate with the Americans, have to parry the Americans in every way. Even in a conciliatory way, they have to parry them, if not, the Americans would intervene openly. What difference is there between what they want to do in the Middle East and what they are doing in Dominica and Vietnam? none. Why don't they act in the Middle East? in the Middle East they will not be able to act in this way; but they are hoping to do so. And the Chinese leadership commits the imbecility of deceiving the world working class and the Chinese working class by placing on the same plane the Soviet bureaucracy and Yankee Imperialism. One has to be idiotic to do this. It is the same stupidity as when they say that Liu Shao Chi is an agent who has infiltrated into the government, an agent of Capitalism. They hide with this, the lack of a theoretical comprehension and also it is historic indecision. A person who was thirty years in the party and struggled to overthrow Chiang Kai Shek, who was in the leadership of the party and now he is thirty years an agent.

These are the same Chinese who say that Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Kamenev infiltrated into the Bolshevik Party as agents of Imperialism. It is the same imbecility. Trotsky, Bukharin, Kamenev and Zinoviev did not have the same political position, they differed enormously. Bukharin, Kamenev and Zinoviev were the right centre; Trotsky combated them publically and he allied himself with them on occasions when they defended a correct position, as Lenin also allied with them when they defended correct positions.

But all these men were honest and sincere revolutionaries who fought for communism. They were right wing but they fought for communism.

Those who write in Peking Review and in Sinjua believe that they have the right to say what they wish. In a short time they are going to pay the consequences of lies which they utter. And the imbeciles who throughout the world repeat this nonsense, lack the minimum intellectual honesty to read history. It is sufficient to read, to see that it never occurred to Lenin to say that Zinoviev was an agent of Capitalism. It was a struggle among re-

volutionaries. Zinoviev was right wing but he was a member of the Communist Party. In this discussion they show that they are incapable of understanding what passes in the Middle East and they help the Soviet bureaucracy to maintain authority in the Soviet Union. They are incapable of understanding what happens there. The nature of the bureaucracy is the product, is the consequence of its function in soviet society. It is a bureaucracy because they expropriated political power. If they understood the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, they would understand the contradictions of the bureaucracy, among them, those of Tito. And they then would make appeals and the necessary policy to force them to come out to defend the masses of these countries.

What role are the Chinese playing? There is not an important demonstration in China. In the full process of the events of the Middle East, the Chinese simply send a greeting saying that 700 millions of the Chinese support them. Not one demonstration in China. Afterwards they made demonstrations of half a million. Such a demonstration in China has little importance. In China there are no demonstrations of 20, 30, 50 millions, as they made when they were invading Cuba. It is necessary for appeals to the Soviet Union, to Cuba, to Czechoslovakia, to Poland for a united front now to smash Imperialism. Arms in hand to smash it now. The Chinese avoid this. This means an immense advantage for the bureaucracy because it leaves them with hands free for its conciliatory role with Imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucracy tried to conciliate with Imperialism right to the last moment. It had to intervene making its fleet sail through the Mediterranean, not to support the Americans to smash the Arabs—this is an imbecility—but to contain the invasion of the 6th Fleet. But this demonstrated that it was conciliation but different from what the Chinese say. It demonstrated the contradiction of the Soviet bureaucracy, that it has no interest in the development of the socialist revolution which escapes its control, but nevertheless it has an interest in the smashing of Imperialism because it is against it. If the Chinese would understand this contradiction they would have made appeals. But instead they say, "they are agents of Imperialism". The masses cannot understand this. It is a political aberration and favours in consequence the objectives of the Soviet bureaucracy. If the Soviet bureaucracy intervenes now,

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is necessary to strengthen the tendency for Trade Union democracy, for democratic rights, for the free initiative of the masses, the right to discuss everything, to place everything in question, to control everything, to recall delegates, the right to speak, the right of tendency, the free play of tendencies in the worker democracy. It is very important because it will be a base for the later development of the united front. It is necessary to realise that there have been various independent movements, independent of the control of the leadership. It is necessary to intervene in these movements, strengthening these leaderships so that they maintain and make inter trade union, inter factory alliances and arrangements, inter port agreements so that they can strengthen themselves with the security to work in this way, to decide without fear of remaining isolated and the bureaucracy blocking and isolating them. It is necessary to realise that in a movement of such a tradition, the British masses and even the leader-

ships which arise, fear to decentralise themselves, fear to be isolated because they feel the weight of the enormous apparatus and also the tradition of the immense centralisation of the masses. For this reason before launching such slogans it is necessary to understand during a period of time the road to follow. At the moment the form which the process will adopt in Great Britain for the organisation of the revolutionary leadership is not clear. But what can be foreseen is that it must be organised in the Trade Union struggles, which is where the masses feel the most freedom, are most able, most disposed to intervene as in France, Italy etc. Our party can play a great role."

The International will be commenting further on this subject at a later stage.

The Political Bureau resolved to fulfill the decisions of the VIII World Congress, to comprehend clearly the line of the International and to study more closely the development of the situation in Great Britain.

Long live Cde. Posadas and the IV International!

### THE CHINESE DO NOT POSSESS HISTORIC AND THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

These events are going to dominate all the next stage of the course of the world class struggle. The events are not going to rest there. This is the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy, it is the crisis of the Communist Party and it is also the crisis of the Chinese, who have the imbecility to accuse the Soviets of being agents of Imperialism. If they are agents of Imperialism why did they not help in smashing Syria and Egypt? The Chinese have no understanding of the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy. For this reason it is historically shameful that in the full world revolutionary situation, they publish in their newspaper the Yenan speech of Mao Tse Tung because they have nothing to say and do not know what to say. It is a political aberration for which they are going to pay. It is a desertion of the class struggle. In the middle of all these world events which are deciding the course of the world they publish and call the

attention of everyone to the Yenan speech, so that people say "What a good speech Mao Tse Tung made in 1942" when it is now that they must intervene. And it is necessary to intervene, appealing to the soviet masses for a united front of all the Workers States appealing to Kosygin and Bresnev, because the appeal is not to Bresnev and Kosygin, it is to bring down Bresnev and Kosygin. It is necessary to overthrow Bresnev and Kosygin, but it is a question of organising the soviet masses and the soviet masses have to see that their leaders are against the necessities of the revolution.

It is necessary to expect a crisis in the Soviet Union and the fall of the present leadership; it can be Kosygin and Bresnev or one of the two. There can be no doubt that the events in the Middle East have shown that the policy of peaceful co-existence has arrived at its end that the peaceful roads have finished and a tend-

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it is because it feels that the defeat of the revolution, the triumph in Israel increases and strengthens the military power of Imperialism. And geographically the bases of Imperialism become closer to the Workers States, lessen the authority of the Soviet bureaucracy, increases the power of the reactionary circles and consequently this is not good for the bureaucracy.

If the Chinese had the historical and theoretical comprehension of the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, they would understand that it is the product of the contradiction of the bureaucracy and on this contradiction, it is necessary to base oneself, on the fact that the bureaucracy cannot escape: launching the appeal to smash Imperialism now. It is necessary to make an appeal to the masses of these countries and also to the bureaucracies now. The bureaucracy has had to intervene because it loses authority and prestige in front of the masses, the nationalist tendencies of the Middle East. For this reason it has had to intervene now. But in its intervention it tries to maintain its conciliation with American Imperialism until the very last moment. It directs itself at Imperialism but in what way does it do this? By saying take Syria? No. It tries to contain Imperialism not by smashing it, not by impelling the socialist revolution but trying to contain it. That is to say there is no way forward. Thus the Chinese have to intervene with all their force. They must make an appeal to take the land; for workers and peasants governments; for a United Front of all the Workers States with the Arab masses. The Arab masses have seen that the Workers States left them isolated. They did not feel the strength, the weight of the Workers State. The influence of the Workers States was not exercised over the masses of the Middle East: The Chinese have to do this. But the Chinese have not exercised an influence because they have been completely remote. Completely remote. The masses, the nationalist tendencies can be, are gained in part for socialism and they feel that they do not have the aid of the Workers States and the world united front which objectively exists in an empirical form, cannot be established organically, through the absence of conscious leadership, through the absence of theoretical comprehension.

The Chinese have neither political comprehension, theoretical comprehension or historic security. For this reason they attack Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, as agents of Imperialism. And they put them all in the same sack. And on the other hand these shameless people conceal the role of Stalin. It is a simple thing to say it is correct to accuse Krushchev and Bresnev of conciliating with Imperialism. But Israel exists because Stalin supported it. Without Stalin, there would be no Israel. In 1945 Israel was decided upon as the result of the Yalta Agreement. In this agreement they divided the world. The Chinese believe that people do not know this and forget. They are mistaken. Within a short time people are going to say this and in China itself they are going to say this.

And to all these idiots who say "Trotsky agent of Capitalism, Trotsky infiltrator into the Bolshevik Party" it is necessary to expose them.

**An infiltrator is a person who enters into an organisation with the objective of preventing this organisation fulfilling its revolutionary objectives. But a person who enters a party, who struggles and makes a programme to overthrow Capitalism, organises the masses and defeats Capitalism, establishes the Workers State, and this Workers State shows itself capable of resisting the Imperialist encirclement and is directed by Lenin and Trotsky how can this person infiltrate? If he was an agent of Capitalism why didn't Capitalism triumph? One has to be an imbecile to think in this way. This is the reflection of the arrogance of the bureaucrats, of the paternalist who believes that the revolution is the product of the bureaucrat.**

This same conception means that they maintain themselves remote from the Middle East. The Chinese should have

made an appeal for the Communist International, for a united front to smash Imperialism, smashing the 6th Fleet, smashing Imperialism in Vietnam now! They should send in armies to smash Imperialism in Vietnam, they should do this in the Middle East, in the whole of Africa! If quite simply without having a centralised organisation nor a direct class organisation, the Egyptian and Syrian masses react powerfully overcoming military defeats triumphing socially and impose and make Nasser stay, and in Syria impose the popular army, smash the Imperialist invasion, what would be the case if the Chinese appeal led for the united front, calling also for the struggle against Hussain, against Feisal. The Chinese do not say a word about this, they should make an appeal; the world is against Imperialism and against Capitalism, for workers and peasants governments, worker and peasant alliance, land to the peasants! The petroleum for the Arabs, out with Imperialism from the Middle East! Out with the agents of Imperialism! These are the slogans.

**It is the policy of today which it is necessary to discuss; the masses live the life of today not of yesterday. The life of yesterday was a point of support to understand today. How to explain what passes in the Middle East, in Cuba, in Latin America, in Europe? There is not a line by the Chinese nor by the Soviets on the General Strike of the French proletariat of the 17th May, not a single line. Not a line of the historic importance, of the electoral triumph of the Communist Party in France. It is not the bureaucracy which triumphs, it means that the power of the masses have contained the French bourgeoisie, and in Italy the Italian bourgeoisie. But the Chinese ignore this and they do not make an appeal.**

These events of the Middle East pose the necessity for, and are going to influence in a very powerful way, to provoke with an immense decision, the formation of the revolutionary leadership. The leadership of Bresnev and Kosygin want to appear before the communist parties and masses of the Workers States as against Imperialism. They have to conceal their intentions. They are afraid of Imperialism but they cannot allow Imperialism to advance. The masses of the world cannot understand when the Chinese say "The Soviet bureaucracy is supporting American Imperialism to dominate the world". This is absurd. If they were proposing to dominate the world why do they send the fleet?

If there were no Trotskyists in China, if the Trotskyists had no weight, why would they attack Trotsky now? For what reason? If they attack Trotsky it is because within China there is a Trotskyist tendency.

The Chinese go on with their jingle: Mao Tse Tung, Mao Tse Tung, of 1940 and that is erroneous. The revolution cannot base itself on the texts, the red book of Mao Tse Tung. Mao Tse Tung has no answer to these problems, before or now. They give no concrete answer to understand the specific struggle of the classes on a world or national scale. It is necessary for the masses to be mobilised now.

It is necessary to expose the Soviet bureaucracy before their own masses. It is necessary to make appeals; united front to expel Imperialism from the Middle East, united front to expel Imperialism from Vietnam militarily. The decision is military, the historic resolution is social. But the social resolution means that without the mobilisation of the masses, without nationalisations, without taking the land, without the worker peasant alliance, without the worker peasant government there is no historic solution. But for this historic solution, arms are necessary, military resolution to resolve social historic problems. What is the programme for the Middle East? The programme for the Middle East is the unification as we have said: United Socialist Soviet States of the Middle East, Arab Soviet Socialist Federation with the right

for self determination of the Jews.

**What is the programme of the Chinese? There is no programme; they say simply Kosygin and Bresnev are traitors. It is clear that they are traitors, we are in agreement, but what is their programme? Such as it is they support Hussain and Feisal. They speak abstractly. The Chinese have no policy for the Middle East, for Asia, for Africa, for Europe and for Latin America. It is necessary to appeal concretely to seize the land, to seize the petroleum wells, to organise the popular militias, for the independent life of the exploited masses, for the workers party based on the trade union with its own organisation so that they function separately even from Nasser's party, from the Socialist Party which exists in Egypt. The task is not to confront Nasser now. The task is the united front of all the Middle East, to expel Imperialism in strength with the independent organisation of the exploited masses and the programme of the socialist revolution.**

This is the task now. For this it is necessary for the Chinese to appeal, and with this it is necessary to appeal to the Soviet Government, to the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., of China, of Cuba, of Poland and of Yugoslavia; it is necessary to appeal to the parties, to the trade unions and to the masses also. And without awaiting the communist parties of the U.S.S.R., of Cuba, Poland, Yugoslavia, of Italy or of France, without expecting that these governments accept, they must appeal to the masses to mobilise themselves on this programme. But the masses have to see that the obstacle is their leadership and it is necessary to overthrow them. It is necessary to overthrow Bresnev and Kosygin. How? How it is possible to overthrow them. The way to overthrow them is to call for a united front to mobilise around an anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist programme now with all their means, military, trade union, political.

These are the events which the Middle East show demonstrating that the ways for peaceful co-existence are eliminated more and more. The bureaucracy has tried until the last moment to conciliate with Imperialism. There is no way to conciliate. Imperialism cannot conciliate because already it has no historic force, it cannot manoeuvre many more years. Three, four years more in Vietnam, but it cannot face another Vietnam. The attitude of Imperialism through Israel reflects desperation, complete desperation. When it has to utilise Israel to try to contain the Arab revolution, it is because it has failed to organise military dictatorships in Syria, Iraq and Egypt. It has failed. The Chinese must feel this. The Soviet bureaucracy is not opposed to this. If the Soviet bureaucracy is an agent of Capitalism why did it support the Aswan Dam. Why does it give military aid. If it was an agent of Capitalism it would give nothing. The Chinese say "It is to deceive". One has to be an imbecile to believe this. If it was an agent of Imperialism why does it have to deceive? But this is the contradiction of the bureaucracy.

The revolutionary wing in China must understand: it is the contradictory character of the bureaucracy that it is counter revolutionary, that it is conciliatory with Imperialism, but it has to defend the workers state.

The bureaucracy is a product of the usurpation of the political power of the proletariat and it did not usurp it just recently, Stalin was the usurper. What difference is there between what Bresnev and Kosygin are doing and what Stalin did? Stalin betrayed the Greek revolution, Stalin betrayed it. He betrayed the revolutionary movements in the Middle East of 1943 to 1945. Stalin betrayed the Italian revolution. The Chinese have fear of understanding this, they close their eyes to history. It is necessary to read the history simply to see what was the attitude of the Italian Communist Party and Stalin in 1945; in place of taking power, they entered the Italian bourge-

ois government, putting Togliatti at the head of the ministers and impeding the revolution. They must discuss this. These idiots who in the world, attack the Trotskyists have no idea, have not the decency to read anything, for this reason all of them are confused on the problem of the Middle East, because they have, neither programme, policy, conception, perspective. They are all confused, they do not know what to do.

**If in China the struggle continues and is not decided, it is because there is a lack of a programme and objectives. In this struggle in China, still they have not succeeded in imposing soviets and there are no forms superior to soviets. Lenin was the champion of the Soviets. Let the Chinese show that the soviets are mistaken. We call upon the revolutionary wing in China which exists, that it demands soviets and that it calls now for the soviet masses to reimpose soviets and that it calls upon the struggle for the world anti-Imperialist anti-Capitalist united front and that it imposes soviets. There is no form superior for proletarian democracy than soviets. The soviets allow the participation of the whole population. If the bureaucrats appear the manager, the administrator who has his own interest, it is because there is no way of controlling him, there is no organised structure of political life which allows the masses to decide.**

The book of Liu Shao Chi, "How to be a Good Communist" is the book of an idealist and protectionist communist. The whole conception of the book is of the intellectual who goes to protect the working class with paternal advice, idealising his individual function. The worst danger of this book is not that it ignores the dictatorship of the proletariat; this is certain, but the party is not there, has no function, the party is absent. Everything is directed to the fact that the individual has to improve himself. He has to elevate his moral, where is the party? The education of the militant does not realise itself individually. It realises itself as a function of the activity of the party. But the individual qualities allow the education to stabilise itself. In this book the party is absent and it is the party which educates. The life of the party educates, gives security, establishes revolutionary morale and allows the individual to be strong. It is absurd to accuse this book of being Capitalist. It has a conception which is the result of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, that is, of the first stages of the Chinese Communist Party. And it is this which must be criticised and discussed publicly. Why don't they discuss publicly? We invite the Chinese to publish this book and discuss it publicly. And to this we oppose "Their morals and Ours" by Leon Trotsky. We propose that they compare it with "Their morals and Ours" of Trotsky. "In defence of Marxism" and "The Communist Manifesto Today" and "The Revolutionary Militant and the Workers Party" with a prologue by Posadas, written 25 years ago and which seems to have been written today. They must show a document similar to these, they must discuss in this way as they used to discuss in Lenins time, and THEY MUST GO BACK TO DISCUSSING IN THIS WAY. The revolution does not advance more, not because it is delayed; it advances through the action and the will of the masses, but it is held up from the political, theoretical and socialist point of view. There is no socialist progress. In China there is progress and a formidable leap forward is being prepared, this is indubitable, an immense formidable leap. Because of this we call to the revolutionary leadership in China, which is looking for a road, so that it takes these decisions, so that it takes them, and discusses openly about Liu Shao Chi. Enough of these insinuations which they make about "The highest leader, the No 1". This is absurd! If there is a person who could conceal himself for so many years in the Party, being the principal leader, it is the Party which

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is useless. Nevertheless it is false; this party took power. The party was useful. And this man was useful. They change the line now, as they are not certain, and all of them have participated in a conciliatory policy for which they want to judge one man. This is not the way to fight for political positions. Lenin and Trotsky discussed publicly at the height of the revolution. Without calling each other agents of Capitalism, or intriguers, nor agents of Imperialism; they criticised positions trying to influence each other to concentrate truth in the essential points. This is all, and this is the objective of all revolutionary policy. Nothing else is useful.

It is an aberration for the Chinese revolution to discuss whether Liu Shao Chi is the number 1 agent of Capitalism. To want to say this is to say that the party is useless. A party which allows someone to be president of the country for 8 years, make the constitution of the country and now say that he is an agent of Capitalism, is useless: this is false, totally false. It is a bureaucratic manner of discussing, of resolving the political and ideological problems; this is Stalin-

## THE REVOLUTIONARY WING IN CHINA MUST APPEAL TO THE MASSES OF THE MIDDLE EAST, TO THE REVOLUTIONARY BOURGEOISIE LEADERSHIPS, TO THE SOCIALIST TENDENCIES, FOR A UNITED FRONT TO EXPEL IMPERIALISM

These events of the Middle East put into discussion all the weakness of these tendencies. In the next period all these weaknesses, the false positions of all these tendencies will have a decisive political significance; because the masses of the Middle East are going to influence and are going to decide. The Arab masses are going to influence and are going to attract the masses of Africa within a short time. There are 11 countries near to being Workers States: Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Mali, Guinea, Congo Brazzaville, Algeria, Tanzania, Indonesia, Burma and Ghana. They are 11 countries close to Workers States. It is the immense force of the revolution, Imperialism is impotent to contain this. It is necessary for an appeal to the united world front, an appeal for the mass communist international based on the world programme of the revolution to overthrow Capitalism and Imperialism, to make the war ourselves before Imperialism launches it! This is the actual stage of the world revolution; 11 countries in development towards workers states and at the same time communist parties as in France and Italy in which the masses have shown a revolutionary power, a crushing social weight. It is necessary to count on this force, it is necessary to base oneself on this force.

The crisis in Belgium is immense; constant unemployment, but the masses resist the unemployment occupying factories, Constant and permanent crisis in Italy, taking hostages, occupying the mines. constant and permanent crisis in England. The masses of Germany are advancing with a socialist decision in their attempt to adopt positions independent of the bureaucracies of the socialist parties and of the trade unions. The revolutionary wing in China and Cuba must base itself on this conclusion, on this analysis. In its policy it must take into account such a world situation to give it audacity in appealing for the struggle for power. It must base itself on the struggle of the masses as the masses in the Middle East are now showing that they are disposed to take power. It must base itself on this will but at the same time hurl itself to organise and mobilise the masses of the Workers States particularly of the USSR, against their leadership, calling them to a united front, calling to the leaderships and the masses.

The masses have to see, have to feel that their leaderships are against the anti-Capitalist programme; have to see and sense it. And the masses cannot follow the appeals of the Chinese when they see that within China, Liu Shao Chi is accused (he who for 30 years was seen as a communist leader) of infiltrating, of having been a capitalist for 30 years. It

ism. And inevitably to discuss in this way is to favour new sectors of the bureaucracy, new forms of the bureaucracy because this is not the way to discuss. If it is necessary to criticise Liu Shao Chi as a conservative, one must say why he is a conservative now, when he was a communist before. But we still believe that he continues to be a communist, but he is conservative, he is not a Capitalist agent, this is absurd. What are the positions of Liu Shao Chi? Certainly they are conservative, we believe, all their nature indicates it. Well, it is necessary to show before the masses that it is possible to be a conservative communist and that the solution consists in political discussion in order to eliminate the conservatives and raise up into the leadership the revolutionary elements. Then the masses see that it is possible to discuss between communists of all tendencies whose central axis is to impel the revolution. This is the way, and then the peasant can elevate his consciousness. It is the same in the Soviet Union, because of this they do not appeal to the soviet masses, and to the Communist Party of the USSR, they still do not call them to reimpose soviets, and this what must be done.

is not possible to understand this and it is not possible for the Chinese to gain authority this way. Because of this all the pro-Chinese group in the world are weakening. There is not a single pro-Chinese group, which in any country of the world has stabilised and developed itself. All of them are weakening, weakening, weakening. One cannot construct anything with lies, with bureaucratic and paternalist forms. What the Chinese are doing is to feed a series of bureaucrats in the world who open cultural CHINESE INSTITUTES and live off them. This is the only thing that the Chinese are doing with these people. They are feeding a series of bureaucratic careerists who are paid a good salary and live an ostentatious life, paid for by the Chinese revolution and the masses of the world. They must finish with this, liquidate all these bureaucrats, all these swine, liquidate them. And they must base themselves upon the struggles of the revolutionary tendencies who have a revolutionary programme in each country.

The Chinese preoccupy themselves with the forum of Yanan because they don't have any policy, and programme, any party, and now the revolutionary wing feels the need of the party. But the conciliatory wing, intermediate between the revolutionary wing and right wing is the one which wants to entertain itself with this "Cultural Revolution". In this it wants to delay, because the wing which talks of the "Cultural Revolution" has abandoned mentioning Shanghai and Peking. It no longer speaks anymore of the Workers Committees of Shanghai or of the Peking commune, why? They are Trotskyist tendencies and tendencies going towards Trotskyism which they talk about in Shanghai and Peking. Why don't they speak? Because they don't have confidence or certainty. They are communist but they don't have confidence and certainty in the world development of the revolution. And because of this they don't speak, and live as prisoners of the small space of China. And because of this they have held up the revolution there. It is absurd to try to make believe that four artists or a hundred or a thousand artists are holding up the revolution of 7 hundred million inhabitants. You would have to be stupid and the most stupid in the world believe it, even though 70% of those who do believe it, believe because they are paid to. It is not that they believe this. They receive money for their services; once they served Stalinism and the bourgeoisie, now they are serving the bureaucracy or those sectors which direct the Chinese Communist Party. But in a little time more all this is going to be eliminated.

It is necessary to discuss the Cultural

Revolution in China on the concrete actual programme for today. It means to discuss what must be done to throw Imperialism out of Vietnam. What must be done to throw out Imperialism from the Middle East, how to support the struggles of the proletariat in Europe, how to make a united front in Latin America to throw out Capitalism. To call for the programme of expropriation of Capitalism, expropriation of the land, of workers and peasants governments, of the worker and peasant alliance. Here is the Cultural Revolution. This is the revolution which one must make.

Because of this in the Middle East, the Chinese have been absent. They don't have the historic comprehension of the unity of the world. There is still not a tendency which has this conception. If there had been, it would have intervened, and it would have been obliged to intervene in the Middle East to throw out Imperialism from Vietnam, and then to make an appeal to the Soviet bureaucracy for a united front. The Soviet bureaucracy would have manoeuvred against this, but the masses of the Soviet Union would have seen its leadership against a policy, a programme which they wanted and they would have seen the Chinese leadership putting forward this programme. This is the way to elevate the masses against their leaderships. In what other way could it be done? The Chinese want to substitute such activity with accusations, exclamations and cries which have no historic value, like the accusation of historic revisionists against the Soviet bureaucracy. Good, revisionists, but of what? What does the Soviet bureaucracy revise: Marx, Engels and Trotsky? Certainly we agree they revise them and what does this mean? It is a policy of conciliation with Capitalism. What is the basis of this conciliation with Capitalism? The suppression of the Soviets and of proletarian democracy, the suppression of the world programme of the revolution, the suppression of the programme which unites the development of the Workers State with the world revolution. Good the Chinese should call for the programme. This is the programme of Lenin and Trotsky; they should call for this we support them.

But the Chinese do not call for this policy; they appeal against "revisionists", but revisionists of what? They should state

## THE STRUGGLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONFIRM THE TROTSKYISTS CONCLUSIONS IN A CONCLUSIVE WAY: THE MASSES WANT TO FIGHT, DO NOT FEAR THE ATOMIC WAR AND IN THEIR HEADS THEY HAVE ALREADY ACCEPTED SOCIALISM

The events in the Middle East are a phase of the immense impulse of the world permanent revolution and are being constructed on the basis of the slogans and conclusions of the Trotskyists. The fundamental Trotskyist conclusion is: the masses want to fight, they do not fear the atomic war, and in their heads socialism has already been accepted. The conclusive proof is the Middle East. The military defeat of Syria, Egypt and Iraq, in another opportunity would have been sufficient to smash the governments, smash the masses, permit a military dictatorship and with this subdue the workers movement. Capitalism would recuperate the properties, the land, and undo the measures of nationalisation already established. The Arabs have lost the war, but they not lost a single social conquest. The Imperialist army has the same force, the same military capacity to defeat the Arab countries, but it has been powerless to recuperate the social conquests of the masses, because the masses are disposed to triumph. And the masses of the world are going to see and it will be a guide to them, that this is Trotskyism, that these are the proposals of Trotskyism.

The General Secretary of the Trade Unions in Syria, Khaleb Djundi, who is at the same time the organiser of the workers militia, has in his office the portrait of Guevara; publically. A journalist of a Spanish review who was with him said this. And more over he declared that "Religion is the opium of the people".

their programme. They should put a superior programme, in a general sense to that of the Soviet bureaucracy. They make exclamations; but they don't have a concrete programme which calls for the struggle. The proof is in the Middle East. They have been absent, when now they could have been influencing with an immense force. It would have been enough to call for a united front to throw out Imperialism, giving all the necessary arms.

In China they must make demonstrations of seven hundred million. Demonstrations, meetings, calling to the masses of Vietnam, to the United States, sending its troops, its arms, sending everything that it has to Vietnam now! Now! Imperialism is tied up. It should have forced the Soviet bureaucracy to confront Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy would have been eliminated. But nevertheless, the Chinese with their policy of mere abstract accusations are permitting the bureaucracy to continue manoeuvring.

The process from the nationalist revolution to the Workers State exists in the Middle East. There is no longer the prolonged stage of bourgeois nationalist revolution. Today the process is very short. We appeal to the Chinese, and to the revolutionary Chinese wing which is doing this; we also call to the revolutionary tendencies in Cuba. We call upon the Guevarist group, the Fidel Castro tendency to make a united front with the Trotskyists for this programme; to apply the conclusions of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba on the 18. 5. 67 against Venezuela. We appeal so that they apply a united front. It is necessary to do it now, the O.A.S. is worthless. Imperialism has been impotent to destroy Syria, and Syria is a small country. Impotent! The Children of Aden, children of 12 years of age go out with machine guns. This is the culture of today. And the leaders of Aden say to their fathers "take care because the children do not know how to use the machine guns", and the children say "Of course we know how to use them." At 12 years they have an understanding of the world, it means that they feel life, feel themselves to be participating in life. They don't ask "Mum give me something to eat", but they decide. This is the world of today. The Chinese must see this, not as a cultural description but the social revolutionary reality, the point of support to organise the revolutionary wing in China.

This comrade has a trade union office in the same place where he lives; he has a bed there as well, that is to say he lives like a Trotskyist. His policy, his orientation, his perspective and habits of life, his form of life is Trotskyist. The portrait of Guevara is a symbol of the unity of the world revolution, and it is what the masses want. He doesn't have either Mao Tse Tung, or Fidel Castro, he has Guevara. This is what they are looking for. And in Syria, which is a place where it is much more easy and accessible to be influenced by the political revolution in China, nevertheless it is Guevara who is influencing, because it is the programme which influences. It is a very big lesson for the Chinese, and even if temporarily the world centre of the revolution has moved to the Middle East, China continues to be the central axis through its importance and weight. And the events, the struggle of the masses in the Middle East are going to influence within China to impel and permit the revolutionary wing to advance in the internal struggle and in consequence to advance to Trotskyism. The newspaper "Diario" of Montevideo, "Le Monde" and various other dailies of Europe, declare that in Syria there are Trotskyists and they are frightened that within the leadership in Syria there are Trotskyists. It is possible that this is an exaggeration, but they see that the policy which these leaders take, is Trotskyist.

The workers militias is a slogan of the

# ...PERMANENT REVOLUTION in the MIDDLE EAST

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IV International which has been propagated all over the world. It has been analysed and advanced. In Syria there have not been any guerrillas, nor in Egypt; it was the mobilisation of the masses which stopped the Imperialists. The idiots who live thinking that the guerrillas are the solution for everything, why didn't they demand guerrillas in Syria and Israel? It was the workers militias which showed that they were the force. If there had been guerrillas they would have been secondary. Still the guerrillas are necessary, but for behind the Israeli lines, in order to smash them.

The worker masses will not escape to the mountains but will defend themselves house by house, zone by zone. If there had been there the slogan of the development of the guerrillas the proletariat would not have had the militias, would not have been able to organise or attract the population. It is one of the most powerful examples to pose.

In reality the Palestine Liberation Army is a diversion from a revolutionary organisation. It is a movement in the last instance, with terrorist bases, in order to make a particular solution which annuls The Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics of the Middle East. We say, instead of the Palestine Liberation Army, an army which is for the Arab unification with our programme. And at the same time workers militias. The Palestine Liberation Army is an army managed by the bourgeoisie, by the high sectors of the bourgeoisie which can manage it as it pleases. But by its nature and the crisis of the Middle East in this Palestine Liberation Army, there are also revolutionary tendencies, including Trotskyists whose objective is to smash Imperialism. It is used, as such an army, for the benefit of the conciliatory tendencies and moreover, with an incorrect attitude, because there is no liberation of Palestine, but the liberation of the Middle East from Imperialism. We are not against any army in particular or a specific action. But in a political historic action, the particular private armies do not have any importance, because they divert, separate the centre of the historic revolution which is Arab unification, from Palestine, and the action of the masses is replaced by a particular army which the military circles can control, can give conciliatory solutions or contain the development of the revolution. The revolutionary tendencies which are in this sector can coincide with the other sectors which are not revolutionary but which are basically reactionary. They want to throw out the Jews and Imperialism but they want a substitute for them. They are bourgeois nationalists, who remain in the bourgeois camp, while it is shown that the bourgeois nationalist tendencies, in Syria, Egypt and in Iraq are developing into socialist tendencies rapidly.

It is necessary to organise workers militias instead of all the regular armies dependent on capital. In order to advance the revolution it is necessary to get rid of one of the forces which Capitalism has; the army. Workers, militias, peoples militias. The peoples militias do not weaken the military effectiveness or power, but increases it. Out with all the organised professional groups of the army, who are the point of support for Imperialism, for Capitalism and for the feudal leaders. In a more notorious way each time, Capitalism has to base itself on the military groups and centres because the bourgeoisie has lost historic force, decision, and weight, because the petit

bourgeoisie is gained for the revolution. Capitalism, on all sides: France and Italy, is going to tend to base itself on military strata, on military coups, on the power of the army. The elimination of the army, peoples militias! Mass Communist International appeal to the Communist Parties of the Workers States, of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Cuba, appeal to the governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Cuba, of all the Workers States to a United World anti-Capitalist front to fight for this programme. For the unification of all the military forces of the Workers States to overthrow Imperialism; to throw it out of Vietnam, to throw it out of the Middle East, to throw it out of Cuba. Imperialism is preparing the invasion of Cuba, this is clear. Everything is leading to this. Inexorably it is preparing to invade Cuba within a short time, at least to try it. It is necessary to foresee it, appealing from now to prevent it. It is necessary to realise that the appeals to the guerrillas are ineffectual. It is necessary to feel that the masses organised in trade unions are not going to leave these unions to go to the mountains. The miner masses of Bolivia, the factory masses of Bolivia are not going to leave their factories and their trade unions where they feel strong, to go to the mountains. The guerrilla is a distraction which favours Capitalism. The guerrilla is a complement, when there really is a guerrilla, nothing more. It can commence as a guerrilla but it transforms itself rapidly into an organic movement of the masses of the great cities. Where the proletariat has a certain weight the guerrilla passes to being a secondary form of struggle. It is necessary to revise all these projects about the guerrillas. Without ceasing to support the guerrillas it is necessary to give support to the organisations which attract the population, and which can triumph, which are the organised worker masses; independent and class party of the masses, revolutionary Marxist Party with the programme of the struggle for power, to expropriate Capitalism, give the land to the peasants, worker and peasant alliance, workers and peasants government; this is the programme. The masses of the world are wanting to do it; in all parts of the world. This is the programme of the Communist International. The Chinese have to appeal to organise and apply this programme.

In order to decide the internal problems in China, so that the revolutionary wing can have weight and decide, it is necessary to unite the struggle in China, with the struggle outside. The struggle within a country, even in the most peculiar form which it can have, is never more than a feature of the world course of the world class struggle. Never. The class struggle is world wide, the national is a reflection of the international. And what is going on in the Middle East has to influence the masses of the world, because it elevates them, decides them, to overwhelm Capitalism. The Chinese must base themselves on this, in order to be able to overthrow and smash the Soviet bureaucracy. In order to be able to smash and eliminate Imperialism in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and in all the world. The Chinese must feel that the Soviet bureaucracy works with Imperialism not as an agent of Imperialism. It works in this way because the bureaucracy is in the contradiction of having to base itself on the Workers State, it has to defend it against Imperialism, but it cannot carry on a revolutionary policy. It is the same with Tito who comes out to restrain Imperialism in the Middle East to defend himself. Because the advance of Imperialism gives more strength to the Capitalist

sector which with the autonomy of enterprises already has quite a weight; while it would like to conciliate. The Chinese must understand this. They must base themselves on this conception in order to make appeals to the united front for an anti-Imperialist policy; they must do this.

The Chinese have already spent many years accusing the Soviet bureaucracy and they have gained nothing. Nothing! They must therefore understand that they must modify their policy. The revolutionary Chinese wing must understand that in order to overthrow Bresnev, Kosygin, Tito, the Gomulka and the Kadars, it is necessary to appeal to the masses of each workers state, to the leaders of the communist parties, to the governments of the Workers States for a revolutionary policy. It is necessary to call for a united front and to make propaganda beginning with China. But this policy cannot have

## THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, EXPEL AND EXPROPRIATE IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The masses want to triumph, socialism has already been accepted in their minds and the atomic war is not going to dissuade them from this. On the contrary, they are going to enter the atomic war disposed to establish socialism. The reaction of the masses in the Middle East anticipates their behaviour in the atomic war. For the masses of the Middle East, this is the atomic war, losing militarily and yet feeling themselves sure and victorious. The first measure of the masses was to tend to confiscate Capitalism to thrown out Imperialism, to take the petrol wells, and the land. If they did not go further forward, it was because the bourgeois leadership, even inclined to anti-Imperialist measures did not call to the masses. But in Syria the masses immediately tried to take the petrol pipe lines, the big properties of Imperialism and the land. In the atomic war this is going to be the reaction of the masses, immediately the war breaks out they are going to expropriate Imperialism and Capitalism, and this will decompose the army immediately. In this way the masses are waiting for the atomic war. Without any fear, without any worry; they accept it as being part of the conditions of history and of life; they are full of enthusiasm and decision. It is on this that the Chinese, the revolutionary leadership in Cuba, the Guevarist leadership, the revolutionary tendency of the team of Fidel Castro which advances, linked with the Trotskyists, must base themselves. The united front of the Workers States with the revolution is being made in a disfigured limited form, because the bureaucracy of the Workers States and of the communist parties are not interested in giving them precise forms, in elevating the consciousness in order to elevate socialist measures. The masses of the world are going to see that in spite of the bureaucracy, the Workers States are united to the revolution. They have to intervene.

The Soviet bureaucracy is conciliating, it seeks to conciliate but the rupture with Israel was in order to try to regain authority before the masses, the governments and the nationalist leaderships of the Middle East. But also it is a blow against Imperialism; It is a warning to Imperialism that it cannot permit a constant retreat. But they are measures of small importance, which the bureaucracy tries to apply in order not to break with Imperialism. Nevertheless, the masses have forced the bureaucracy to intervene and they are forcing it now to take such an attitude which contains the invasions that Imperialism is preparing for the Middle East.

Imperialism is preparing for the atomic war. The Middle East is a rehearsal for the atomic war, it is to gain positions, to try to sustain itself during and after the atomic war. Imperialism doesn't have any other force, it has no confidence in economic measures or investments. These declarations of the swine Wilson—the English imperialist Wilson—which propose

an effect, if within China a cultural revolution is developing which doesn't have any historic significance as such a cultural revolution. In the events of the Middle East, the masses see that the Chinese speak of Mao Tse Tung, of the forum of Yanan, when the masses want a political revolutionary response, now in the Middle East. And the masses see that it is not enough to say "The conciliatory Soviet bureaucracy". The masses want to unify themselves in this fight on an anti-Imperialist, anti-Capitalist and also military programme. Military programme; down with Imperialism! But arms perform the social needs: because of this it is a social solution. What is the programme for these arms to implement; Expropriation of Imperialism, expropriation of Capitalism, workers militias, soviets, proletarian democracy based on the soviets, workers and peasants government! This is the programme which it is necessary to push forward in this stage.

to see how to improve the economic conditions, are simply a smoke screen, a filthy lie, to hide the sinister plans of British Imperialism. Imperialism does not have any other solution but the war and it is preparing it. The Middle East shows it. It shows that it does not have any other solution. The attitude of Syria which expropriates the petrol which imposes conditions on the sale and the passage of petrol through the pipeline, which increases the charges on Imperialism enormously, which increases the control of the Syrian state over petroleum, which develops the workers militias; this is what the Imperialists fought against. Against this.

One must not be worried if there are groups of the Jewish masses who renounce us, attack us and move away from us. It is the selection of this stage. This is the stage of selection. Those who are worth anything are not those who are going to go, but those who are gained by the revolutionary stage, they are the ones who are valuable. It shows that these were insecure and fragile allies incapable of bearing a stage such as this. Tomorrow it will be worse. This establishes an internal and external selection for the points of support of the party. This stage which shows the concentration of then the will to fight of action and of selection for outside and inside, because then the will to fight of action and of triumph shows itself both outside and inside. And the masses of the Middle East show that they are sure and decided to triumph, this is the most important aspect of all this stage.

Whatever the process, the inequality of the process, the delays, and retreats, the conclusion is that the masses are developing an activity, and the vanguard has the understanding that in order to defeat Imperialism it is not sufficient to defeat Israel but to defeat it from within, liquidating the sectors, linked in one way or another, to the base of Imperialism, in private poverty. Because of this the resolution of the Egyptian assembly to give full powers to Nasser, to reorganise the army and society, that is to say to liquidate the right wing, has enormous importance. What Nasser is doing is another thing, but the resolution of the assembly indicates that under the pressure of this intervention of the masses they are preparing themselves to launch a counter offensive. Militarily they lost, socially they gained! Without doubt they lost military positions, this will be recovered rapidly, they will rapidly win back the military losses. The Soviet Union lost the war, but not the revolution, and afterwards it had to make another war and the revolution won. The Syrians and the Egyptians lost the war but the revolution is gaining. The historic resolution is historic not military. The military is the instrument to execute the social needs of the progress of the masses nothing more. Arms never decide. Arms are instruments to apply resolution which

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# ...PERMANENT REVOLUTION in the MIDDLE EAST

Continued from page 6

have already been decided, the need of the social historic process. And the Egyptian and Syrian masses, the Arab masses have not been restrained by the military defeat. The objective of Imperialism was this and it has been a defeat of Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

The urgent meeting of the soviets with all the leaders and later with the military men is not a parody; it has to react to contain the loss of prestige, the loss of authority and the pressure within the Soviet Union itself and the other Workers States. If it was not thus, why have they met? If they are disposed to defend the Arab revolution, why didn't they do it before? Why didn't they take these measures which they are taking now, before? They are taking them now under the pressure of circles, tendencies, of the bureaucracy and of the masses of the Workers States. The low and medium sectors of the bureaucracy who have a very great weight in the party, in the administration in the army; which do not have the interests which the other bureaucrats have in self management and in the self government of the enterprises, even without representing directly the interests of the masses are more linked to the masses and feel the danger of the progress of Imperialism and have exerted pressure and have influenced, be it in the army, be it in the trade union, be it in the party, in order to force the bureaucracy to change their decision. But when these people work in this way it is because they feel the pressure of the masses of the Middle East, which is combined with the interests themselves of the bureaucratic centres to defend the Workers States. This has forced the bureaucracy to change. If this line of the bureaucracy of making a meeting to try to contain Israel, which is the way of containing imperialism was the line of the bureaucracy, why didn't they do it before? If they had done it before, they would have gained more prestige, more authority, it would have elevated their ability and their authority within the Workers States. It would have elevated their ability to manoeuvre. They didn't do so before because the bureaucracy is not interested in the triumph of Egypt or of Syria, because the triumph of Egypt and of Syria meant the triumph of the revolution, meant the stimulus, the impulse to the revolution. The bureaucracy wanted a middle solution, it wanted to control Imperialism, but to control and impede the independent advance of the socialist revolution in the Middle East. But there is no middle way. The contradiction which the bureaucracy tries to solve is impossible to do; because of this it has to change its attitude. For this we say there are no longer roads for peaceful co-existence. The roads, the possibilities of peaceful co-existence are being eliminated. In a very accelerated way, because it is shortened by the advance of the revolution.

This meeting of the military has the same reason; why didn't they do so before? Certainly they knew that Imperialism was going to invade. The bureaucracy was hoping to contain and negotiate with Imperialism, in order to make the Arab bourgeoisie depend more on the support and the political leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy, particularly Bresnev, and Kosygin but they failed. In the military defeat of Egypt and in part of Syria, the masses did not give way. They remain alive and powerful, and the bureaucracy comes out now to try to channel this process, so as also to prevent it escaping from their control. Neither before, nor now does the bureaucracy intervene to stimulate, to support and impel the revolution. It intervenes with the same sense as before, to contain, to impede the independent development of the socialist revolution, but contrary to what the Chinese say, if they were agents of Capitalism, they would abandon it, so that the revolution fails. When they intervene, the contradictory character of the bureaucracy expresses itself, which in order to sustain itself needs to defend the Workers State, and in order to defend the Workers State it cannot permit Imperialism to advance more in the Middle East. And this is the contradiction

of the bureaucracy. And from these contradictions who gains? The masses!

In this fight Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy have been defeated, because the masses felt their independent force. They have felt unified; the consciousness of the need for the socialist unification of the Arab masses advances. It advances, and also the consciousness and the historic capacity that they are the ones who dominate. They have the means, and are resolved to nationalise and expropriate.

And the next phase in the Middle East will be a great tendency to expel Imperialism, to eliminate and expropriate Imperialism. In the next stage, at the same time as the Soviet bureaucracy is going to give a certain military aid to contain Imperialism, to regain prestige before the Arabs, the bureaucracy is going to try to contain the expropriations which the Arab masses are going to make against Imperialism. It will enter into contradiction with the will of the masses and in these next stages, the contradictions are going to express themselves by means of the struggles of the masses to push forward the measures of nationalisation. Joined to military support the Soviet bureaucracy should have launched the slogan expropriate the oil wells. This was a magnificent effort and why didn't the Chinese also say expropriate the oil wells? Because they want to manoeuvre.

**The Soviet bureaucracy is identical with Imperialism in wishing to prevent the masses drawing independent conclusions; the Soviet bureaucracy has an interest in throwing the Imperialists out of the Middle East to be able to control it and there is the possibility of an agreement with the revolutionary nationalist bourgeoisie for a peaceful road. But this crisis in the Middle East shows that there are**

## FOR THE FEDERATION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND SELF DETERMINATION OF THE JEWISH MASSES OF ISRAEL

The meeting of the Arab leaders with the Soviets was to exert a pressure to gain more help at this stage. But at the same time the slogans which are being put forward in Syria, in Egypt and Iraq, are Death to Imperialism, Death to Zionism. But the masses will have correctly understood the slogan death to Imperialism, intending by this to expropriate it. The bureaucracy is going to try to contain the Arab governments. Imperialism is going to try to seek conciliation with the Soviet bureaucracy, to contain the process of the Arab masses, to expropriate it. The Chinese accuse the Soviets of not helping the Arab countries, but the Soviet bureaucracy has intervened given arms and will give arms now. The Arab masses do not see the Soviet bureaucracy as treacherous, but as conciliatory and try to attract it to their side against Imperialism. For this reason the revolutionary nationalist bourgeoisie leaderships went to Moscow and not to Peking. The attitude of not intervening directly by the Soviet bureaucracy was through fear of impelling the revolution. It fears that it would be bypassed by the masses, and the masses in spite of being militarily defeated feel that they are not destroyed and are reanimated to intervene again in this phase.

The importance of the intervention of Algeria is immense. Algeria has incorporated itself in the revolution. Boummédienne wished to isolate it, the forces of the revolution impelled him, because the Algerian masses will not retreat. The federation of the Algerian Trade Unions the U.G.T.A., has just resolved calling upon the government for the nationalisation of foreign trade and the nationalisation of the principal industries. And the government nationalise the main export, that is of engineering products. All the mineral products were nationalised. This has an immense importance.

The Algerian, Syrian, Egyptian trade unions must appeal to the masses of Saudi Arabia and of Jordan to expropriate the land and the oil wells and to organise themselves to overthrow these monarchies and all the feudal leaders. But the nationalisation of land in the Middle East will never be done without the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses. It is on the

no peaceful ways nor peaceful co-existence, nor the possibility of an agreement between the masses who wish to advance, and Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy. On a world scale the contradictions of the Soviet bureaucracy with Imperialism are going to increase not diminish. The next stages will see a powerful advance of the revolution.

The political revolution in China isolated from the world revolution means the revolutionary forces of China have no point of world support. It is necessary to unite them appealing to the Chinese masses to support this revolutionary process. This is also the way to combat and defeat the conservative tendencies within China. This is the appeal which the IV International makes to the revolutionary Chinese leadership, to the Guevarist revolutionary tendency in Cuba to the revolutionary sector of Fidel Castro, which advances towards the revolution to unite itself with the Trotskyists, and an appeal to the masses of the Soviet Union to re-establish Soviets to demand unconditional support for the Arab and world revolution, to the masses of the communist parties, so that the leadership support unconditionally the Arab revolution without expecting that its leaders will move, to mobilise themselves independently of their leadership and to break with them to demand the re-establishment of Soviets within the Soviet Union, to eliminate the bureaucracy of the Kosygin and the Bresnev and all the other bureaucrats in the Workers States. An appeal is necessary for proletarian democracy and soviets, and this is not in the abstract but to support the struggle for the programme, out with Imperialism throughout the world! Eliminate it socially, politically and militarily now. This is the world situation which is going to dominate in the next stages.

land that the support of Imperialism depends. It is not petroleum. Those who have the oil Feisal etc. are based on the Sheiks, above all on the army which together with the Church is the trinity on which Capitalism bases itself. The expropriation of the land would leave them in the air and Imperialism would lose its social bases to defend the oil wells.

In the Yemen there is a confrontation between Egypt and Saudi Arabia because they represent distinct interests. They are feudal interests on the part of Saudi Arabia, and progressive and nationalising tendencies on the part of Egypt. It is necessary to incorporate the peasants of Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Jordan calling upon them to seize the land, to expropriate the oil wells, the landed properties, to push aside every religious problem and to go forward with social conquests. The attitude of Nasser can be conciliatory because he fears to confront them directly. He does not mobilise the masses, while the masses are ready to go much farther. The revolutionary tendencies, in Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Algeria must base themselves on these conclusions to unify the struggles of the Arab masses and to overthrow the feudal regimes of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait.

The nationalist revolutionary bourgeois leadership of the Arab countries Boummédienne, Nasser although attacking Imperialism do not appeal to the masses to mobilise themselves. It maintains a movement of opposition to Imperialism at the summit hoping to negotiate. They exert pressure on Imperialism by means of economic threats. Without mobilising the masses he fears to mobilise them and does not use their strength. The growth of the revolution is against the conciliatory tendencies of the revolutionary nationalist bourgeoisie of Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Even these nationalist revolutionary leaderships if they wish to advance to expropriate Imperialist properties cannot do so without great mobilisations of the masses, because Imperialism will use all its strength including a new war to try to impede the nationalisation of petroleum. Imperialism has not abandoned the perspective as in Cuba or Vietnam to smashing the Arab revolution. Now it is contained by the Arab masses and by the

Soviet bureaucracy, but tomorrow it will try to invade again.

It is necessary to lean on the centres which have orientated all these mobilisations of the Arab masses, in the name of the working class of the exploited sectors, the trade unions in Syria. The proletariat, peasants, the students, the soldiers, must organise themselves in an independent form from the government and the party of the government. It must make a united front with the revolutionary nationalist tendency of the army or the civilians, to make a front against Imperialism and to have an objective not the smashing of Israel but the expulsion of Imperialism, to overthrow Capitalism which is the way to resolve the problem of Israel. And at the same time it is necessary to call upon the Israeli masses to submit themselves to this movement incorporating themselves with the right to self determination in the Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Middle East.

The problem of Israel will resolve itself with the socialist revolution in the Middle East. The advance of the permanent revolution will show it. This concentrated and centralised process develops in an unequal and combined way. The masses of Syria advancing from feudalism have already posed workers militias, nationalisations and advanced on the same path. It is they who will show to the rest of the Middle East the outline and the norms to follow. The masses have shown themselves unified in the struggle against Imperialism and have seen that the problem of Arab unification may be done on the basis of social solutions, historic and revolutionary solutions, that is to say of measures against Imperialism, against Capitalism, by socialist measures.

The future of the revolutionary world workers movement is structurally united to the development of the revolution as it is given at this stage. And it is for this reason that the Trotskyist movement must function and develop supporting these movements at the same time that it is at the head of the mobilisation to orientate politically and organisationally, to help the masses to find the road which allows them at this stage to smash Imperialism.

**One of the essential slogans to develop and unroll the independent action, the independent action of the exploited masses in the Middle East, is the Workers Party based on the trade unions. Accompanied by the transitional demands for wage increases, trade union rights, independent organisation of the class, sliding scale of wages, proletarian democracy and soviets. And at the same time to incorporate workers control, over all the expropriated oil wells, and refineries. To organise the worker and peasant militia. This is united to the independent trade union programme, freedom for the press, words, ideas, organisations, freedom for all the trade union militants, workers arrested, anti-Imperialist revolutionaries; and the appeal for the mass communist international based on the programme to smash Imperialism now throughout the world.**

For this reason it is important for the first time in history that the Arab governments unite to demand of the Soviet bureaucracy explanations and more help, but at the same time for the first time in history, let them form a united front and the masses will see a united front that is made under the slogan of death to Imperialism. They will give it their precise and correct significance. For the revolutionary nationalist bourgeoisie even with socialist tendencies this slogan is directed to try to conciliate, to seek to exert pressure on Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy to make more concessions; for the masses it is a slogan of war and of the social revolution. And the masses will take this slogan. For this reason it is necessary to force in the short stage a much more powerful and dynamic development of the permanent socialist revolution in the Middle East.

J. POSADAS

11. 6. 67

LONG LIVE  
THE WORKERS  
MILITIAS OF  
SYRIA

## In their struggle against rationalisation the Vauxhall workers must appeal to all the working class for support

A new upsurge in the class struggle is being prepared at the Vauxhall works in Luton. Already the workers have shown by strike action their rejection of the miserable two year agreement (which would actually mean a cut in wages for some workers) cooked up by the union officials and the Vauxhall management. Also the management have rejected an interim £2 a week rise, which the union officials have put forward to try to control the pressure from the workers in spite of the fact that the officials have warned that if it is rejected they will not be able to control the situation. Discussions over the wage agreement are continuing, but after the August holiday there will almost certainly be a violent collision between the two irreconcilable positions. At Vauxhall in preparation for the coming

### OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

struggles there is a process of selection and formation of a new shop stewards leadership; the conservative stewards are resigning and their place being taken by militants. The Vauxhall workers are in the vanguard of the struggle in this country; the demands of their shop stewards for a 35 hour week (30 on nights), 15/- an hour minimum wage, 4 weeks holiday and for the track speed to be pegged at 35 cars an hour, shows the confidence of the workers and lays the basis for a programme for the whole of the car industry. The pegging of the rate of car production is especially significant for it is a demand for workers control over the speed of production.

Throughout the car industry both in this country and abroad there is a process of rationalisation going on, with the bosses attempting to lower the costs of production by automation, smaller work forces, and an increase in the rate of exploitation of the workers. Thus in Vauxhall over the last 10 years the workers wages have remained static or even fallen, while the number of cars coming off the assembly lines each hour has doubled, and it is similar with other manufacturers. In the present situation of a saturated world market, and an internal market which has contracted because of the measures of the Labour government to cut the consumption of the masses, the pressure on the Capitalists to ruthlessly rationalise becomes even more imperative. Rootes, Standard Triumph, and BMC at Abington, have announced short time working, and also some sackings have already taken place at several Rootes factories. The situation this coming winter in the British car industry will certainly become worse, and experience is that the Trade Union bureaucrats will do nothing to safeguard the jobs of the car workers. Last year BMC were able to sack 12000 men partly because of the passivity of the Trade Union bureaucrats, and partly because of the weakness of the BMC unofficial committee, led by such people as Ethridge of the Communist Party. This shows the necessity to strengthen the unofficial committees, give them a real democratic life, an aggressive programme (using the Vauxhall workers proposals as a basis for this), and link them up from car factory to car factory at first and then to other industries.

We are entering a period of intensified class struggle. British Capitalism cannot allow any return to the old 'free for all' over wage increases; this is something that is gone forever. British Imperialism as a part of the world Imperialist and Capitalist alliance led by US Imperialism, devotes the major part of its resources to the preparation of the nuclear war against the masses and the Workers States. Everything is devoted to this end, and if as a result, health, education, housing and the living standards of the masses suffer, this is of no concern to Capitalism or the Labour leaders, who are its principal props at this stage. This does not mean that the workers will not be able to win any more wage increases, but it does mean that the struggle must be conducted at a higher level, with aggressive class measures such as factory occupations, an anti-Capitalist programme, and a leadership based on the unofficial committees and organised nationally. In the coming struggles Vauxhall workers must not allow themselves to be isolated within that factory, because this, even with factory occupations, could mean defeat. They must link up with other factories, and must appeal for support by strike action, from other car factories and other sectors of industry.

British Capitalism is not strong, it only continues to survive because it is propped up by the Soviet bureaucracy, the CP, and the Labour and Trade Union leaders. In Hong Kong and Aden the masses are striking, in the face of all the terrorism of British Imperialism, and the workers of this country must gain confidence from this, basing their confidence

## The only way to fight unemployment and rationalisation is by a National Campaign of factory occupations, workers control imposed by the unofficial committees

The Labour government assisted directly or passively by the putrefaction of the Trade Union leadership have taken full advantage of the absence of a genuine workers leadership. They have gone over to the offensive and delivered one blow after the other which has met little serious reply from the workers movement. They have perpetrated massacres in Aden, helped to provoke the Israeli attack on the Arab states and recognised the Greek military coup and the workers organisations have been totally paralysed by these events. The tenacious, utterly corrupt Trade Union leadership has collaborated at every turn with the government. Cousins reiterates his criticisms of the policy of the government but has made no campaign even for the mean £15 minimum wage which he has raised as an ideal and even now affirms the ridiculous policy of increasing productivity—an ideal way of collaborating with the employers.

The government taking full advantage of this situation continues the policy of running down the pits. From a level of about 170 million tons a year it is now estimated that production be down by 140 millions in 1970.

The NUM has moaned and done precisely nothing. No threats of militant action, no appeals to other industries. The scoundrel "communist" Paynter has actually had the effrontery to attack the miners for absenteeism. The fuel and power policy of the government is not dictated by the idea of cutting costs for the "national benefit", although natural gas and the installation of nuclear reactors might provide eventually lower costs. What dictates the policy of the government is the convenience for new private exploitation of North Sea Gas and the profits for private industry from the costs of nuclear reactors, and the overall interests of Capitalist industry. It is a reckless policy dictated by the interests of Capitalist industry and Capitalist planning. To run down the coal industry in the manner proposed is to cause unemployment and the wastage of production assets. There are no proposals for re-training or the establishment of new industries. A policy as reckless as this can only be answered by appeals to the miners and other workers for militant actions, such as occupations, the imposition of workers control etc. The line of the NUM is to advise the government to have a more generous policy—ie to extend preferences for solid fuel. Public ownership of coal distribution is about the strongest proposals that they make.

The treacherous line of the NUR leadership in relation to the strike of the Stratford Terminal strikers is entirely in keeping with the attitude of the NUM—a policy of class collaboration sustained in practice by the Communist Party. They have connived yet again at what amounts to dismissal of workers and at investment by a nationalised industry in a modern rail terminal promptly farmed out to private enterprise. Similarly in the docks it is now admitted that with the new policy of decasualisation and the resultant use of more modern machinery, about 3000 workers will become redundant over the next three years. And

on the fact that Imperialism is weak, and the whole world situation is going against it. The Vauxhall workers are acting as a vanguard of the struggle in this country, and they must act with the consciousness that they are playing this role; they must appeal for support to other sectors, and they must take the initiative in calling for the organisation throughout the car industry of a joint show stewards committee with an anti-Capitalist programme.

the TGWU has waged no struggle. What is absurd is that all the struggles of these workers are fought out in a completely atomised manner. All the struggles that have been waged have been the consequence of the workers own organisation and until the various workers coordinate their efforts, the pattern of piecemeal defeats may easily continue.

Crisis is developing in the car industry, the same process of rationalisation and dismissals is at work and to meet the offensive of Capitalism, to wrest the initiative from Capitalism demands the unification of the various unofficial committees in all the various industries. They must develop their own publications, hold conferences and implement a full anti-Capitalist programme.

The contradiction between the necessities of the workers and the reactionary attitudes of the leadership is particularly poignant in Great Britain. At the Conference of the Engineering Union for example demands for great increases in wages, and paid holidays were put forward and even passed entirely against the line of the union bosses, who nevertheless obstruct a fighting policy. Stewart the sustainer of the vicious policy of the monopolies actually says that public ownership should be extended and the workers should participate in the running of their industries. We know that such remarks are part of the great bluff but that such a minister makes this statement is a sign of the pressure of the masses, however obstructed this may be.

There is only one way to meet the Capitalist policy of rationalisation and unemployment, and that is the preparation of a national policy of factory occupations, imposition of workers control so that no worker is dismissed, no factory closed. And this means the development of a national shop stewards movement uniting all the various industries to plan such campaigns nationally, outflanking the Trade Union bosses with their passive and defensive posture. This must be the object of a national organisation of shop stewards. In the Argentine, a few years ago, a whole series of factory occupations was carried out, involving over a million workers. This must be the objective in Great Britain, as a step on the way to workers power, the only way to develop a Socialist planning of fuel consumption, transport etc.

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# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



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SIXPENCE

# Communication from the meetings of the International Secretariat of the IV International

J. POSADAS July 1967

During the months of May and June the enlarged International Secretariat of the IV International met. It dealt with a series of problems relating to the World Congress, to the application of the resolutions of the VIII World Congress, the evolution of the World situation, the Sino-Soviet crisis, the activity and the situation of certain sections, the Latin-American Marxist Review, the situation of the imprisoned comrades of Mexico. After the World Congress, the International Secretariat held meetings, particularly with the European Sections, considering the problems of the sections, in which, among other things the application of the resolution of the VIII World Congress to constitute the Greek Section was resolved. They were really small congresses in which problems were dealt with, with the same profundity, pre-occupation, and dedication in the discussion with the sections, as in the Congress. There were discussions with the Spanish, Italian, and Belgian sections, and on the most important problems of Bolivia, Uruguay, Peru, Brasil, and France, in which resolutions and articles of Comrade Posadas were approved about these problems, among them the letter directed to the Greek Section about the most important problems for the construction of the section. The fundamental problems of the activity and tactics of the sections were discussed; among them the fundamental problem of the application of the tactic resolved by the World Congress, on the crisis of the communist and socialist parties, the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy, the crisis in Cuba and in China and the tactic for the development of revolutionary tendencies. The article of comrade Posadas about Italy is the synthesis of these conclusions.(1)

In this stage the fundamental, essential task, as it was resolved by the VIII World Congress is the constitution of currents and tendencies which work as a leadership, without proclaiming themselves new parties or constituting new parties; to work as a leadership, particularly in Italy, France, Belgium, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Mexico. To function as a leadership organising strikes, occupations of factories, demonstrations, meetings, making appeals in the name of the United Front with the revolutionary programme, which responds to the necessities, to the will to struggle of the masses, in which they feel that there is a direct answer which they can make without breaking the unity, the centralisation of the class. It is still not the moment for the slogan of new communist parties in every part of the world, but it is the moment for the organisation of the United Front, because in this stage a series of tendencies, which emerge in the communist and socialist parties, are indicating that they are feeling the stimulus, the influence of the world revolution, they are feeling the influence of the struggles of the masses in each country, they are disposed to work as a leadership, without breaking with the leaderships of the communist and socialist parties. And others break, but immediately disintegrate.

There is a series of groups and tendencies which emerge from all sides in the Communist, socialist parties, in an independent way, nationalist movements, new people. The immense majority of new people who are incorporated in the trade union activity and disposed towards a revolutionary programme and struggle, do not accept the tradition, the conservative, conciliatory policy of the communist parties, and even when they join the Communist Party they bring an enormous will to struggle which is directly influenced by the revolution. Because of this it is necessary to base oneself on all the young elements who are the ones who bring the combative will, the direct influence of the world revolution, the old layers of the proletariat, even though revolutionary and showing an immense will to struggle, continue to be more devoted to the organisations and have more difficulty in overcoming the subjection to the discipline of the Communist Party. While the young layers, even feeling the need to centralise themselves, seek the communist parties, particularly, and the Socialist Party, and are attracted to the trade union field; and in the communist parties are at the head of the organisation of oppositional tendencies. These, linked to the old layers of the communist and socialist parties, particularly in Italy, in part in France and Britain, are the bases for the next revolutionary tendencies which will attract the masses. This is the fundamental task which it is necessary to apply. Because of this the discussions held after the VIII World Congress with the comrades of some European sections have a very great importance, and in this same sense, basing ourselves on these same conditions, we have resolved the constitution of the Greek Section and the constitution of new sections.

The development of the International acquires an immense importance. All the time it is influencing and acquiring a more extensive and greater authority. In the TriContinental meeting in Havana of 1966, Fidel Castro attacked the Trotskyists as being "Pests," and "Counter-revolutionaries" and particularly the International Secretariat, Posadas,

and also Gilly. In this year they have once again transmitted this speech by Radio Havana but have excluded the attacks against Trotskyism, the mentions

1) The actual phase of the disintegration of the PCI, PSIUP, PSI, the preparation and the tasks for the construction of the revolutionary leadership in Italy.

against Posadas and against Gilly and also eliminated the reference that the programme of the IV International was "pestilential". It indicates an immense authority of the IV International.

The enlarged International Secretariat, as the VIII World Congress of the IV International, salutes with emotion and with great affection and fraternity the comrades of the Cuban Section, who are continuing to publish documents. These documents are within the line, the objectives of the Political Revolution for Cuba. They are these appeals which the comrades make to the Cuban leadership to discuss: United Front with the Chinese, United Front of all the revolutionary tendencies, to push forward the Cuban Workers State and to support the world revolution, to establish the United World Front, the Mass Communist International and finish with what remains of Capitalism. It is a brave and vigorous activity of our comrades who are expressing the development and the rise of the Political Revolution in Cuba. One of the aspects is the elimination of the attacks on Trotskyism in the new publication of the speech of Fidel Castro at the Tri-Con-

tinental Conference in Havana in 1966.

The International Secretariat approved the documents of Comrade Posadas on the crisis in the Middle East, the Sino-Soviet crisis, the crisis in Cuba and approved other documents to publish on the later consequences of the crisis in the Middle East. Among them the growth of the crisis in Cuba; the interior struggle; the elimination of Raul Castro; the appearance of Juan Almeida giving the speech of the 1st of May which was fairly leftist; the attack of Fidel Castro and the Cuban Communist Party, particularly the Cuban Communist Party more than Fidel Castro against the Communist Parties. This accentuation of the attacks is going to reach a split later. There is not a split at the moment, and the proof is that Arismendi of the Uruguayan Communist Party was in Cuba to try to maintain among them certain links in order to avoid and not create direct ruptures, because this will cause great difficulties within the communist parties. But neither does Fidel Castro want to maintain, sustain or pursue in depth, to the consequences which are necessary, the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

## EDITORIAL

### Unify the struggle at Vauxhall, Roberts-Arundel, and in the docks on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme

The actions of the labour government have a touch of madness about them. Recent local and bye-elections show that the Labour Party is rapidly losing its base, sectors of the workers and the poorer petit bourgeois are not voting for it. And yet the government continues to attack the standard of living of the masses by wage freeze, reducing the social services, rising prices and higher unemployment. However, this madness reflects the profound crisis of world Capitalism. The preparations for the coming war against the Workers States and the world masses is a drain on the material resources of Capitalism. The government is forced by these pressures to attack the living standards of the workers. The labour government as the agent of Capitalism has no other perspective but the counter revolutionary war, for them there is nothing else. These agents of Capitalism, the labour government and their Trade Union bureaucrat allies have no security in the future of Capitalism and it is impossible for them to maintain any base of support among the masses by making concessions, they have no perspective, they have no future!

The same process can be seen in France where the government of De Gaulle is ruling by decree having practically dispensed with bourgeois parliamentary democracy. In France the cost of living has, in the last few months, risen by 35%, and the French government is cutting social benefits. The tariff of fares on the Paris metro (underground), which is an essential means of transport for the masses of Paris, was increased by nearly 100% in July. In this country the cost of living has risen sharply and, for example, in Newcastle the bus fares have been increased by 100%. The French workers answered the attacks of the De Gaulle government by forcing their Trade Union leadership into action and holding a 24-hour general strike which gained the support of sectors of the petit bourgeois, students and peasants. Workers in many industries have occupied factories in their

struggle against Capitalist exploitation.

The political, social and economic crisis of British Capitalism continues to develop, to become more profound and this crisis is reflected in the recent reshuffle of the labour government. The new ministers are not going to produce any new ideas to solve the problems of Capitalism, because no solution exists except from the power of the masses and the building of Socialism. The desperation of the labour government reveals itself in the fact that Wilson has taken over the economic department of the government, a stupid, empty gesture, which only serves to emphasise the impotence of the leading government team. The attempts to rationalise Capitalism and to solve its inherent contradictions at the expense of the masses continues without pause. The rise in the price of electricity—which

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# Communication from the meetings of

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

differentiation and rupture with the communist parties. Because of this his criticisms of the Communist Party do not lead to a real split. They stay where they are without appealing for a break with the communist parties and without calling to replace them. In every way it is an advance of the centrism of Fidel Castro, of centrism towards the left and will make possible later, a new impulse towards the left.

The International Secretariat salutes with complete fraternity the Comrades of

In China the apparent state of cessation of the public struggle is continued by internal struggles which are preparing great public explosions. Once the high level of the communes and workers councils has been reached, it cannot be followed by this tranquillity. It is because the tendency which wants to carry on this struggle, finds that it does not have a point of support, doesn't have the party, doesn't know how to make it and finds that it must combine the internal struggle with the accentuation of the world crisis leading to the revolution and it doesn't have a policy for this; it is this which paralyses the struggle. In the next stage there will be a sharpening of the struggle, but also a development of the left tendencies. The repeated attacks on the Trotskyists or the currents moving towards Trotskyism and an increase in the pressure towards revolutionary positions are symptoms of this process and because of this they polemicise with the Trotskyists and constantly bring out the name of the Trotskyists in a polemical way.

In China, there is not a soviet intervention, or soviet life; it is a controlled intervention. They don't discuss freely, the masses do not discuss all which they want to and believe. They are controlled and limited. But there is a very great progress of the political revolution in China. It is the country where the intervention of the masses is most advanced, which does not mean that they are not controlled and limited, above all by the agreements and the conciliation between the left and the centre, and because the revolutionary tendency is still not appearing clearly, the revolutionary tendency which perhaps, is that of Kang Sheng; but really we don't know who it is because there is no programme. But from October of the past year with the 16 points of the Central Committee there already exists the bases for a programme, among them the appeal to the Paris Commune. It is the beginning of a programme to which they inevitably must turn.

The absence of a revolutionary leadership in China which was previously prepared to discuss and dominate all these problems is clearly seen. In China and all the other Workers States the lack of a theoretical team, which has assimilated the experiences of the Russian Revolution, which knows, which has read, which has applied the experiences of the Russian Revolution, is verified. They do not discuss such fundamental things as the Soviets, the extension of the Commune, which the Chinese have applied, but neglecting soviet functioning; the functioning of proletarian democracy with the freedom of creation for the masses; the control of the masses on their own state; the independence of the trade unions and at the same time the appeal to the united front and to the mass Communist International. All these problems which permitted the first Soviet State to survive 7 years isolated from the world, of which 4 years were of imperialist encirclement, has shown the historic force of these principles.

The International Secretariat discussed the aspects and the information sent by the European Bureau about the development of the objective conditions in Syria; about the degree of nationalisations, distribution of the land, monopoly of foreign trade, and the participation of the militias. We believe that if the information which they have sent us turns out to be true, Syria is a Workers State and as we have exposed in the VIII World Congress the International will qualify Syria as a Workers State. We believe that it is a powerful step forward. The documents of Cde. Posadas on the Middle East, already concretely qualify all these events in Syria. The International Secretariat adopted all these articles and they are a part of the resolutions of the International to characterise the struggles of the Middle East, the consequences and the concentration—in the struggles in the Middle East—of all those tendencies which are intervening in history in this stage of humanity: imperialism and capitalism, the bureaucracy of the Workers States, the masses, the peasants, the revolutionary forces in development, which in the Middle East are pushing forward the socialist revolution, the workers militias, the direct initiative and intervention of the masses, as in Egypt, in Syria and in Iraq. We believe that after these events, Nasser is obliged to lean more in his bonapartist role towards the left, confirmed by the last events which we have witnessed.

We reiterate our judgement concerning the sailing of the Soviet fleet for the Mediterranean; that it is an index that within the Soviet Union there are tendencies who want to confront Imperialism with a hard policy and even taking the

We reiterate that the enlarged International Secretariat adopted as its own the articles of Cde Posadas as the positions of the International on a world scale.

After the events in the Middle East it is indubitable that great leaps forward are being prepared in Syria, among them the development of a Trotskyist tendency. Khaled Djundi, secretary of the Federation of Syrian trade unions analysed the situation in Syria after the war with Israel identically with how we analysed it. Their declarations are Trotskyist, in form, in content, in the objectives, in the decision, and in the method of organisation, and of fight which they favour. This comrade had organised 350,000 militia men, who are the essential basis of support of Syria, who were the ones who prevented the Imperialist army of Israel entering Syria and taking

the Cuban Section, hoping to establish contact and discuss personally with the comrades. We send them constantly documents, letters, but they receive them in a very limited way because the immense majority of the publications don't reach them. We continually speak by telephone to the comrades; we establish good relations and maintain relations with the comrades at frequent intervals, even though it be by telephone and with the limitations which speaking on the telephone signifies in regard to what one can say over the telephone.

Damascus. All the population mobilised, house by house, street by street, Syria was defended by the militia, armed with all types of weapons. If the army of Israel had entered it would have been defeated by the masses and moreover would have transported the civil war into Israel. The exploited masses of Israel would have felt that it was not trying to defend the Holy Land, but was invading Syria defended by the militia, which defended the nationalisation of property, the land, foreign trade. It was defended by the militia men independent of the army.

The most fundamental slogans which are developing in all the world are the slogans of the International, are the positions and objectives of the International: workers militias instead of armies. Workers control, nationalisations, armed defence of the nationalisations, monopoly of foreign trade, expropriation by force without compensation, defended by workers control and militias; the organisation of guerrillas must be to serve the struggle for power which is developing in the cities. There where the guerrillas have a possibility to develop or to initiate or begin the revolutionary movement they must serve as a point of support, a base for the organised development of the masses for the struggle for the Workers and Peasants government to overthrow Capitalism and install a Workers and Peasants government. The struggle which develops in the big cities is going to attract the peasant masses. Even if the struggles begin in the country-side they must develop towards the organisation of the party, under the programme of the proletarian revolution in order to defeat Capitalism and install the Workers and Peasants government. In all the world this conception, this programme and these objectives develop, as Trotskyism develops on a world scale. There is an objective fusion between the objective will of the masses of the world and the IV International.

This comrade Khaled Djundi has our own comprehension. He speaks and makes references to the fact that the Arabs have been defeated militarily by Israel because they played badly, believing that it was a classical war, when they did not see that it was a popular, social war. In consequence now they are preparing for this type of war, that is to say, the Civil War. They are preparing, not to fight against Israel for the problems of the Holy Land or religion, but for the civil social war, for the problems of the fight against Capitalism and for the setting up of the Workers and Peasants government to construct Socialism. He also refers to the need to appeal to all the population, to the need for all the population to intervene, to change the programme and objectives with which they confronted Israel, and make a programme and give objectives which mobilise all the population. This is our conclusion. He poses that the world is divided into two camps, and that it is necessary to choose one or the other, and he declares that Syria is in the camp of the Socialist Revolution.

The struggles in Syria and Egypt show the stimulus, the initiative of the masses which obliged Nasser to make a defence, to withdraw his resignation and to liquidate the military who came from the previous monarchical structure and the representatives of the church, who are the bases of Capitalist power in Egypt. The programme which Khaled Djundi exposes is a Trotskyist programme, it has an immense importance. It is the same in Bolivia. The Bolivian masses are defending the nationalised mines and are taking up arms against the government, are defeating it and forcing the government to maintain the nationalised mines. It is a Trotskyist programme arms in hand! All the struggles in the world are developing in agreement with the scale foreseen by Trotskyism. While the capitalists, Pablo, Germain and Co., run desperately after conciliation and tremble before the possibility of the final settlement of accounts, we are guided by this conception; for the world development of the permanent revolution and the development of Trotskyism based on this conception.

Groups, tendencies, nationalist movements, revolutionary movements and groups, are directed by the International. Thus the International shows itself with an immense ability of authority, of defusion and of organic weight. The nationalist movements are already moving directly towards the International. Nationalist movements which combine still nationalist positions, which are bourgeois in form, with socialist revolutionary conclusions, in agreement with Trotskyism. The documents of Cde. Posadas "From Nationalism to Workers State" is confirmed fully once more with the example of this movement of Syria. The development of the world revolution, the concentration and centralisation, the unequal and combined process of the world revolution allows the increase and development of the authority and the force, the organic capacity of the International. It is because of this that it is necessary to see that Syria is not an accidental or casual thing but is an aspect of a process that is going to accentuate. Entire movements will come as organisms to the IV International, will come in an organic form. This shows the need to maintain the publications and the activities of the International at a very elevated rhythm and dynamism, to maintain the activity of the International without ceasing, constantly increasing its capacity for action and its publications and activity in each country. The little group of the IV International fulfils a function infinitely superior to its material capacity and force, because the process is mature and allows it to attract organisms, currents and tendencies which are impelled by the world revolution of which the IV International forms a part.

The International must follow attentively the evolution of a series of countries of Africa and Asia which are in development towards Workers States as Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Mali, Guinea, Congo Brazzaville, etc., to determine when these countries pass to be Workers States. It is necessary to pose in these countries a programme which co-ordinates and combines the problems of production with the problems of proletarian democracy, of salaries, of wage differentials, of production and at the same time the pro-

gramme of integration into the world struggle to overthrow Capitalism basing oneself on the functioning of the revolution on a world scale.

It is necessary to consider, trade union democracy in a socialist way even without the nationalisations reaching a socialist level; it is necessary to function in a socialist way, not considering the scientific objective sense of the term Workers State, but to function now as if it was a Workers State. Demanding workers control, participation of the masses, the workers militias, trade union democracy, the elimination of the bureaucracy, and the struggle must be accompanied by democratic functioning and the programme of economic development, posing the problem of African unification, a pan-African process, with self-determination on the problems of languages and cultures, the pan-African union based on the Socialist Soviet Federation of Africa. It will have an immense importance to extend itself towards the exterior on this basis. To appeal for a united front in order to discuss the problem of trade union democracy, revolutionary fraternity. It is necessary to consider that an immense number of revolutionaries are going to emerge in this zone, with an immense spirit, will and sentiment, but without any marxist formation. The Soviet bureaucracy has deformed the marxist conception, has carried on a degenerated application and has not permitted a conscious application of marxism. Because of this all those cadres who want to develop themselves with revolutionary will, but who don't find that marxist way, express themselves in an insufficient way. They are groups who are emerging without formation but who are rapidly assimilated. Thus it is necessary to expect from all these countries that the IV International is rapidly going to encounter an immense reception, because there are natural tendencies already in the masses to acquire marxism, to act in a marxist way, because already they have learnt from the world experience of the revolution, and from the world pressure of the masses of the world, above all the political revolution in China has given them an immense stimulus, which they are learning and using very well.

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# the enlarged International Secretariat

The enlarged International Secretariat discussed the need for the European sections to produce communications referring to the activity of the groups of Maitan, Pierre Frank, Germain, Pablo etc. These groups are carrying on a sinister, rotten activity, a counter-revolutionary activity directly aimed at injuring the functioning of the International. They are once again paying money to make trips to Europe and Latin America, with their agents, with the sole aim of finding allies, of finding people disposed to speak, write, or make conferences against the International to impede the development of the International. Objectively this is not the product of a struggle of tendencies, of a struggle of groups but they are impelled by hatred towards our movement, impelled by nothing more than the mediocrity and impotence of these groups who feel themselves overcome and swept aside by the development of the revolution and are motivated by hatred and function with individualist pretensions basing themselves on their personal individualist sentiments and ill will, and not through a class attitude against Capitalism. They try to throw all their forces against ours, to try to impede our development. This is in the service and to the direct benefit of world Capitalism, of the Soviet bureaucracy, of the conservative wing of the Chinese and of all the currents there are which oppose the revolution.

It is necessary to make clear declarations against these people. To show that they have nothing in Latin America. They must show where they have a paper and a leadership, where it writes and leads. All the papers which they speak about and which are theirs, never speak in the name of the IVth International, nor of Trotskyism, nor function as an organisation of the IVth International. And their positions are not those of the IVth International, they are positions simply of opposition to the boss, they are not groups directed at functioning to overthrow Capitalism, to organise the policy of this stage, preparing themselves for the atomic war. For example, they present themselves in the Argentine as if they had a section, as if only their group existed. One must declare and make an analysis of the force of the international in Argentina, show that in 1958 the Argentine Section gained 11,000 votes; in 1960 it drew 52,000; 28,000 in the province of Buenos Aires alone; 9,000 Cordoba; 9,000 Rosario; 9,000 in Santa Fe. In 1962, it drew in a single province in Buenos Aires 11,000 votes, but these votes were equivalent to much more than the 28,000 votes won in 1960, because the Peronist workers presented themselves in these elections and won 1,800,000 votes, which was an avalanche. It means that they were Trotskyist votes. Moreno, who they say, is the leader of their group presented himself in these elections and won 400 votes. This group of Moreno, who they say is a section of the capitulators, does not speak in the name of Trotskyism nor of the IV International, nor does he have anything to do with Trotskyism, nor does he analyse in the name of Trotskyism of the programme of the IVth International and the struggle for Trotskyism. He has a trade union paper which constantly comes and goes. Moreno is far from the IVth International. Not only was he expelled, but he went on his own account and took the Peronist road. For years he published a paper in the name of Peronism, actually calling himself the workers party, but it does not have any importance, for there are tens of parties which call themselves workers parties, and this means absolutely nothing; he does not have anything to do with the IVth International, he doesn't represent it nor is close to it.

One must publish that in Peru there is no organisation of the IVth. apart from the Peruvian Section of the IVth International which is what they call the Posadas group, and which brings out its regular paper 'Vox Obrera', the address of which they can write to because it is published in all the papers of the International. On the other hand we invite them to show their publication, what is it? what programme? what struggle? where does it exist? There is not one, it does not exist. It is the same in Bolivia. The paper 'Masas' which they say is theirs, does not speak in the name of the IVth International, has left out every symbol, name, representation and denomination of the IVth International. It is a trade union patriotic Bolivian group, it is not of the IVth International. It is the same in Mexico. All this campaign they are making in favour of Hugo Blanco is a sham. But it does not have much importance to bother about, it is simply necessary to direct notes, in

order to record that their activity is aimed at deceiving, but moreover at the same time it is necessary to discuss what their policy is in each country, for example in France. To show that their policy in France corresponds to the policy of conciliation, centrism, which seeks to feed itself from the state of opposition which exists in France. It is the same in Italy and in Belgium.

We salute with great enthusiasm the decision of the comrades of the Greek Section to publish their paper in print. The ex-Trotskyists Pablo, Germain, Frank, Maitan, working in a separated way have united in their intentions and objectives of impeding the constitution of the Greek Section. They have manoeuvred sending an individual to Belgium to impede the publication of the paper, offering to publish a united front paper of all the 'Trotskyists'. It is once more the counter-revolutionary united world front against the Trotskyists.

The immense progress of the activity of the Mexican section, the regularisation of its paper, its firmness in bringing out a good regular publication, was discussed and saluted. The meeting in part rejected the letter of the Mexican comrades about the Middle East in which they have exaggerated the level of this process and the meeting did the same with the 'letter of Guevara'. On this aspect, we are going to make precise our judgement on the 'letter of Guevara', which will appear in a political resolution of the 8th. World Congress and in articles.

The letter attributed to Guevara is written by a combination of tendencies, leftists, Guevarists, and part of the team of Fidel Castro, centrists, who have to combine the need to expound the programme of struggle against Imperialism, the need for proletarian internationalism much more advanced than at other times, the generally correct affirmation of appeal to struggle today to expell Imperialism from Vietnam, to appeal to take power in all parts; the criticism of the communist parties, the differentiation from the communist parties, but also presenting Imperialism as capable of destroying the world. It is an attempt to divert attention, to contain, that they present Imperialism with a power which it does not have in order to terrorise, to minimise the capacity of the leadership. They show Imperialism which kills, assassinates, destroys and they do not pose any programme. It is in order to confront, to make a block against the Guevara/Trotskyist tendency, and to make the centrist leadership of Fidel Castro look as if it was orientating and directing the leadership. Because of this it speaks in a language of the left and does not give any programme, any solution or orientation to the guerrillas, when the guerrillas have shown that they are not a solution. Because of this we say that it is to contain the revolutionary tendency within Cuba, which is what interests them above all. It is the same thing with their attack on the communist parties, they do not oppose any concrete programme. Because of this Fidel Castro uses Debray against us. He was incapable of doing it himself and he sought a puppet to write and oppose us. This Regis Debray will only last for a short time, last shorter than the time necessary to boil water. Because of this they abandon him and don't worry about him because the ideas which they had, no longer serve.

This fellow speaks of the guerrillas, that the city perverts people and that it is necessary to go to the country, and he went to make the guerrilla in Bolivia where the miners show that it is there, in the mines, where the organisation of the struggle against the dictatorship of Barrientos is, and not in the guerrillas which

do not exist, which have no force and whatever does exist is a small nucleus without importance. The guerrillas of Bolivia were invented by Fidel Castro to justify himself after the disappearance of Guevara, this is the whole objective of these "Guerrillas". Everything shows that it is a put up job, a theatre scene. There is nobody who they have shown as guerrillas. Even the government has not produced a corpse of a single guerrilla, nor a concrete action, nothing, its all a joke. When they speak of them occupying villages, they mean there are three fellows who came to buy sugar, and they present them as guerrillas, it is simply a comedy. Because of this we say that the supposed letter of Guevara has come out to contain the independent organisation of the revolutionary tendency in Cuba. And for this they must use this left language. They use left language because an immense pressure to the left exists. They are not stimulating it or organising it. Because of this they have just launched this letter and then stop... nothing more. But on the other hand it is necessary to underline, that what shows the growth of the struggle in Cuba, and the development of the tendency which seeks the development of a revolutionary policy, is that the last combative communiques of the Cuban Communist Party were not signed by Fidel Castro, but by the Central Committee, which indicates a struggle and the development of a tendency which wants an independent revolutionary class policy.

The meetings approved in general the policy which the comrades in Mexico were carrying on and reiterated that our positions are already expressed in the last article of Cde. Posadas on Mexico, 5 months ago. We believe that the development of the Mexican Section, its growth and its intervention in the actual process, is very important.

In Mexico a revolutionary situation exists, but it lacks a centre which organises, generalises the experience, and it lacks the organisms. And it is necessary that the section launches itself into this activity through a common programme which unifies the struggles in all the country, through a simple, straightforward programme for this stage, but which grows in leaps like the centralised, concentrated development, unequal and combined of the march of the world revolution. Big crises are being prepared in Mexico and also great leaps in the crisis. Because of this it is necessary that the party foresees that these great leaps will take place, without expecting a very great organic growth, with a small nucleus disposed to be at the head of great movements, not immediately, but certainly within a short time to intervene with all our decision. It is necessary in consequence, to gain bases in the workers movement and centralise the forces to try to organise and develop a United Front between the workers, students, peasants and soldiers. It is necessary to take into account that the army is a fundamental factor to gain in Mexico, and a very powerful weight, and moreover ripe to be gained by the forces of the revolution. The student movement in Mexico has a very great importance, and it is necessary to maintain the authority and the functioning with it, but to try to impell it so that the student movement develops itself as a centre which intervenes to support, to centralise the struggle of the proletariat towards the Workers and Peasant government. It is necessary that our comrades develop a campaign in the student movement, a tendency for the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions and that the student movement intervenes with all its force for the organisation of this party; showing the limitation of the student movement, which on its own can only achieve very limited and imprecise objectives, that it must direct itself towards the proletariat to support it in the organisation of its party. In the struggle for support to the proletariat it is going to resolve all the problems of the University Student movement, among them the problem of autonomy, of the election of professors, of the revolutionary objectives of the University, and for Worker-Student government of the University. It is not an immediate conquest to reach, but certainly it will be in a short time.

In each movement in Mexico a "Sui Generis" objective United Front of workers, peasants, students, housewives, fathers and sons and even soldiers is established. And the united front is generalised by no matter what point, for whatever motive, they tend to reach a very high level. The events in various states of Mexico show this. These experiences of the masses are going to generalise themselves and are quickly going to reach the necessity of a programme, and this programme must be what respond to the tasks; Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, independent class instrument of the masses. Immediately to fight for this, combined with transitional demands of salaries, hours of work, occupation, security of work, of political, Trade Union and democratic liberty, liberty for all political prisoners, elimination of all reactionary laws which prevent the presentation of the political party of the workers movement, of the revolutionary layer of the proletariat, combined with the expropriations and nationalisations of Capitalist enterprises. Joined with this it is necessary to develop the party to the maximum, developing the cadres by means of schools, conferences, studies of texts, to go forward elevating the capacity, the number and the weight of our cadres. It is necessary to pay great attention to the political preparation of our cadres, but without abandoning, without holding up the incessant and concrete activities which it is necessary to do. It is necessary to combine consequently these activities to effect the development, to organise cadres and intervene. And at the same time to gain tendencies which are only a short time in development. Tendencies which emerge in an independent form, without having been before either socialist, communist or pro-chinese, but which emerge directly from the spontaneous movement and are gained for the revolution.

The World Revolution supports the organisation and the political maturity of the masses and is present in each action, in each occupation of the land, of the factory, of government houses or Universities. The masses of Mexico are expressing how they feel, they are influenced and welcome the influence of the world revolution. It is the world revolution which is preparing tens of militants for us. It is necessary in consequence not to detain ourselves with old groups, the new ones which are forming themselves and are organising will become an immense independent wing which it is necessary to gain. Because the possibility of the Workers and Peasant government is not a far off task in Mexico, but close, very close. We cannot say that it will be in months or years, but certainly in a short time, which is determined in the last instance by the world course of the revolution.

The International salutes the comrades of the Mexican Section for the enormous work they are doing, salutes the immense effort which the Mexican Section is making to maintain and regularise its newspaper, of maintaining contact with the comrades in the prison, of acting in all the country, for finding the means to reanimate the publication of the paper, of making it regular, for realising enlarged meetings, Cadre Schools and conferences, and for elevating once more the Party. In full illegality and clandestinity the Mexican Section continues to bring out its paper regularly and now fortnightly, with complete success and with full distribution. We salute with all our revolutionary sentiments, the Mexican comrades the same to the imprisoned comrades in Mexico.

The International Secretariat came back to discuss the situation of the prisoners and resolved that the Mexican Section occupies itself directly with the imprisoned comrades so that they hasten the presentation of the trial, but that in this presentation of the trial the cdes, base themselves on the document of cde. Posadas adopted by the International; "The judgement of Trotskyism and of the IV International against Capitalism

CONTD. ON PAGE 4

## EDITORIAL

## Unify the struggle at Vauxhall, Roberts-Arundel.....

(Continued from page 1)

could reach as high as 40% for the small consumer—will send the cost of living soaring. At the same time unemployment continues, and will continue, to rise. The government announces plans to close another 35 pits which will mean the loss of 10,000 jobs and there is no possibility of these miners being absorbed into other coalfields. The closing of pits in areas of high unemployment like Durham and Wales is a direct and vicious attack on a sector of workers. The rotten, bureaucratic leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) have supported the process of rationalisation in the industry, and now all they are willing to do is to make hypocritical noises. Paynter, the general secretary of the NUM, in the very recent past was attacking miners for not working hard enough for Capitalism. This bureaucrat Paynter is a true reflection of the rotten counter-revolutionary Communist Party, which fol-

### OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

lows the line of peaceful co-existence all the way from Vietnam to the British coalfields.

But the strength and determination of the anti-Capitalist struggle of the workers has found an expression in the strike at the Roberts Arundel factory. This strike which is now nine months old has been the centre of militant demonstrations by workers in this area of the country. In the last weeks a half-day solidarity strike was called in the area and thousands of workers demonstrated outside the Roberts Arundel factory. It was during the demonstration of September 1st. that workers fought with the police who were protecting the factory, broke windows and attempted to force their way into the factory. This was an empirical attempt to actually occupy the factory and it was a reflection of the workers search for the means of expropriating Capitalism. The factory has become an organising sector in embryo for the whole area.

The period since the seamens strike had been one of reflection by the workers with no spectacular major strike actions. But this period of reflection is over and, as a result, the workers have returned to militant action at an even higher level than before the seamens strike. The seamens strike marked an end of the comparative isolation of the British workers from the world process and the struggle around Roberts Arundel, like the struggle of the workers at Vauxhall, marks an even higher level of struggle. The comparison with the struggle of the workers of France, Italy, Belgium and Spain show us how the process of the anti-Capitalist struggle, on a world scale, is becoming more and more combined. In fact an objective united, anti-Capitalist front of workers in Europe already exists despite the lack of an organic form.

In the absence of a national workers centre in this country the determined struggle of a sector of workers serves to act as a centraliser. This is true of Roberts Arundel and it is true of Vauxhall. In the absence of a national workers centre, it is necessary for these sectors of workers to consciously provide a substitute by calling for wide support from other sectors of the class, by putting forward a full anti-Capitalist programme and by endeavoring to generalise the struggle throughout the country. The workers at Roberts Arundel should prepare to occupy the factory and take it under workers control. At the same time it is necessary to call on workers in all industries to support them in this action. At Vauxhall the demand that all profits from automation should go directly to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours must be raised. The occupation of the factory to impose this demand is essential, and in this way sectors of workers can act as a conscious, organising centre for the mass of British workers.

The occupation by workers of factories has been carried out all over the world but, in the main, it has been workers remaining inside the factory. At Roberts Arundel there was an attempt to actually take over the factory from the outside and this is a very high level of struggle. Only in Argentina has the struggle of the workers reached this level in the recent past. Another reflection of the elevation of the workers struggle in this country has been the strike of Hotel workers in Torquay. This is a small strike, but it is significant because it occurs in a sector of workers who have been among the most exploited and the least organised. It was, at one time, possible for the bourgeoisie to slip away and relax at places like Torquay, but now the anti-Capitalist struggle cannot be escaped for a moment—even in Torquay.

The struggle still lacks a conscious revolutionary anti-Capitalist programme and an organising centre. The elevation of the struggle demands both. They are objective necessities. The objective combined development of the anti-Capitalist struggle must take on an organic form, with a revolutionary programme of nationalisation under workers control of all major industries, all profits of automation to the

## Communication from the meetings of the enlarged I.S.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

and the Mexican bourgeoisie". It is on this that the comrades must base themselves and say it publically.

It is necessary to say clearly definitely: the programme, the policy, the objectives of the IV International are necessary, it is necessary to join the IV International. Only as a member of the IV International, only as a militant organised in the IV International is it possible, at the same time, to give the capacity, to have the best ideas and to fight for these ideas, without which there is no possibility of being able to have correct ideas and using correct ideas.

We repeat that a direct defense of Trotskyism is necessary in the actual situation in Mexico, not to present oneself as a Trotskyist, to be ambiguous or to differentiate oneself from the Trotskyist organisation, is to do a service to all those indecisive currents, vacillating, insecure, and indeterminate currents which are going to arise now in Mexico. It is because of this that it is necessary to

The International Secretariat discussed the Latin American Marxist Review. It is going to bring out two numbers immediately, with all the documents of the VIII World Congress, part of those of the First World Cadre School of the IV International and other documents written during the preparation of the review, together with editorials.

We salute the decision of the English and French sections to bring out the Marxist Review in English and French in a short time. We believe that they will be of immense importance these publications, because they will play a role of centraliser and orientator of currents and tendencies in the world, not of little groups, but very great tendencies. The importance of our publications is irreplaceable, unequalled; it is necessary to publish all, as much as we can, papers and reviews, bulletins, pamphlets, booklets. We are very grateful for the immense force of the European Bureau, by the economic support for the publications and the activity immediately after the World Congress, the realisation of meetings and enlarged meetings. We salute also the efforts of the sections, with the effect of maintaining and intensifying the publications of the International.

The meeting of the Enlarged International Secretariat saluted all the sections of the International, the European Bureau, the imprisoned comrades in all the world, we send an immense salute for the campaign for the liberty of the imprisoned. Salute to all the comrades who are on missions and activity in the world. Salutes to the huge and magnificent force realised by all the International for making the VIII World Congress and the 1st World Cadre School of the IV International. We salute all sections who have collaborated for the realisation of the World Congress and of the Cadre School, particularly to the European Comrades for the immense contribution for their development.

We salute all the sections of the International, the majority, who have realised Central Committees, Enlarged Political Bureaus, large meetings of cadres approving and saluting the VIII World Congress and the 1st World Cadre School of the IV International.

We salute the effort and the development of the Brazilian, Argentine, Uruguayan and Peruvian Sections, and the development of all the sections in Europe, for the information given and the preparation of new activities of the European Bureau to bring about the development of sections.

We salute the revolutionary masses of China, Cuba, Vietnam, Middle East who are now weighing and impelling dynamically the course of the world revolution, with an enormous profundity and force, and who are, like us, fighting to overthrow Capitalism and to construct a Socialist society.

We repeat the salute to all the sections of the IV International and to the enormous progress of the IV International which is uninterrupted.

To end the meeting the International was sung and vivas and salutes given to all the comrades and the revolutionary masses of the world.

for the International Secretariat  
of the IV International  
J. POSADAS

July 1967

### WE SALUTE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LATIN-AMERICAN MARXIST REVIEW WITH THE DOCUMENTS OF THE VIII WORLD CONGRESS

workers, occupations of factories and mines, and the building of a national workers centre and a European workers centre.

The polarisation of class forces advances very rapidly in this country. We are entering a new and dynamic phase of struggle, greatly superior to that of the period of the seamens strike. The workers lack a national centre and conscious programme to take power, but they constantly express their will to struggle and their ability to overcome the lack of a national centre by powerful interventions in particular areas, as at Roberts Arundel, Vauxhalls and the London docks. The tasks of the vanguard in a most favourable situation is to unify all these struggles with the anti-Capitalist programme to unify all the various sectors of the workers and develop a revolutionary current.

confront the bourgeoisie directly as a member of the IV International.

With respect to the campaign for the liberty of the imprisoned comrades in all the world it is necessary to continue and extend it. The comrades imprisoned in the Spanish Section were liberated. There were no other new successes reached because there were no new impulses to the campaign. In Mexico there are 16 comrades imprisoned, in Cuba 2, some in Bolivia, Guatemala 10, Brasil 3. It is necessary to intensify the world campaign for the liberty of the imprisoned comrades, all the sections must reanimate the campaign. It is necessary to carry on an intense campaign of financial support, of demonstrations, of meetings, direct interventions, appeals for solidarity, directing telegrams and statements to the government of Mexico, demanding the liberty of the Trotskyists and other revolutionary militants in prison; resolutions from trade unions, workers centres, workers tendencies in all the world, student and peasant organisations, scientists, professional people, artists, demanding the liberty of the imprisoned comrades.

### HOMAGE TO TROTSKY

Lack of space forces us to render homage to Trotsky on the 27th anniversary of his assassination in only the briefest way. Trotsky was murdered, but the programme he formulated, is today adopted completely or in part by all the revolutionary tendencies in the world, and the organisation he founded, the IV International, is the ideological centre for all the groups and tendencies which are emerging.

The British Section of the IV International renders homage to Trotsky by applying the resolutions of the VIII World Congress, fusing with the International, and publishing the European Marxist Review in English.

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Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

# Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International

NO. 57

FORTNIGHTLY

OCTOBER 10 1967

SIXPENCE

## The abstentions in the bye-elections and the mobilisations of the workers show the development of revolutionary currents and tendencies

Receiving the influence of the world revolution, the political revolution in China, the social defeat of Imperialism in the Middle East, and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese masses against Imperialism, the British working class has found the strength to overcome all the bureaucratic obstacles to its struggles and a really explosive outburst of strikes and industrial actions has occurred. The period of reflection is over and the working class is now intervening seeking to impose a solution to all the problems confronting the exploited masses. Thus we see not only strikes but demonstrations by old age pensioners against the increased cost of electricity, and violent actions by tenant committees against the savage rent increases which are taking place all over the country. There is an accumulation of class hatred which is beginning to break out, encouraged by the successes of the world revolution and stimulated by the actions of the Labour Government acting in the interests of the Capitalist class and consciously embarking on a policy to cut the standard of living of the masses and reduce the social services. In spite of the absence of an actual organising centre to co-ordinate their struggles the masses are centralised in their common desire to fight against Capitalism and its bureaucratic agents in the Labour Party and in the Trade Unions.

The development of the situation in Great Britain can be measured not solely from the strike actions but from the recent massive abstentions in the bye-elections at Walthamstow in particular and at Cambridge. The masses showed their political maturity in these elections by making the only political choice it was possible to make: i.e. they abstained. They showed that they were confident that they can defend their interests whether the Labour Party is in power or not. This shows the maturity of the situation in the country for the development of revolutionary tendencies and groups on an anti-Capitalist programme and for the development of Trotskyism directly through the RWP(T).

Even in the bureaucratic conferences of the TUC and the Labour Party, which are far from the spirit and will of the British masses, the pressure of the workers and poor petit bourgeoisie at the base of these organisations has been able to make itself felt. This was shown by the resolutions calling for dissociation from

American policy in Vietnam, and for a boycott of the Greek military regime, of which both were passed despite passionate recommendations by the LP executive and George Brown. Certainly it was TU bureaucrats wielding massive block votes who supported the resolutions, but they supported them because they felt the climate of opinion; an internationalist and anti-Imperialist opinion of the union and LP rank and file. This was the most significant aspect of the conference; the 'left' MP's and TU bureaucrats showed as usual their complete bankruptcy and there was the sickening spectacle of Cousins standing up to applaud the speech of Wilson to the Conference, and even the bourgeoisie press commented that the Conference was farcical. The struggles of the masses are reflected only weakly in these Conferences. They are not the arena in which the new leadership of the working class will be formed, but this new leadership is being constructed and will be constructed in the factories, in the shop stewards committees and in the working class areas.

### THE VAUXHALL LOCK-OUT: THE RULING CLASS PREPARES TOUGHER MEASURES

The sharpening of class antagonisms in this country can be seen very clearly in the lock out of 7,000 workers by the Vauxhall management in Luton. This was a response by the management to the workers action of working standard time, and it should have been replied to by an occupation of the factory by the locked out workers. The manoeuvres of the union bureaucrats and the timidity of the unofficial leadership allowed the initiative to remain in the hands of the employers; the unofficial leadership did not put forward any demands beyond those put forward by the union officials and by failing to do so, ensured that the union officials maintained their control of the situation, with the result that the management won a partial victory. Factory occupations are already a part of the European workers struggle; the British working class must adopt this method to counter the increasingly vicious methods of the employers and the government. In the docks in Liverpool and London we see the open

alliance of the port employers and the trade union leaders being shaken to pieces by the actions of the dockers, who are damaging fundamentally the efforts of British Imperialism to improve its shaky economic position. The dockers have shown that they are not the slightest bit interested in the economic problems of British Imperialism—they are only concerned with their own class interests, and when as in Liverpool the union officials urged the strikers to return to work they were greeted with a shower of eggs and shouts demanding that the strike be made official. This shows the spirit of the British masses, but there is still not the level of organisation which corresponds to this spirit. The unofficial committees are still limited expressions. The unofficial committee lead by the Communist Party member Jack Dash in the London docks does play a limited role, and Dash certainly still has some influence, but he has prevented consciously the elevation of the struggle to a higher level by not linking

up with the striking Liverpool dockers, not calling for the support of other sectors of workers and by not putting forward an anti-Capitalist programme. The bourgeoisie press is giving great prominence to Dash not because they fear him as a revolutionary leader but because they have an interest in giving him prestige and pointing him out to the working class as a new leadership, a substitute leadership who they know to be safe. At the same time the bourgeoisie are becoming increasingly concerned about the struggle in the docks and the port employers are cal-

ling for steps to be taken against the dockers and their leaders. It is an inevitable process by the bourgeoisie towards repression.

The level and maturity of the revolutionary process in this country can be seen also in the mobilisations of the petit bourgeois. Even bank clerks, once the surest and most reliable pillars of the bourgeoisie state, are now threatening to strike, while the teachers continue with their struggles even though in a way which is fragmented and sabotaged by their union leaders.

### THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE WAR WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD AFFECTS THE WHOLE FUNCTIONING OF CAPITALISM

The sharpening of the class struggle in this country is a part of the sharpening of the world class struggle. American Imperialism debates whether to launch a 'limited' invasion of North Vietnam because all its efforts in the South and all its bombing has failed to break the spirit of the Vietnamese masses. Its casualties in the South are rising, it is obviously not winning the war, and at home it is losing more and more support for the war. US

Imperialism cannot delay long in launching the war because it is losing its social basis of support at home, and it cannot control the development of revolution or match the military economic and social progress of the Workers States. The bureaucracy of the Workers States despite its conservatism, its desire for an alliance with Capitalism, is forced by the need to defend the Workers States to adopt

CONTD. ON PAGE 4

## Latin American Marxist Review No. 13

ORGAN OF THE I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
WITH THE DOCUMENTS OF THE VIII WORLD CONGRESS

We salute with revolutionary enthusiasm, the publication of the REVISTA MARXISTA LATINO-AMERICANA No. 13 with all the documents of the VIII World Congress. We salute Cde. Posadas and the International leadership for the great work in bringing the ideas of the VIII World Congress and 1st World Cadre School to the knowledge of the whole of the International and the world vanguard.

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### ACTIVITY OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

316 pages. Price 7/6.

The Review is being prepared in English and will shortly be published. We appeal to all our readers to contribute, by ordering copies now, towards its publication costs.

# The struggle of the Negroes in the of the World Perm

The mobilisation of the negroes marks a step forward in the rise of the class struggle in the U.S.A. A little while ago Fidel Castro said that: "There is no class struggle in the U.S.A." After his declaration there were strikes of enormous importance, the students mobilised in hundreds of thousands against the war in Vietnam, against Yankee Imperialism, the railway workers, the printers, the steel and auto workers mobilised and went on strike. The trade union of the car workers (UAW) which has 1,200,000 workers said through its leader Reuther, that they will not support any candidate who supports the war in Vietnam and called for an independent Workers Party. This leader Reuther is an old trickster, a bureaucrat and agent of Capitalism. When now he has to make such declarations, it is because he is forced to echo the immense pressures which he feels from below. He feels that the worker base, the militant worker cadres, the intellectually developed petit bourgeoisie are receiving the influence of the world revolution. He sees the demoralisation of Capitalism; he feels it in his dealings with the bureaucrats of the American State, with the bosses of the big car factories, with the 'big hats' of the administration of Yankee Imperialism. He feels in them, a state of terror, of fear, of constant depression, and he observes and sees in a direct or indirect way the immense influence of the world revolution above all of Vietnam, China, Cuba and now the Middle East. This is the expression of Reuther.

The class struggle in the United States, is not expressed the same as in France, because there is no mass Workers Party. Even though the French Communist Party does not represent the historical interests of the working class, that is to say, the struggle to overthrow Capitalism, it does represent the immediate interests of the class for increases in wages; it disputes with Capitalism over wages. But it does not represent the historic interests of the proletariat which are what count, which are what decide history; to overthrow Capitalism. In the USA there is no such party, there is no independent trade union movement as there is in France in a certain way, and which allows the Communist Party and the Socialist Party to negotiate with Capitalism. Consequently the class struggle which is developing in the USA can not develop in a direct way; as it is expressed in France, in Italy, and in the rest of the Capitalist countries of the world, but in a disfigured form, apparently, although basically the same. The strike of the railwaymen, which just paralysed the sending of supplies to Vietnam, the strike of the copper miners, the strike of the

underground railwaymen, the demonstrations of the students, is the class struggle and class struggle of the highest importance, because it affects the apparatus of Yankee Imperialism which is hurling itself in the name of world Capitalism to try to contain the world revolution.

This is not a struggle which just comes from today, it has been going on for many years in the United States. When Fidel Castro makes such a declaration it is because he shows, like the Chinese, that he does not have theoretical understanding of what is going on, and there has not been any later correction on the part of Fidel Castro, and on the part of his team. They must recognise their mistake, must rectify themselves and declare the recognition of the errors they have committed. The importance of recognising such errors is fundamental because it permits one to understand and advance basing oneself on historic comprehension. The Trotskyists are supported by Trotsky in such conclusions. The analysis on the USA valuable for this period is part of our International, of the IV International.

## THE STRUGGLE OF THE NEGRO MASSES EXPRESSES THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The struggle of the masses in Vietnam, the "Cultural Revolution" in China, the resistance and the struggle of the Cuban masses against Yankee Imperialism, the turn to the left of the leadership of the Cuban government, even though limited, which seeks to contain the development of the Guevarist/Trotskyist tendency in Cuba, but above all the last events in the Middle East, in which the Arab masses have socially defeated Imperialism, have stimulated and are stimulating the Negroes. The character of the struggle, actually, of the Negroes is not the direct consequence of an internal discussion in the United States, it is an indirect influence which comes from the struggle on a world scale. The methods of struggle, this planning of the guerrilla struggle as they did, the organisation of a military action against Yankee Imperialism, is not the product of a political life, for they don't have one, they don't have a leadership which discusses this problem, which draws conclusions and experiences.

All the leaderships up till now were petit bourgeois and there has been a constant process of replacement, of overcoming and liquidating the petit bourgeois tendencies such as Luther King up till Carmichael who replaces non-violence by organised violence. Organised violence to try to carry forward the rights, the demands of the Negro masses against the racial exploitation which they suffer in the United States. These are not methods which have been developed through a political life in the Negro masses: They have learnt directly through the world influences. This is the class struggle! This is what Fidel Castro and his team has to learn, and the Guevarist tendency in Cuba must base itself on these conclusions to base themselves also on the class struggle in the rest of the world. If the masses of the United States were insensible and indifferent to the world revolution, they would not assimilate such

conclusions. It is the weakest sector of the American masses which adopts it. Soon it is going to be the proletariat. If the negroes do it today, the proletariat will do it tomorrow. But when the Negroes do it now, adopting methods of civil war which the masses of the world employ it is because they are feeling the influence of the world revolution and already this is a new stage in the world revolution as we have already said in our articles on the Middle East. It is no longer the previous stage, it is a new stage, in which they are hurling themselves decisively, arms in hand, with methods, conclusions, with objectives of the civil war, against US Imperialism. This is not a struggle which emerged today, because the class struggle in the United States has a permanent life. This means that Yankee Imperialism cannot impede, is impotent to try to impede the influence of the world revolution in the masses of the United States and the fusion of the masses of the United States with the world revolution. The masses are waiting to be able to intervene.

To say that 'in the United States there is no class struggle' is to give to US Imperialism a historic power which it does not have, and the American masses a stupidity which they do not have. If the American masses have not yet been able to overthrow Capitalism it is because the historic conditions, among them the conciliatory, opportunist policy with respect to Capitalism, which the CP, all the leaderships of the Workers States and among them Fidel Castro, and the Cuban Workers State carry on. Because of this they have the Trotskyists in Cuba still in prison, and because of this the imprisoned Cuban Cdes. have just published a letter demanding their freedom and expressing their indignation against the disgrace of being held in common prisons, when they are revolutionaries, who have been imprisoned for being Trotskyists.

The struggle of the Negroes in the US is a new stage, there is no longer the peaceful struggle in which they hope that through elections or Congress they can win civil rights. Now they try to take them. This is the stage in which we are living. And the American masses, the American proletariat will be influenced by the Negro masses, immediately. Luther King is already finished. An expression of this process in the advance of the struggle is the development of the events, of the mobilisations of the Negro masses at Detroit which is the vital centre of the industry of Yankee Imperialism. And there it is not only the petit bourgeois Negroes, it is the proletariat; the proletariat is intervening. And the white proletariat is assisting this. Conclusive proof that the white proletariat is assisting the action of their black brothers is that Johnson has not been able to organise a single picket of white workers

## THE SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM IS NOT RACIAL BUT SOCIAL: TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM

The attitude of the Negroes shows an immense fury and violence. This immense violence was not accumulated in one day, or two days nor in one year or two, it is a violence which comes organised not by a racial reaction, but a social reaction. It is not merely a racial reaction. If it was a racial reaction it would be led by the petit bourgeoisie. When they break with Luther King, who is the authorised mouth-piece of the alliance with Yankee Imperialism it is because the Negroes are feeling that it is not a racial problem, it is social. It is a most advanced stage. Politically, programmatically they do not understand that it is such (i.e. a social problem), and because of this they still have not called to the workers to go to the trade unions, because of this they still have not called for a united front with the white workers, but soon they will do it. But one cannot blame the workers and the blacks masses because they did not have a previous organism. It is the Communist Parties, and the Chinese as well who are guilty of this, for they have not made any programmatic appeal to overthrow Yankee Capitalism. It is a real stupidity of the Chinese that in the middle of the action of the black masses they go on talking about the red book of Mao Tse tung, when what they should do is call for an independent political organism of the exploited masses of the United States to confront Yankee Imperialism. This is the duty of conscious leaderships. In this stage the essential duty of the conscious revolutionary is to help the Negro masses to understand, to associate their revolutionary spirit and fusion and give them an organic form; the organic form which can weigh and attract and fuse with the rest of the masses in the United States. The Negroes are a minority and there is a big sector of the petit bourgeoisie which weighs and is associated with Yankee Imperialism, and this has hurled itself furiously to contain the Negro masses. The Negro masses have erupted violently, with the same violence of the masses of the Middle East, as the masses of Vietnam and as the "Cultural Revolution" in China, expressed through the workers of Shanghai and Peking, which is the most elevated form in which it is expressed, when they formed Communes and Workers Councils; this is the most elevated form. This violence is indicating that they are following daily the events of the world and they are learning methods, programme and objectives. They are Trotskyist methods, programme and objectives. They are the methods, programme, and objectives which the Trotskyists have advocated, against the old gang of Trotskyists who have gone rotten, allying themselves now to Capitalism, against all the old leadership of the Communist Parties and of the Workers States who have become perverted and allied to Capitalism.

The Chinese leadership is in complete crisis and it is necessary to expect in a

against the Negroes. They have not been able to organise any trade union, two or three bureaucrats have made declarations but there has not been any stoppage against the attitude of the black workers, not a single stoppage in defense of the bosses, no stoppage of the white workers against the black workers. This indicates that the white workers, even without understanding the historic sense of this action of the black workers, do not associate themselves, do not show either spiritually or consciously any disposition to support any action against the Negroes; and this at a time when the white workers in the USA do not have a class leadership, or party or independent class trade unions. It is on these conclusions that it is necessary to draw the perspectives for the next stages, which is the perspective of the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions.

short period a new explosion and a more violent crisis, but at the same time a movement towards the left. This shows that the myth of monsters, the red heart and the Red Book of Mao Tse tung are not enough for the internal discussion. They are going to have to take a series of solutions which will tend to explain themselves politically and present a programme. The Chinese cannot intervene on a world scale because they don't understand the world process of revolution, nor understand nor are prepared for the struggle and liquidation of the conservative and conciliatory wing in China. They have not prepared the party, they don't have the Bolshevik Party, and because of this they cannot intervene. They show their interest in intervening, when they declare that the Atomic bomb which they have just exploded and for which we congratulate them, because it is an immense weapon in favour of the Workers State, is at the service of the World Revolution. They must organise it. The World Revolution does not mean only arms, it means to prepare socially. It is necessary to appeal in China for a mobilisation of millions in support of the Negro masses of the United States appealing for the organisation of the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions. It is necessary to make a programme, without a programme, there is no organisation. What unites the masses is the programme, the programmatic objectives. And because of this they have this bazaar in China and because of this Fidel Castro must attack the Communist Parties, even in a conciliatory way, he has to break. Still lacking a programme they have to make it now, which gives advantage and time to Capitalism. Because of this we call, to impede Capitalism having the advantage, for the making of the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, with an anti-Capitalist programme, which unites the white and Negro workers.

The correct protest of saying that the Negroes suffer the worst from unemployment is not enough without giving a programme to unite black and white. Yankee Imperialism gains by any policy which tends to separate the Negro workers and the whites, as it does from all policies which tend to paralyse the Negroes. It is necessary to maintain the activity, the struggles of the Negroes, but calling them to a unification with the white workers, for this permits an immense force, it will stimulate and organise the struggles of the American masses helping them in their political understanding and helping them to overcome the limitations of the call by Reuther; helping them to go beyond his declaration that he was not going to support any candidate who supports the war in Vietnam and that the formation of an independent party was necessary. There are already the conditions for an independent party in the United States. It is without doubt that Imperialism will

# United States and the development of the permanent Revolution

J. Posadas 28 July 1967

launch the world nuclear war when it feels that the US is losing social control. Imperialism believes that it still has it. But this mobilisation of the Negroes has meant an immense commotion in Yankee Imperialism, and it is now discussing an acceleration of the progress to the nuclear war. It is because of this that it is necessary to prepare, the maximum possible, the unification of the mobilisation of the Negroes with the whites through the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, with a programme of immediate anti-Capitalist demands and the struggle to overthrow Capitalist power in the US supporting the world revolution, the revolution in the Middle East, Cuba, Vietnam, the revolutionary process in China and calling for a United World anti-Capitalist front to overthrow Capitalism.

The struggle of the Syrian masses as before that of the Vietnamese, has provoked, has stimulated and has developed the crisis within the Soviet bureaucracy. The medium sectors of the Soviet bureaucracy, more linked to the proletariat and to the masses feel the pressure of the world revolution through the Soviet masses and through the army. Sectors of the army also have expressed their discontent, there is an immense crisis and it is possible to expect in a short delay the replacement of the leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy to try to contain the internal crisis and also install a replacement team. But this replacement team, different to those of other stages, will not be a mere replacement team to continue the previous policy. This is a new crisis in the Soviet Union which will also be a new stage in history. It will have to reconsider the attitude and the world policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. And from this comes the desperate attitude of Yankee Imperialism, seizing hold of Kosygin and Breznev, more Kosygin than Breznev because they feel him closer in agreement, more disposed for an alliance with Capitalism. In fact Breznev is as disposed for this alliance as Kosygin but he is bound up with the Party, he depends on the Party, while Kosygin comes from the administrative apparatus, from the leadership of the economy, and thus he feels freer from the pressure of the masses;

## FOR THE WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS WITH THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME WHICH WILL UNIFY THE WHITE AND BLACK MASSES

There is no Negro solution in the United States, there is a class solution, because of this, instinctively the Negroes, even though they don't understand, resort to methods of civil war. The civil war is showing that what is necessary is a social revolutionary solution, but it lacks a programme. An immense step, a decisive step in the struggle is for the Negroes to have broken with the subjection to the policy of peaceful co-existence, and with the prayers and laments demanding justice and racial equality. This mobilisation showed a hatred which is not contained, which they cannot contain. It broke out, it went from the children up to the so called old people, everybody intervened. When there is such a proportion of intervention of tens of thousands in the cities, when there is a state of siege in 35 to 40 per cent of the big cities, it is because this influence has come from afar and there is a desire to continue. They do not do such actions as spontaneous explosions, they are contained explosions which seek a programme, which seek how to do it, as in Santo Domingo, and as in Vietnam, as in China, as the Syrian masses, the advanced masses of the Middle East.

It is necessary to help the Negro masses to understand that there is not a Negro solution. This spirit of violence and of revolutionary struggle must be maintained; the struggle, the armed action, the actions of civil war, must be maintained, but giving an organic form

his interests are more linked to the sectors on the periphery of Soviet society.

And because of this Kosygin is more suitable for conciliation with Imperialism than Breznev. But the two are the same and in this stage the Soviet masses are already making their profound discontent felt for the policy of conciliation with Imperialism and for the conciliation which has permitted the military defeat of the Arab masses, military, not social. Socially Israel and Imperialism have lost. Because of this it is necessary to expect in a short stage a profound crisis in the bureaucracy of the Workers States and in all of the Communist Parties of the world. An advance warning of this is the actual crisis which has been going on for three months in China, it forms part of this crisis, in which apparently there is a great silence. It is an internal struggle which is preparing great leaps forward and attitudes much more to the left, from the tendency within China. In a short delay, this process is going to confirm itself. It is for this reason that the conclusion which we drew in the previous articles is important: the Arab masses lost the war, but socially they had an immense triumph which expresses itself in the actual struggle, influencing the revolution in that they themselves are advancing in the programme against Imperialism and against Capitalism. This is produced because there is a concentrated and centralised process of the world revolution. But at the same time it is unequal and combined. The unequal and combined development is that it is the Negro masses who are mobilising against Imperialism, against Capitalism. Through the struggle for their liberation they have to begin to struggle against Capitalism, a thing which they were not doing before and as a result the white American worker masses will receive an impulse from this. There is the unequal and combined process! It is the same in Syria; one of the most backward countries of the world, it is the most advanced in the revolutionary struggle in the whole of this stage. This is the unequal and combined process. Its roots are not in one or another country, but in the united world process of the world revolution, which is concentrated and centralised.

to the struggle. It is necessary to make an appeal to the white workers so that they organise and launch themselves in a mobilisation of independent class action, with a programme against Yankee Imperialism. Already there are enough demonstrations of important sectors of the proletariat and of the petit bourgeoisie who oppose Imperialism and make strikes, and stoppages, profoundly damaging the military apparatus of Yankee Imperialism, disregarding the military consequences, as recently the railway workers have done and the copper workers, and as the students of Berkeley, of California and of New York are doing, where hundreds of thousands demonstrated against Yankee Imperialism. All this shows that there are the suitable conditions for the essential task of organising white and black workers in a united front against Yankee Imperialism, by means of the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, that is to say the independent Workers Party with a class and anti-Capitalist programme; this is the fundamental task which it is necessary to do now. This is the task which it is necessary to do in order to help the Negro masses to direct themselves towards the white workers, for the organisation of a united front. One must not blame the white workers for their apparent passivity. From a general class point of view the American working class has not mobilised as a class, but it certainly has in an indirect form, by the fact that Yankee Imperialism and Johnson have not been

able to organise any action in the workers movement, supporting them against the demonstration of the students who are opposing the war in Vietnam, which indicates that the American working class is thinking, analysing, reflecting and shortly it is going to take a step forward. If the American working class was indifferent, Johnson would have mobilised sectors of the masses. The determining proof of this conclusion is that Reuther, an old bureaucrat, trickster, agent of Yankee Capitalism launches himself now for the formation of an independent movement, and intends to draw advantages for himself and tries to appear independent of Yankee Imperialism, when he declares that the Auto workers trade union will not support any candidate who supports the war in Vietnam. Why does he do this? On what does he base himself? When Reuther makes such a declaration it is because he bases himself on the will, on the sentiment, on the objective and declared decision of the workers against the war in Vietnam, otherwise he would not have drawn such a conclusion. Reuther is not either a revolutionary leader nor is he prepared to construct Socialism nor to direct the revolution nor to overthrow Capitalism. And when he feels himself obliged to use such language and such a programme and such a conclusion, of opposing himself to all those who support the war in Vietnam it is because he feels that it is the public opinion of the sector on which he is based; he is only a distant echo of this public opinion. The direct echo of this public opinion is the action of the Negroes. If the Negroes felt the hatred of the American working class against them they would not have moved!

It is a crime against the masses of the United States to want to make believe that they are insensible to the development of the world revolution. If the Negroes felt that a climate of hatred and rejection existed, and antagonism between the white workers and themselves, they would not have mobilised, they would have sought refuge in their petit bourgeoisie leaderships. The black masses are reacting against their petit bourgeois leaderships, under the influence of the development of the world revolution and they see that the world permanent revolution exerts an influence on the exploited population of the United States in which they feel a sympathy. The black masses feel this sympathy instinctively in their direct class relations. They feel it and they draw the political and social conclusions. The exploited masses are not supporting Imperialism and its war in Vietnam, and for this reason they have not made any action, any agitation or propaganda to show their agreement with the war in Vietnam. If the masses supported Imperialism in Vietnam, they would not have intervened in the manifestations of the class struggle. It is on all these conclusions that it is necessary to base oneself in order to organise the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions. This doesn't mean to say one must hurl oneself into immediate action or that the party is going to be realised immediately, but it is an appeal which is going to have immediate consequences. It is this appeal which the Chinese, Fidel Castro

and the leaders of revolutionary tendencies in the Middle East and in the rest of the world, must make. From now on it is necessary to appeal to realise the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, with the anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist programme. It must be done immediately. It is the inexcusable duty of all the revolutionary conscious leaderships. The struggle of the black masses is their way of showing that they are influenced by the world revolution, that they feel fused to it.

It is necessary to help them with the programme, for without the programme it is not possible to understand the specific problem of the class struggle in the United States. This specific character—but not special or particular—the existence of the Negroes, poses a racial problem in which the solution is not racial but social: to overthrow Yankee Capitalism. It is for this reason that the Negroes have taken the position of linking their fight to that of all the masses of the world against Yankee Imperialism. This represents an immense progress. The Negroes have the same attitude as the students, the same as Reuther with the difference that Reuther is a trickster but he also expresses a sentiment common to the American masses. The black masses need a programmatic support, need political orientation and material support from the Workers State and the workers tendencies in the world. The most direct way, the most important way to help them, is to furnish them with a theoretical and political understanding, this is more important than aiding them materially. It is necessary to appeal to the exploited masses of the United States, student masses, the worker masses, to support the Negroes. It is necessary to be patient to understand that the worker masses of the United States cannot react immediately. But in the next big strikes in the United States, the masses will unite their methods of action to the violence of the Negroes and then they will use it against American Capitalism. It is certain that American Imperialism, tries to maintain a social situation which permits them to control the mobilisation of the masses, by maintaining, side by side with a permanent mass of 4,000,000 unemployed, the highest salaries in relation to those of the rest of the world. But the crisis of Yankee Imperialism increases, increases constantly.

The recent attitude of De Gaulle in Canada shows all the crisis of Imperialism. De Gaulle launches himself to put a pressure on Yankee Imperialism to try to disengage from the financial and military pressure of Yankee Imperialism, to seek to extend the interests of French Imperialism. De Gaulle is neither against Johnson, nor against Yankee Imperialism; he is against the Workers States, against the revolution. But he feels all the decomposition of world Capitalism and he tries to profit, to his own advantage, from the policy of peaceful co-existence which Kosygin and Breznev offer him, and in part he tries to draw profit from the incoherent policy of the Chinese, from the absence among the Chinese, of understanding of the programme of the permanent revolution.

Continued on page 4

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# The struggle of the Negroes in the United States and the development of the World

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

All these crises show the depth of the global crisis of world Capitalism. De Gaulle went to play the agitator in Canada. The Yankee press treat De Gaulle as an agitator; he made agitation against his rival, American Imperialism. What De Gaulle did, was to try to push forward the interests of French Imperialism, by making agitation to try to gain a greater base of historic social support, in seeking to extend his world points of support to try to resist the world financial domination of Yankee Imperialism. Such is the interest of De Gaulle; nothing more. He acts in this way to save French Capitalism. But in doing this he weakens the world front of Imperialism, he aggravates the inter-Capitalist contradictions and the increases the world decomposition of Capitalism. This is not the objective which he proposes, but he does not have any other solution. It is necessary to expect important events in

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

## Permanent Revolution

the United States soon. It is for this reason that it is necessary to launch the programme, appeal for the constitution of a conscious revolutionary leadership of the Negroes which will unite their struggle with the white workers by means of the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions. This party must unite the normal claims of the worker masses, on a programme of immediate anti-Capitalist demands, basing it on all the technical progress which has been realised to put them at the service of the masses; the 36 and 30 hour work week, increase of salaries tied to increases in productivity, suppression of inequalities between races, between men and women, equal pay for equal work, no-one to be unemployed, sliding scale of hours of work, reduction of the hours of work to assure full employment with full salaries for all workers, out with Imperialism from Vietnam, refuse en masse to go to Vietnam, make agitation and propaganda against the war in Vietnam; for the nationalisation of all the big and medium enterprises, for the collective exploitation of all the enterprises in the United States, for the socialisation of production, for the monopoly of foreign trade, for the planning of the economy. This is the struggle which the Negroes must carry out. It is in this struggle that the downfall of Capitalism will be posed, and in this struggle the self determination of the Negroes, both cultural and racial will be posed. This is the most important task which it is necessary to carry on in this stage.

The direct influence of the Syrian masses is expressed in the United States. This struggle has an immense echo. After the struggle of the masses of the Middle East against Imperialism and Israel, there has been the action of the masses of Bengal, in India, who have tried to separate themselves and constitute an independent Workers State. This slogan is a Trotskyist slogan. It is the Trotskyists

EDITORIAL FROM PAGE 1.

## The abstentions in the bye-elections

harder positions, against Capitalism. The Soviet bureaucracy concludes a new arms agreement with North Vietnam undertaking to supply them with more arms, planes, cannons, missiles etc., being forced to defend the world system of the Workers States against Imperialist aggression. Imperialism has no other choice but the war, because there is no basis in this period for fascism; if there was, Imperialism would have created a mass fascist movement to defend itself against the revolution. In Greece there was a fascist type military coup to block the advance of the masses, but it has no social support and as a result has already entered into crisis. It is being attacked by the right wing politicians, the representatives of the very bourgeoisie that the army made the coup to defend; and they attack it because they see its weakness and fear above all the response which the Greek masses are preparing.

The perspective of launching the world counter-revolutionary war within a short time, affects all the functioning of Imperialism and Capitalism. In this country the imperious need of Imperialism to concentrate and centralise industry to extract greater profits from the workers, to feed the war economy, forces it to abandon any pretence of concern about the conditions of the masses. Unemployment increases, fares increase, gas, electricity, and rents go rocketing up. The bourgeoisie openly express its fears about the growth of 'extremism' while the masses show their contempt for Parliament, and for the bureaucrats and continue their struggles through their own organisations. The pressure from the bourgeoisie is becoming more intense and the workers must raise the level of their own organisations, must use revolutionary class means like occupations to impose their demands. It is necessary to link up the struggles from

who have proposed that, wherever it is possible in no matter what state, even by means of an election, one sets up the Workers State and the region constituted into a Workers State appeals to the rest of the country to do the same—not proclaim itself independent, this would be senseless, but to appeal to the rest of the country to do the same. In the same way that when one nationalises an enterprise, it is necessary to appeal to the others to demand nationalisation, that is to say to follow the example to take the first conquest as a basis of influence, a basis for a general stimulus. The masses of Syria have shown that they had more power than all the atomic weapons, than all the military administrative apparatuses of Imperialism. The action of the Syrian masses, which essentially prevented the troops of Israel from reaching Damascus, from reaching Cairo, the Syrian masses with their militias organised by the Trade Unions, have been the force which stopped Imperialism, are the example for all the masses of the world and the masses of the United States are now taking this example. The influence exercised over the American masses shows the immense advance of the struggle of the masses.

It is true that the colour problem exists in the US, but it is no longer possible to resolve the problem by selfdetermination. It is not possible to have selfdetermination in the United States without the fall of Capitalism.

Consequently, the most immediate task which the Negroes must accomplish is to overthrow Capitalism, and they cannot do this alone, they must unite with their white exploited brothers. There is no separate solution for the Negroes, the solution is anti-Capitalist, afterwards the problem of selfdetermination for the Negroes will be posed. And at that moment we expect that the Negroes will choose to unite with their white brothers and construct a single state. There is no

such thing as black power separated from the whites. This is what the Negroes declare (Black Power) or what this black leadership declares. It is an expression of their desire for anti-Capitalist struggle, but socially there is no perspective of black power. The perspective which exists, is the perspective of the power of the exploited masses against Yankee Capitalism. What does Black Power mean to say? To overthrow what? Capitalism, to make a separate power? If the masses overthrow Capitalism, they are going to nationalise all the property, they are going to do as the masses did in China, in the USSR and in Cuba. Consequently, what must be looked for, is the solution which is logical to this stage of history, and this solution is to overthrow Capitalism and thus black power means, to overthrow Capitalism to resolve the problem of selfdetermination of the Negroes. Meanwhile the masses must maintain their spirit of struggle and continue their organised and armed resistance. Because the struggles are in process of stimulating the American masses and they are going to advance. But the organic form which will allow them to combine in a concentrated way, this historic necessity of the liberation of the Negro masses with the liberation of the white masses; is the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, the independent action of the class on an anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist programme. Such is the conclusion which it is necessary to draw, and it is necessary to call for the struggle for the organisation of soviets in the United States, to call for the struggle for the expulsion of Imperialism from Vietnam, the struggle to defend Cuba and the Arab masses, China and Korea; for the expropriation without compensation of Imperialism, for the collectivisation of all the means of production in the United States.

J. POSADAS

28 July 1967

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Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED FLAG**Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International

NO 58

FORTNIGHTLY

NOVEMBER 10 1967

SIXPENCE

# Organise the Revolutionary Current in the Factories, Docks, Mines and Tenants Committees

The polarisation of class forces in Great Britain takes place at an increasingly rapid rhythm. The powerful centralised forces of the proletariat allied to the poor petit bourgeoisie constantly shatters the authority of Capitalism, parries the policies of Capitalism and creates a firm objective united front with the world masses to overthrow Capitalism and Imperialism throughout the world. And this dynamism of the British masses allied to the velocity of the whole world revolutionary process is entirely Trotskyist in feeling and intention. It is no wonder that the pathetic rags of Imperialism represented by Messrs Gunter and Wilson talk about the influence and activity of Trotskyism. They attempt to prejudice Trotskyism in the eyes of the masses by speaking of a mythical alliance of Trotskyism with the Communist Party—referring in this way to degenerated ex-Trotskyists—but their pre-occupation with Trotskyism is clear. As Capitalism and Imperialism enter in to the final stages of decomposition, the leaders of the exploiting classes reach their own "elevated" consciousness of the process. More and more they see the revolutionary significance of the struggles of the masses and they observe the activity of the IV International, fusing with the masses. The game is nearly over with British Imperialism. Now they can only resort to terrorism, verbal and otherwise to defend themselves—as at the Barbican site. But the masses observe all this and are not intimidated. We are on the edge of great events in which the masses are going to advance towards soviets and overthrow British Imperialism.

The fact that the British masses totally reject Parliament and the parliamentary parties, was well observed by Crossman when he said recently, that the results of the by elections, were a revolt against the established political order. The social democracy, alias the last prop of Capitalism suffered a very heavy blow. Each by election showed the complex reaction of the masses to the use of elections at this stage. But this reaction was dominated by one objective—to stimulate the struggles of the workers. At Leicester, the vanguard abstained, at Gorton they continued to centralise themselves around the Labour candidate. At Hamilton, they used a Scottish "nationalist" candidate as a means of expressing their rejection of Capitalism and Imperialism. The vanguard took the opportunity to administer the most powerful blow at the two bourgeoisie parties, the Tories and the Labour Party. It was a means of demonstrating to all the workers, "We must have a fundamental change. Forward!" The nationalist candidates in themselves are of no consequence or significance. The masses have used them simply to concentrate the attention of the class.

The ministers and policies of the Labour Party are revealed for what they are more clearly each day. The speech of Callaghan, when he spoke of the necessity for a permanent pool of unemployment, was a speech which could have been made by a right wing Tory. The bankruptcy of the so called "left wing" of the party is shown when they reject his policy but say they will reluctantly continue to support the government. The fact that it has now been announced that there are to be enormous pit closures within the next six months, and that by 1980, two thirds of the miners will be unemployed, is again a demonstration that the Labour Party is becoming more and more brutal with

the working class and desperate in its aims to support Capitalism. This shows the complete lack of perspective of Capitalism. It is cutting its own throat in public.

In reply to this the working class is increasingly organising independently of all its old traditional organisations such as the trade unions whose leaderships are bound up with the Labour Party. More and more it seeks for revolutionary methods of struggle. The long line of powerful unofficial strikes, by the dockers both in Liverpool and London, which hold Capitalism to ransom, show the great confidence of the dockers faced not only with threats from the government, and the bosses but also from the trade unions officials. This confidence is also shown in the long struggle at the Barbican in London. The fact that one week after a year old strike was virtually sold out, the workers are threatening to strike again, demonstrates the ready disposition of the class to renew their struggle whatever the defeats en route, as rapidly as possible. The various sectors of the class encourage each other in an unceasing united front. The Communist Party represented by people such as Dash and Lou Dewis attempt by limited agitational methods to maintain a left front for the Communist Party, but history demands conscious revolutionary action and programme at this stage and the line of the Communist Party is one of peaceful co-existence and is against the organisation of industrial and inter industrial committees on an anti-Capitalist programme. The recent long strikes in the docks, the Barbican strike and Roberts Arundel struggle act, in the absence of an organic workers centre, as unifying forces for the class. The movement of workers against the leadership of the ETU shows quite clearly the tendency to struggle against the T.U. bureaucracy and this

is a Trotskyist process. It lacks a specific Trotskyist consciousness, but it is Trotskyist in objective. The workers are not breaking from their unions, but they are in process of organising themselves independently to impose their will.

In this period, even if a strike brings only a limited economic gain or is actually defeated, it cannot be dismissed as simply insignificant or as merely a defeat. For this is the period when the working class is more and more taking the offensive against Capitalism, mobilising and demonstrating more and more. Socially this is far more important than any particular economic gain or loss. The mobilisation of the working class at this stage even if it may actually result in an economic defeat or the dismissal of militants, has socially the consequence of mobilising and concentrating the will of the working class in the preparation for the taking of power.

The struggle of council tenants also reveals the way the class is seeking for revolutionary methods of struggle. In Coventry the council tenants, incensed by the fact that some rents were being raised by as much as 50% stormed the town hall. In Walsall, there have also been big demonstrations of tenants, and at the moment there is a rent strike in process. This pattern of activity will spread rapidly over the country, as the tenants gain more confidence and begin to take the initiative. The storming of the town hall in Coventry was only brought to a halt by the secretary of the tenants committee which demonstrates a conciliatory tendency in the leadership—influenced by the Communist Party—, which with the obvious combativity of the tenants will soon be removed.

Not only in this country, but all over the world, the masses are gaining confidence and organising to smash Capitalism and Imperialism. In France there are numerous general strikes, involving

not only the working class, but the peasants and students as well, in Germany the miners threatened with unemployment, demonstrate carrying red flags and singing the "International". In Spain there are demonstrations of 15,000 workers and students demonstrating in a united front against the Franco regime, demanding better conditions of life, and in the recent election in the United States, the expected white "back lash" after a summer of constant Negro demonstrations and uprising did not occur. This demonstrates the solidarity of the white workers and poor petit bourgeois with the Negro masses, they identify themselves as one class, and ignore the Imperialist attempt to play white off against black. In Aden British Imperialism is forced by the revolutionary situation to retreat even more rapidly than it had been planned, in front of the masses pursuing a revolutionary objective. The National Liberation Front, the party which has the support of the peasants and most of the workers in Aden, has a full socialist programme, including the expropriation of the land, nationalisations of the major industries transport and the docks, and monopoly of foreign trade. With this programme a new workers state will soon be formed.

The world masses are advancing towards the establishment of Soviets. The British masses beginning with factory committees, tenants committees etc. are on the road to soviets. They are overcoming the problems of a lack of a centre. Build the revolutionary current in the factories and the workers areas on the anti-Capitalist programme. Nationalisations under workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, expropriation of all luxury properties to meet the housing shortage, no worker to be dismissed, no factory to be closed down, factory occupations, workers defence committees as a preparation for workers militias. Generalise the experiences of the class in factory and united front bulletins. As Comrade Posadas said in 1964 on the elections which first of all put the Labour Party into power, the next period would see the British masses overthrowing the Monarchy, the Labour Party and Capitalism.

## DEATH OF A TROTSKYIST MILITANT MURDERED BY POLICE IN BRAZIL

Comrade Sergio, student, member of the Partido Operario Revolucionario (trotskiste) the Brazilian section of the IV International has just been murdered in Rio de Janeiro. According to the information which we have, the comrade was a victim of the brutal repression carried on by the police of the government of Costa da Silva against the student movement, which is led partly by our comrades through the U.N.E. (National Union of Students).

The comrades of the section gave the burial, at which 250 students were present, the character of a demonstration against the government.

We salute the memory of Cde. Sergio with emotion. We salute his courage and his struggle, as a part of the advance of the Brazilian section, to whom we send our fraternal solidarity for the work which they are doing under the leadership of the I.S. of the International and Cde. Posadas, in clandestinity and conditions of repression, for the Socialist Revolution in Brazil.

LONG LIVE THE BRAZILIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)  
British Section of the IV International

# THE SUPPOSED LETTER OF GUEVARA DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLIT

Guevarra has not just been killed in Bolivia. He was liquidated two years ago in Cuba as a result of his political struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucratic elements in Cuba.

Now in order to respond to an internal crisis and to try to gain authority, the Bolivian government confident that it will get no denial from Castro, announces the "death" of Guevara. It is a complete farce; not even the bourgeois journalists though that it was the body of Guevara.

Before he disappeared Guevara had moved close to Trotskyist positions, had come out strongly against 'material incentives', called for an anti-Imperialist world United Front, and called on the

Workers States to support the revolution unconditionally and whatever the consequences. Because of this the right wing in Cuba liquidated him, but they have not been able to prevent the development of the Guevarist tendency, with positions close to Trotskyism, in Cuba.

We publish below a document of Cde. Posadas which has been adopted as a resolution at the VIIIth World Congress. We agree totally with this analysis, which shows with clarity and complete certainty, that this letter is a fake and a manoeuvre to try to stop the development of the Guevarist tendency.

We have just received an article by Posadas on the recent farce of Guevara's death in Bolivia and we will publish it in a later edition of 'RED FLAG'.

The document which has just been published under the title 'Create one, two, three Vietnams' and which is attributed to Guevara, is not from him. It is a subterfuge of the Fidel Castro group to try to contain the immense pressure of the Guevarist base in Cuba. They are frightened of an attack, for one of the consequences of the Political Revolution in China is going to be that the Guevara affair will re-emerge. They need to hide historic truth. But sooner or later, it will have to appear. With this document and the reference to Bolivia and Brasil, they are going to present, in a little while, Guevara as dead or assassinated.

It is we who have said that the movement, the group of Fidel Castro has assassinated and eliminated Guevara. Assassinated or eliminated, or kept in prison, he cannot participate politically and that is the objective.

This letter is basically and in reality destined to impede, to polemicise and to politically combat the Guevarist wing, by opposing a programme of deception to the revolutionary programme of today; Trotskyism. This is what the letter is meant for. It is a commiseration; attention! "There is nothing, death comes, and destruction. We are not strong enough, the possibilities do not exist etc." Everything in the letter goes in this sense. They ignore the living reality which is under their noses, it is world Capitalism which is in retreat and on the defensive. It is the masses of the world who are advancing and encircling Capitalism and effectively putting it to flight, even if the revolution does not triumph everywhere. But there is a permanent process of advance of the class struggle. The class and revolutionary struggle is not a single act. This last act is the culminating point of a whole previous process of class struggle, which prepared it with constant, constant advances. In Brasil, in Bolivia, in Peru, in Mexico, the class struggle advances. It is absurd to ignore the struggle of the masses and the constant retreat of Capitalism. Absurd to ignore it. These defeats of Imperialism prepare later actions.

But on the contrary the letter is a mystification; the guerrillas go to the mountain, launch an appeal to the masses and they are going to follow. On what will the population base themselves in order to follow the guerrillas? On what previous actions? What organisation, what life, what previous struggle, so that the population follows the guerrillas? Without a previous struggle no guerrilla can attract anybody. Without the big struggles of the proletariat of the sugar industry, without the struggles of the railway workers of Cuba, of the worker and peasant masses, Fidel Castro would not have triumphed. There has already been a historic precedent which was not for nothing; 4 Trotskyist deputies and 2 senators, and a powerful Communist Party. Fidel Castro did not emerge from nowhere to attract these people. The social conditions were already established. And in the document it is the opposite; "Look out for Imperialism, don't make a noise, destruction and death are coming." It is a lie. They want to prevent the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Anybody who writes a letter feels the need for a political organised activity, of influencing organically, of not only firing rifle shots. Why don't they weigh organically? Like the Cuban government. Why? What does such a public document mean? That they want to weigh organically in the world, as a leadership. And where is he to be found? How does he make himself felt,

with a movement, a group, a party? Even if he does not say where he is, the problem is; how to make himself felt, how can he influence? It is not necessary to say where he is to be found. But he should appear organically, as we do. In that situation it is necessary to do this, elsewhere something else, make appeals to do so and so.

The revolutionary struggle is not silent, but noisy. The rifle shots, the agitation, the programme make a noise, need to communicate. There is no such thing as a silent revolutionary struggle. It is the bureaucrats who maintain silence for fear of arousing the world, for they are even frightened of the flies.

It speaks of Bolivia, of Brasil. Where is he? If he was in a country he would say: 'It is necessary to do so and so' and would give a programme. This is what one would do to organise the masses. One cannot organise and attract in silence. This is not justified by any clandestinity. This means hiding oneself from the enemy, but one must appeal publicly to the masses, one calls them publicly, orientates them, appeals to them with the programme.

The Communist Manifesto says 'the Communists are not frightened of telling the truth, nor of appealing for struggle'. Good. In what organism does Guevara function? Why doesn't he submit to Fidel Castro, to the Tricontinental? Why has he not been to the Tricontinental conference? This so called document of Guevara is in contradiction with the Tricontinental. Why doesn't he give all power to this conference? Would he compete with it? This conference has meant an attempt at centrism by Fidel Castro to unify the leadership of the struggle to prevent it escaping from his hands. He sees himself obliged to advance in the revolution and he is frightened. From this comes the Tricontinental.

Inevitably he must show his contradictions, his antagonisms, his absurdities. It is absurd that at the moment itself as he holds the Tricontinental, Guevara disappears. Where is he, where is his organism? Where is his group, his action? There is nothing. It is a simple document which has neither the form nor the ideas of Guevara. It does not explain the last public stage which we know about, his trip to Africa and to China, in the course of which, he appealed for the struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy, against its bureaucratic power. The last public and world activity of Guevara has been a call against the Soviet bureaucracy, an appeal to destroy it, an appeal to support the revolutionary world United Front. This document runs counter to the tendency, the action and the thought of the last

period of the known life of Guevara.

The document reflects the attitude of those who submit themselves to the military power of Imperialism, when it is Imperialism which is in process of being beaten. We repeat: the Conference of Presidents has just been held, and they have not been able to bring out any document against Cuba, or appeal to go to fight in Vietnam. They did it behind the scenes, they have not hurled themselves to do it publicly. Does this show the power of Imperialism? It has atomic arms, money, but no social force. And it is by basing oneself on this latter fact that one must appeal to the masses. This document is not a fighting revolutionary document. It is mystical. Fidel Castro said a short time ago 'there is no class struggle in the United States'. Guevara and the Trotskyists say the opposite. We have publicly criticised Fidel Castro. He seeks a subterfuge with this document, a way of saying that the class struggle has begun in the United States. When Karl Marx died there had been a class struggle in the United States for a long time. Guevara and the Trotskyists speak of the class struggle of the North American proletariat. Fidel Castro has received criticisms from within and tries now to annul them by making reference to this problem. Guevara did not say "The class struggle begins to develop in the United States." He bases himself on it.

All those who think that we are impatient, leftist, that we are forced to say a living man is dead, deceive themselves. It is these who are forced to present a dead man as alive. Very rapidly this dead man is going to make it felt that it is not possible to make fun of him. For shortly in Cuba the question is going to arise "Where is Guevara?"

This document is entirely directed to contain the pressure of the layers of the revolutionary currents within Cuba, who are Guevarist and Trotskyist; to contain them, to resist the pressure so as to prepare in a short stage the explanation that he has been assassinated. If he lived, he would in process of directing the revolution. When they show him in a photograph, why don't they present him in life? Why don't they make a film of him? A film showing him in struggle, with such a programme and appeal? Why do they not show him calling for a struggle showing his organisation, his political life as has been done in Cuba. The Cuban revolutionaries in Mexico did not hide what they wanted.

Where is the organism in which Guevara functions? It is an infamy, a lie, and those who act in this way are ready for no matter what infamy in this story; whatever it might be. It is the perversion of the interests of the revolution submitted to the interests of centrism.

When they bring out a document

without a date, without place of origin, it is because it is false, full of contradictions and lies. It is a shameful mystification, completely shameful. The last positions of Guevara are Trotskyist. He attacked the Soviet bureaucracy for its belief in material stimulus. He openly called for the liquidation of this. This letter is a sickly appeal of a religious person who addresses the world; "Look at these terrible Yankies who are killing, causing people to die." The Imperialists are the ones who are overwhelmed and buried by the world revolution; it is they who must withdraw and who have been at the meeting of presidents in Latin America to try to attract them against Cuba and Vietnam, and who have failed. In an indirect fashion, it is the presence of the force of the revolution. Ongania has not taken power in Argentina; to give it to the CGT but to hinder it from taking power, and has amongst other objectives the objective of going to Vietnam and Cuba. Why doesn't it go?

The appeals to overthrow Capitalism and to combat it are abstract, idealist, without appeals for concrete struggles. Why do they not appeal for struggle in Columbia, in Venezuela, in Guatemala, in Brasil, in Bolivia, with a programme as was done by the Cuban revolution. And how are they going to develop the revolutions in the whole of the world? Their programme is concerned with containing, polemicising, rejecting the programme of the Guevarist and Trotskyist tendencies. That expresses a very elevated process of organisation in Cuba. Otherwise they would not bring out such a document. If Guevara was really alive they would show him launching effective appeals for the revolution. The person who writes a document analysing, concerned with the world forces of the class struggle, has an interest in organising, in living an organic life in the organisms. Where is this organism? What is it? There is no reason why he should hide himself, Fidel Castro and the Cuban government do not conceal the fact that they are making organisms, they do not hide effective action. Clandestinity does not mean not saying what one is going to do.

The letter was produced in Cuba by the tendency of Fidel Castro and the Cuban Communist Party to try to contain the development of the Guevarist wing. As they were not able to combat it in the name of Fidel Castro, they did it in the name of Guevara. The document contradicts itself constantly. At no time does it speak of parliamentary methods. Its allusion to Yon Sosa to the guerrillas, is an appeal to the armed guerrilla, to the struggle for the taking of power, but without a programme. It is a contradictory document which reflects the present struggle in Cuba and the attempt of the leadership to arrive at a transitory agreement, very transitory.

## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

**ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Fourth International Group (Trotskyist). Clandestine.  
**ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. (Trotskyist). Clandestine.  
**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).  
*Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet B.P. 73. Charleroi, Sud. Belgium.  
**BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Amadeo Vargas Ace, Casilla de Correo 644, Oruro, Bolivia.  
**BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.  
**CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). J. Segundo Caceres, Casilla 7048, Santiago, Chile.  
**CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Monte No. 12, Esq., Zulueta Ap. 11, Piso 2, Havana.  
**ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc'hongar, 21 avenue du President Wilson, La Plaine Saint Denis, Paris.  
**GREECE:** Communist Fight. Clandestine.  
**MEXICO:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apdo Postal 7-1039, Admon No. 7, Mexico D.F.  
**PERU:** *Voz Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Apartado 5044, C. Central Lima.  
**SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).  
**URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). General Flores 2515, Montevideo.  
**INTERNATIONAL:** *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau. Casilla Correo 1204, Correo Central, Montevideo, Uruguay.  
*Rivista Marxista Europea*, organ (in Italian) of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat. P. Leone, Casella Postale 5059, Roma Ostiense.

# SERVES TO CONTAIN AND LIMIT THE ICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA

This letter was written with the mentality of a bureaucrat, it is not that of a revolutionary. A revolutionary cannot see Imperialism powerful when the contrary is the case.

If De Gaulle had real power, he would show it in the capacity of French Capitalism. Why was he not capable of hindering the triumph of the Communist Party in France? And the 407 Trotskyist votes in an election in San Denis, why has he not hindered all that? This letter goes against reality. It is written for reasons of justification, as were all the crimes of Stalin. It was written with the desire to deceive history, and it is absurd. And it was written at the moment where in China they are opening the archives! It is only possible to write such a letter when Cuba is in such a tense situation. Otherwise there would be no need to write in this way. They write to contain the organisation of the revolutionary tendency, public discussion, and more afterwards, they justify repression.

The Guevara which they present has no sense. Not only is there no animation, or life, but still no logic. It is outside all logic. It is not possible to refer to Guatemala, or Venezuela, or Bolivia without saying what is happening, what it is necessary to do. These are simple references to try to show that Guevara still exists to prove that he is living. The world press says then: it is undoubted that Guevara is alive since he keeps up with events. The world press says: it is undoubted that Guevara is alive because the references that he makes, refer to events of a little time back.

Castro and Imperialism wish to hinder Trotskyist authority in Guatemala. For that they did everything that they could and amongst other things assassinated Francisco Amado Granados.

But "Guevara" in order to gain authority has to say "Yon Sosa is among the revolutionaries who are now arising". The person who wrote this letter has read badly the paper that they have given him. He presents Yon Sosa as a person who has just appeared. He does not give the date of his birth. He presents him as someone who has just appeared as from now. Thus who ever reads it realises that this person does not know what has happened in

Guatemala, because Yon Sosa fought for a number of years, he did not arise in revolution just now. He appeared before, a year and a half before Fidel Castro attacked him. Thus attacked he has been reborn today in this letter, because already the Trotskyist influence is very great.

It has just been communicated to us that the discourse made by Fidel Castro after the Tri-Continental has been heard in Mexico from Havana, but the attacks against the MR 13th November and Trotskyism have been suppressed. If we were pestilential, we would continue to be so and much more still after a year. However, it appears that we are regenerated. It is true that Fidel Castro can no longer blow his nose at us. He ignores, he eliminates the attacks. This means that the development of the Guevarist and Trotskyist tendency in Cuba is very profound.

This means that a very tense stage of the political revolution in Cuba exists in which it is necessary to intervene as already our section is in process of doing. This letter is also a reply to our section, for it has the objective of diminishing the authority of the Trotskyists.

The bourgeoisie publishes this letter in its papers, because it is in a united front with the intentions expressed in this document; it wishes to confront the revolutionary tendency. There in this letter can be found a new expression of a very intense political struggle, of fractions, within the team itself of Fidel Castro. There is a struggle of fractions and tendencies.

Stalin falsified many things much more important than this. He falsified the text of Lenin, his positions, his policy, but it is the policy of Stalin which has died and the Trotskyists are living. When they act thus it is because little time remains to them. When they have to resort to such lies, to such historic mystification, it is because the historic time which remains to them is very short. We are no longer in the stage of Stalin, at the stage of retreat, but at that of the advance of the revolution. And they go out to try to cut this concrete organic advance of the revolutionary tendency. That is why there is such a mystification.

The Capitalist press also has an inter-

est in maintaining this mystification, and publishes this letter, because it is in a united front with them against the revolutionary tendency, it is the same attitude which at the time of the crimes of Stalin, was shared by the world bourgeoisie. All its literature justified them, as necessary to the defence of the fatherland, it concealed them. The world press publishes today this letter and opens its columns to it because this letter defends their common interest against the revolution.

They assassinated Trotsky many years ago as also other Trotskyists throughout the world, but today it is Trotskyism which is developing throughout the world. The programme, the policy, the objectives and the ideas which develop today in the world are Trotskyist, neither from Stalin, Khrushchev, Mao, Fidel Castro or Guevara but Trotskyist. The one closest to us is Guevara and at present the Chinese wing which tries to impel the revolution.

This "Guevara affair" is going to last for a very short time. The revolution has more strength than all of them. Trotsky said: "the revolution will open all the archives". And that was in 1937. We followed the examples of our masters, of Trotsky and we say "The archives are already open, the action of centrism is to muddle the papers up, but already the papers are in order despite this muddle."

A revolutionary such as Guevara who has shown his sensibility in advancing in the revolution, a man who has gone

on forming himself since the nationalist Cuban policy, up to the world revolution, cannot be presented as a cramped type, a limited person whose brain power is limited. It is absurd, absurd. The Guevara who launched appeals in Algeria, in China, in the course of his interview with Babu in Zanzibar, who appealed to the world permanent revolution, is not the Guevara they present with an insignificant political conclusion, appealing to defend himself, weeping, making it appear that Capitalism has enormous strength. This is how they present him in this text! Whereas in his last conscious stage he showed that the strength was on the side of the world revolution and not on the side of Capitalism. This document is the antithesis of Guevara, it has nothing to do with him. Neither in Cuba nor in the rest of the world, can such a document be accepted. The only people who are able to write such a text are those who have an interest in surviving as centrists. This journalist has no other notion of life than that which the 'powerful ones' give; in this case the centrists, the Soviet bureaucracy and in part Capitalism. They jump on to the bandwagon of Fidel Castro and use him, for they have no other way of feeling themselves able to grapple with the revolution. They think that it is this way that it is possible to contain it. But they are only attached by the little finger, they have little strength and will collapse rapidly, very rapidly.

J. POSADAS

17. 4. 1967.

## An apology to our Readers

We apologise to our readers for the irregularity of 'RED FLAG' during the last few months. This has been due to preparation of the 'European Marxist Review' which has taken up the majority of the resources and effort of the team.

The 'European Marxist Review' which is going to contain all the documents of the VIII World Congress as well as other articles by Posadas, is of fundamental importance at this stage to orientate and guide all the revolutionary tendencies which are forming and developing throughout the whole of the English speaking world. This is the reason

why the British section, carrying out a resolution of the VIII World Congress, is devoting the greater part of its meagre material resources to this task. We apologise also to our readers for the delay in its publication, but we expect it to appear in about a months time.

In the new year we will again publish 'RED FLAG' fortnightly and we make a financial appeal to all our readers to renew their subscriptions, to take out subscriptions, to order the 'European Review', and to send us donations, so as to enable us to increase and improve all our publications.

Editorial Board

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## Activity of the Party in Newcastle

During the last weekend of October a small Cadres School of the Party was held in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The school was attended by comrades and sympathisers of the Party from England together with a representative of the European bureau.

The courses of the school were:

The World Development of the Revolution,	RICHARD
The Role and Development of the IV International,	VALERY
Report on the British Situation,	COLIN

All the comrades intervened in the discussions, and there was a specific discussion on the work of the Party in Newcastle. Afterwards all the comrades intervened giving a balance of the school. Greetings were sent to comrade Posadas, the International Secretariat, and the European Bureau. The school ended with the singing of the International.

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# The growing influence of Trotskyism in the WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE BUREAUCRATIC ENTERPRISE UNDER A TROTSKYIST CLOAK OF THE CAPITULATORS, PABLO, MAITAN, FRANK, LAMBERT, HEALY AND MANDEL

A series of groups are appearing today in different European countries who call themselves "Trotskyists" and the "IV International", in order to cover up a policy of organisational forms and a conception which has nothing to do with Trotskyism and the IV International.

The major part of these groups (Frank, Mandel, Pablo, Healy, Lambert) have capitulated at different stages of the development of the International; others such as the Voix Ouvriere in France have never belonged to it.

These groups begin by not accepting, by not understanding the conditions of the class struggle at this stage. For them, as for Khrushchev, the atomic bomb is placed in front of the class struggle. The terror which they feel in front of the inevitable atomic war makes them talk of the "catastrophe" and of the "nuclear holocaust". In no way do they represent a revolutionary vanguard capable of organising the struggle in the conditions presented by the class struggle, but they make themselves the echo of the panic fear of layers of the privileged petit bourgeoisie who tremble in front of the violent revolution as it has developed to its present violent stage. Their incorporation into pacifist currents not only leads to idealism, but to the conciliation with bureaucratic layers of the workers movement which are the representatives of this petit bourgeois social base.

For Lambert and Healy, the working class is on the edge of defeat as the "integration" of trade unions into the state testifies. They also defend an absolutely defensive struggle in which all

agitation for the transitional programme, which is a programme of offence, is excluded. From this, the defensive slogans that they put forward are: "defence of social security" "defence of the trade unions" which are mortally threatened: this leads them to the tactical conclusion of an appeal to the "national bases of unity". They are only agents of the union bureaucracy which can less and less play their role as intermediary between the interests of the masses and those of the bourgeoisie and reformism.

From this comes their analysis of the class struggle. For Pablo it means the "historical feebleness of the European proletariat"; for Mandel the "crest of the wave", for Lambert, if the proletariat does not move quickly, it will "soon be smashing, atomisation and annihilation." Such an analysis, in the face of the full permanent mobilisation and will to struggle of the European proletariat is not only a mistake, but is the point of view of the petit bourgeoisie and bureaucratic layers which are hostile to the independent activity of the proletariat. As Trotsky said, they try to justify their capitulation by the "passivity of the masses". This same analysis leads them to condemn the Chinese political revolution as an "inter-bureaucratic struggle" (Frank) or like a Stalinist repression against the cadres of the Party (Pablo). It leads them to support Castro in his repression of the IV International, against the Revolutionary Movement of the 13th November in Guatemala, against the Chinese and the Guevarist wing in Cuba, transforming themselves into agents who make a mystique of Guevara" as they have wanted to with this so-called letter.

While the centrist wing in Cuba tries to use the name of Guevara after having liquidated him itself, in order to try and contain his development in the Trotskyist tendency, Frank tries to cover this operation with the cloak of Trotskyism, to try and use him in the struggle against the IV International and its Secretary comrade J. Posadas, against the Guevarist wing, and against the Chinese revolution.

This same analysis of the class struggle leads Lambert and Healy to deny the existence of Workers States, to see the world revolution as a defeat in front of an increasingly powerful bureaucratic Stalinism. In England and France they are converted into allies and terrorist allies of the bureaucratic wing of the T.U.C. or of Force Ouvriere, just as before, the Lambertists were the agents of the 'Messalists' and the French police against the Algerian revolution. On their side, Pablo and Frank based their hopes on integrating themselves in the African nationalist apparatus, by launching the struggle against the IV International in these countries, under the pretext that "the revolutionary party, the vanguard party existed and that it was not necessary to build it, but they should integrate themselves as individuals into the existing structures to try to make them advance little by little."

This is why they broke from the International in 1962 in attacking the fact that we have an Algerian and Cuban section of the IV International. The rest is known: Ben Bella fell and Pablo tried to start an alliance with the Algerian Communist Party and the ORP. Didn't

he say that Krushchev and Tito were the "enlightened" sector of the bureaucracy? He has been used by the communists who then excluded him by the same bureaucratic methods with which this Ben Bellaist alliance had been formed and whose only programme has been that of Ben Bella. The Pabloites, like the Frankites expelled from Algeria have therefore looked elsewhere for their source of activity. Pablo attaches himself to Yugoslavia and the struggle against the Chinese. This Trotskyist renegade is not content only to idealise Nyerere or the degeneration of the Titoist bureaucracy, but he sees in Makarios an "astounding figure", just as he saw Boumedienne and other members of the Ben Bella group as similar "astounding figures". This substitution of the Party, of the International for several "strong" personalities in national movements does not only show the ideological debacle, but also show how these people are made into conscious agents of sections of the bureaucratic leadership. They cover a political action in which Trotskyism and the IV International are used in operations against the revolutionary vanguard.

This operation is very clear in Europe; in Italy, Belgium, France, England, Germany. But everywhere, in spite of a defeatist analysis of the workers movement, tendencies in the Communist, Socialist, Labour Parties, in their youth sections in particular, are seeking the revolutionary programme, a centre of revolutionary initiative, seek to become incorporated with the proletariat and the world revolution. Also, the role of these groups is the search for an alliance with sections of the apparatus of these parties in order to isolate the tendencies which are developing, to isolate the youth of the working class vanguard, from the programme of the IV International, from its conception and its Party.

Their pacifist ideology, their defeatist analysis of the working class, their struggle against the political revolution in China and support for the centrist operations of Fidel Castro in Cuba is going to limit the maturing of these currents, to isolate them from the causes which have given birth to them and which is a partial but real expression of a revolutionary initiative of the Communist and Socialist vanguard. Groups like "La Gauche" in Belgium, "Sinistra" (Left) in Italy, J.C.R. in France, or Keep Left in England each day enter more and more into a crisis, isolating themselves from the process to the extent that they do not respond to the programme and the revolutionary perspectives, but instead, they unite themselves and centralise themselves each time more and more in the struggle against the programme, against the International, against the leadership and comrade Posadas. They unite themselves and devote themselves to the struggle against the independent anti-bureaucratic development of the world revolution, against the political revolution in China, against the Guevarist tendency, the MR 13 directed by the IV International. The hatred, the violence of their attacks is not the product of a fractional struggle, but is a class hatred which they lead to the point of justifying Fidel Castro in his ignoble attacks on the IV International, on Posadas and Gilly which leads them to cover up by silence the public betrayal of the comrades in Guatemala and the assassination of the Trotskyist leaders in that country, and arrests in Mexico, and not speak of the MR 13 until they thought it had broken with the IV International.

This mentality of repression, of denunciation is used, to cover the invention of the existence of parties and of sections in Latin America. This is why they invent the story that Hugo Blanco, leader of a peasant region, is a Trotskyist, whereas he never was, as he himself has declared. They invent parties whereas they cannot even get to the stage of the name of a journal or a section. They

claim the imprisoned Trotskyists in Bolivia, Mexico or in Spain, whereas they have always been incapable of forming a party in these countries, maintaining a support with several demoralised and inactive elements.

Why do they continue to call themselves Trotskyists and the IV International when they are nothing but renegades? Lambert, Healy, Voix Ouvriere are nationalist groups who do not believe in the IV International. Frank, Mandel, Maitan on the side of the American S.W.P. have a federative conception. They are against the formation of sections there where there are revolutionary movements. In Europe, their activity is that of a pressure group or of councillors for the bureaucrats. As Comrade Posadas analysed it, their perspective is that of the construction of a substitute bureaucracy in the context of pacifist policies. This leads them to accept pacifist co-existence and to fight against the revolutionary organisation of the vanguard, to lead a concentrated struggle against the IV International and its leader, Comrade Posadas.

This is their function. They are useful to the bureaucratic milieu which accepts them, uses them and financially supports them. This milieu opens to them their conferences, their meetings, that it, to those who talk in the name of Trotskyism. This stage is that of the world revolution, of the political revolution, of the development of new Workers States, of the development of elements of a new revolutionary leadership. Today we see the beginnings of the solution to the crisis of revolutionary proletarian leadership, through the tendencies in the Chinese political revolution, in the Guevarist Trotskyist tendency in Cuba, among elements of the workers' leadership in Syria, in the revolutionary currents in Latin America. The prestige of Trotsky and of Trotskyism, of the IV International, of Posadas is developing throughout the world, through the intransigent struggle for the construction of this leadership in the heart of the permanent world revolution, in the political revolution. It is in such a situation that the "enlightened" sections of the bureaucracy, of which Pablo speaks, are taking account of the possibility and the need to use the name of Trotskyism of the IV International, to combat this revolutionary tendency, this new world leadership in the process of construction. They support themselves on these groups of capitulators, demoralised, full of resentment, who recoil in panic fear of the atomic war, and before the "savagery" the "backwardness" of the revolutionary masses in the Congo, in the Arab countries, in China or in Latin America.

Under the leadership of Comrade Posadas, the IV International develops its unswerving support for the programme for the Soviet power of the masses, for the Bolshevik Party, for the mass Communist International, for the world construction of socialism, being supported on the Socialist consciousness organised by the world masses, ripening towards Trotskyist tendencies.

The atomic war is the inevitable context in which the struggles of life or death against the old regime are going to be generalised. The revolutionary and atomic preventive war is the offensive form of the world masses at this stage. It is in these conditions of today's class struggle that one must build the new revolutionary forces in China, the Arab masses, the tendency of the Trade Union Federation of Kaled Jundi in Syria, the Guevarist tendency in Cuba, each one shows the same decision as Posadas and the IV International. This is the Trotskyism of our period! Those who capitulate, the renegades, align themselves rapidly on the side of the counter-revolution, for history leaves no place for an intermediate role.

Signed:

Editorial Board

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## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are everything  
— Trotsky

# Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),  
British Section, IVth International



NO 59 FORTNIGHTLY DEC 10th 1967 SIXPENCE

## In face of devaluation and rising prices, impose the Anti-Capitalist Programme of workers control, no dismissals, all wages to rise with the cost of living

The social and political crisis of British Imperialism revealed most clearly in the abstentions in local and Parliamentary elections is being constantly magnified by the whole process of the world revolution and also by the crumbling of the hitherto relatively stable economic structure of Imperialism. All the factors of political, social and economic stability which in the past helped to sustain Capitalism have vanished and there is no possibility of any return to a former stability. The mystifications of Capitalism to conceal the basic facts of the situation delude no one. When the Tories lose votes in elections but Labour loses more, Capitalist spokesmen try to conceal the debacle to the whole system of parliamentary government by speaking of swings to the Tories. When Capitalism is forced to devalue, they speak nonsense about the wonderful opportunities given to British Capitalism to increase exports. But of course this is the nonsense they peddle for forms sake. Their real thoughts and actions and speculations show that they are preoccupied with very different beliefs.

They know that Capitalism cannot expand. The rate of investment has been low for years. And that is the key factor for economic health and Capitalism is incapable of providing this investment. The last twenty years have shown this conclusively. They are only interested in maintaining military expenditures and investing abroad. The bosses have been openly saying that they want wages held down and prices to rise as quickly as possible. In other words they will only be satisfied with the hardest possible line: No concessions to the masses! Callaghan in his mystical departing speech, criticised the industrial grouping headed by Paul Chambers whom he accused of saying that the Government could not solve anything and that "democracy" was no longer working. Thorpe the leader of the Liberals who is particularly conscious of the fact that the electorate is rejecting the whole parliamentary system, speaks of the need for "businessmen in the Government". Now Sandys flies a kite on the need of Government with the "national interest" at heart. Gunter in his threats to strikers has said he is under constant pressure to bring in legislation to prevent strike action. All these remarks show that Capitalism is thinking in terms of some form of repression, of "firm government". They have reason to be desperate. The reported extreme brutality of the police in the Roberts Arundel strike is an example of the desperation which the Capitalist class must increasingly feel in face of the combativity of the masses. It is impossible to foresee the exact forms by which repressive action will be introduced. There are faint whispers of coalition, but the very political and social weakness of Capitalism is not conducive to the most rapid decisions of the ruling cliques. Inevitably with the increasing momentum of the class struggle and the inability of the Trade Union apparatuses or the Communist Party to divert the struggle, the vanguard must be prepared not only to impose workers control and factory occupations but to think in terms of workers defence committees as the basis of a workers militia to facilitate the taking of power during and after the nuclear war.

It is impossible to overestimate the significance of devaluation. This was a measure resisted for as long as possible by the international Capitalist banking system, because it leads to an instability

in the currency system, particularly when a major reserve currency is involved. Essentially it is a defeat for Imperialism and Capitalism, a sign that the period of relative economic stability is over, a blow at the functioning of Capitalism. The immediate effect will of course be an increase in the cost of living and this will be further augmented as a result of the conditions involved with the granting of the new loan, cuts in government expenditure, wage freeze etc. Capitalism knows that it has no future. On the economic plane Capitalism will simply attempt to maximise its profits at the expense of the masses, reducing the standard of living, recklessly dismissing workers and closing factories. Capitalism does not have an interest in developing the home market. It cannot do it. The raising of bank rate will effectively chain the home market. More and more it becomes necessary to apply the anti-Capitalist programme. All the time by one means or another, with one excuse or another, the masses are being super exploited while the rich indulge their degenerated lives. Not only is Capitalism refusing to make any real concessions, it is actively involved in reducing what gains, sectors of the masses have achieved. It is necessary by mass force to prevent the closing down of any more factories and mines. It is necessary to organise workers struggles to impose automatic increases in wages for every increase in the cost of living. And it is necessary that workers and housewives decide the increase, not the statisticians of the Capitalist class and all this must be fused with rent strikes, refusal of any further increases in rents and wholesale reduction of rents where these are more than 10% of ones income. Furthermore workers control and nationalisation without compensation must be raised in relation to the big and medium wholesale and retail enterprises so that the population is not blood-sucked by the wealthy profiteers in the big trading and food establishments. All these demands of the masses must be co-ordinated. The policy of higher fares, higher rents, higher prices for food must be met by the line of class interest on the programme as outlined.

The struggles of industrial and professional workers in the last period show conclusively that the situation is really over-mature for the concentrated intervention of the revolutionary van-

guard on the policy to co-ordinate the various workers struggles, to give them a national centre and common programme. The strenuous nature of the struggle at Roberts Arundel's expresses in its force and persistence the determination of vanguard workers not to submit to Capitalist interest. The strike of the ASLEF workers despite every effort to isolate them from the NUR workers and the fatuous attempts at racial smears is in effect a rejection of the whole railway policy of the Government. The objective united front which exists most powerfully between dockers, railway workers, busmen, miners, car workers demands the anti-Capitalist programme and above all, organisation.

The forces of the bourgeoisie and their agents and allies are paralysed in front of this situation. They use the reactionary leadership of the NUR to prevent a national railway strike in a united front with the ASLEF workers. The phoney "lefts" Cousins etc. merely passively moan at the policy of wage restraint but the workers maintain their cohesion. The logic of the process, the loss of authority of the apparatuses in the traditional workers organisations, demands the unification of the workers struggles on the basis of their organisms-factory committees, inter-factory committees, committees of housewives, committees of

students in solidarity with the workers, committees of teachers working independently of the union leadership. Conditions in practice tends towards those of the general strike. But the whole object of the workers struggles is not the general strike as an objective in itself. The struggle for power which is approaching demands the general strike as part of the strategy to impose workers control with the systematic occupations of factories, shops, pits. And for this it is vital to accelerate the unification of the workers committees. It is essential that delegates from the various sectors of workers on strike establish firm organisational contacts with members of their own industries and take the opportunity to appeal to workers in other industries. There is a continuous leap-frog of mobilisations in the British working class. No sooner have dockers gone back than railway workers mobilise themselves. The whole object of the vanguard must be to capture the initiative for the class and use every principal encounter between the classes as a means of generalising all the experiences of the class, using such encounters as a means of stimulating the masses, explaining the course of the process, uniting all categories of workers around the perspectives of both immediate demands and the wresting of power from Capitalism.

## We denounce the sentencing of Marie-Anne Rochongar to two months in prison

DEFEND THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE TROTSKYISTS

We denounce in the strongest terms the fact that Marie Anne Roc'Hongar who was the candidate of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) French Section of the IV International for the seat in St. Denis in the last legislative elections, has been condemned to 2 months in prison, following a false accusation made by the police in alliance with the French C.P.

As we reported at the time in 'Red Flag', during the election campaign last February, comrades of the PCR(T) distributing leaflets and selling papers in St. Denis were set upon violently by members of the apparatus of the French Communist Party. Among these thugs was Berthelot, the supplementary candidate of the C.P. in the elections. Everyone in St. Denis knows that the police intervened to help the C.P. aggressors and in alliance with them, put 10 of our comrades (including a child) into the police cars and held them for several hours in the police station. One policeman claimed to have been struck by Marie Anne Roc'Hongar but this is a lie as our comrade was already being pinioned by the police.

Cde Roc'Hongar has not been im-

prisoned but there will be another trial on the 8th of January. The French Section, following the line laid out by Cde. Posadas in relation to the trial of the Mexican comrades, will present a political defence, attacking the police, the bourgeoisie and the leadership of the French C.P. All the comrades arrested with Roc'Hongar will testify at the trial, thus transforming this attack by the bourgeoisie into an audacious offensive against the bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, which will be a powerful stimulus to the development of revolutionary tendencies and to the party itself.

We appeal to all the worker, student and revolutionary petit bourgeois vanguard to send letters of support to Cde. Roc'Hongar and letters of protest to the French Embassy and the French Communist Party.

Addresses:

Marie Anne Roc'Hongar  
21 Avenue President Wilson  
La Plaine St. Denis, Paris  
French Embassy  
59 Knightsbridge, S.W.1.  
French Communist Party  
2 Bd. Anatole France St. Denis (93)  
Paris, France

# THE MACABRE FARCE OF THE SO-CALLED PROLETARIAN VANGUARD AND THE DE

(1st Part)

The workers vanguard of the world has understood very well, has felt very strongly that a farce has been acted out. This so-called corpse of Guevara found in Bolivia is a complete farce, beginning from Havana, put on by the Cuban Communist Party. It began when they sent Debray and the other paid guys, to set up guerrillas in Bolivia, so as to be able to justify the presence of Guevara afterwards. They made Debray believe that Guevara was to be found there.

We do not know if Debray knew or not. But anyway, he either played the game, or else he is innocent because he did not know Guevara. There has been a complete put up job to make believe that Guevara was dead by unknown means. For this reason since the beginning of the year up to the present, there has not been any concrete information on the death of Guevara. Barrientos and Yankee Imperialism have understood the game which Fidel Castro was playing and they have tried to profit from it for their own ends.

Barrientos has, suddenly, made a 'Guevara' appear. He knew very well that Fidel Castro would not be able to deny it. He manufactured a corpse. One can see very well from all the photos, the signs, the contradictions of the government, the false information, the absolutely incredible proofs, for example: this 'corpse' of 'Guevara' with moccasins. The figure and the appearance of this 'Guevara' have nothing to do with Guevara. It gives the impression, for the moment of being a wax dummy.

It is because of this that Fidel Castro said in his speech 'Don't believe that it is a wax dummy!' Who is he speaking to? Why does he make this mention? If it is a dead man, it is a dead man. If Castro thinks that people suspect, it is because there is a basis for suspicion. He makes references to the fact that it is not a wax dummy because there are people who suspect, who doubt. Nobody has seen the corpse. It was enclosed in a room, lit only by the television lights.

This is what the journalist of *Primera Plana* said, that is to say one of the biggest reviews of the Argentine bourgeoisie which ridicules all this. The review ridicules completely and shows that the whole thing is a farce, a lie, that there wasn't such a corpse. The review states that Barrientos wanted to give as a proof that this was the corpse of Guevara the fact that he has a wound on the forearm. This corpse of 'Guevara' was to be found on show in a laundry in semi-darkness. It was not possible to see in the light save when the television arrived. The television lights illuminated it, with a light which did not allow a complete identification. And the corpse was on show for scarcely a half hour on the TV. The journalist of '*Primera Plana*' said "The T.V. showed a light scar on the arm" and added, mocking, that this wound had been faked.

The brother of Guevara declared that a whole series of protuberances which the corpse had on the forehead to seem like Guevara, could have been made artificially with an injection of paraffin. He denied absolutely that it was his brother.

Afterwards there was this parody of the fingerprints, then they burnt the body. There have been different declarations, one completely contradictory to the other. If it was Guevara they had only to say: come and see, and they could show it to all the bourgeoisie, to the army and to the police. This could gain an immense authority.

This is the way that the world workers vanguard has understood it. The important thing is that the workers vanguard of Argentina, of Chile, of Uruguay, of Brazil, of Bolivia, of Europe and of the world are not guided by this false corpse to determine that it was not Guevara.

It made a political analysis. The world workers vanguard sees that politically it cannot be Guevara. It sees in Guevara a revolutionary organiser. A man who discusses, who has a programme and ideas, a revolutionary who was in process of elevating himself.

The world workers vanguard has seen him since the Cuban revolution, until his journey through Asia and Africa, as a revolutionary who concentrated and elevated his activity to organise the revolution and to learn from the revolution.

It saw that he had seized the programme of the permanent revolution. It saw how he discussed in his meetings with Babu in Tanzania, in Algeria, in Cairo, in China, how he elevated his revolutionary positions and criticised the Soviet bureaucracy because it did not aid the Workers States.

Guevara demanded that the Workers States must aid the least advanced

Socialist countries, without conditions, as China does—as he said. He appealed for a united front to overthrow Imperialism. A letter of Guevara to the revolutionaries of Uruguay, although still remaining limited and feeble, showed the intention to raise the Socialist moral and to seek the organisation of the revolution.

And all at once, they make him appear like an adventurer firing some shots, renouncing the political struggle in Cuba at a moment when it had attained a very acute point, and when, a little time afterwards, Fidel Castro launched the open struggle against the Communist Party.

The world workers vanguard sees that it is a farce. It sees that this corpse is that of an adventurer, not of a revolutionary, consistent in the struggle, and Guevara has shown that he was consistent. The vanguard does not accept and does not see the justification of his renouncing his struggle. The guerrillas in Bolivia mean such a renouncing, because the fight must be lead in Cuba, as the struggle on a world scale, to unify the Workers States, to organise the world revolution.

And it sees him all at once renounce this activity, and leave for Bolivia! This is the judgement which guides the revolutionary vanguard, and the Trotskyists, the IV International. The simulation of a corpse is not a guide for it. It sees it, this corpse, as the conclusion of a farce but it is not at this moment that it draws a conclusion.

It sees that politically and historically it is unacceptable that Guevara is to be found in Bolivia playing the adventurer. It sees that he has not brought out a manifesto, has neither policy nor programme. Guevara has shown the elevation of the understanding of the programme. What is the programme of the guerrilla?

There isn't any! What united him to the Bolivian masses? If he goes to fight in Bolivia he must seek contact with the Bolivian masses, with the historic objective of Bolivia, with the manifesto, programme and political appeal. There is nothing of this! Not a single political appeal that Guevara signed and in which he launches an appeal. It is the authority of the leader which influences and decides. What authority has Guevara shown in Bolivia? The world workers vanguard has sensed this and for this reason rejects this farce. The world revolutionary vanguard had seen Guevara agitate for a programme and knew that in his last declaration, before having been assassinated in 1965, he said: "We came to the Cuban revolution without a programme, we came like blind people, and it was on the road that we learnt the necessity for a Socialist programme of the expropriation of Capitalism".

And in Bolivia? He must apply this experience learnt in Cuba. Why doesn't he apply it? Because he has never been to Bolivia! The world workers vanguard has taken the disappearance of Guevara as a blow made against a leader who was raising his understanding of the Socialist revolution, to become a leader who was necessary for the organisation and reanimation of the world fight for

the Socialist revolution, the elevation of the morality of the Socialist revolution and of the programme of the Socialist revolution.

The world working class, the worker, intellectual, peasant, student, vanguard has seen that there they gave a blow against the world rising of the political revolution. With its attitude of innate distrust, it has rejected it before having seen the corpse.

The world working class did not wait for the corpse before saying it was not Guevara. If they had waited for this moment, Fidel Castro would have been able to make his authority influence. But Fidel Castro accepted the corpse and made a simple funeral speech without political explanation, really playing

a macabre comedy.

The working class confirmed its judgement. Guevara has been assassinated; this is its historic judgement. It is this which weighs on Fidel Castro. It is this which forces him still today, to make speeches to justify himself; this judgement weighs on the whole world, on Cuba, and in Cuba on Fidel Castro. The world workers vanguard shows with this attitude, its revolutionary maturity to take power.

It is already in process of advancing to pass over all the leaderships. The judgement of the whole of the workers vanguard is identical with that of the IV International; it wished that Guevara should not be dead. But the actual facts confirm that he is dead.

## THIS MACABRE COMEDY IS DIRECTED IN PART TO CONTAIN THE PROCESS OF THE ADVANCE OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA AND TO HIDE THE REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF GUEVARA

Why the importance of Guevara on a world scale? He has been eliminated in Cuba. Why was he important if he did not have any weight, any participation? Because the proletarian vanguard is in process of pushing forward and seeking a centre to eliminate the bureaucracy of the Workers States, the leaders conciliatory with Capitalism, and what still remains of Capitalism. World Capitalism has given such a great importance to the death of Guevara for this reason. For all of them this "death" confirms their desire to liquidate and crush the revolutionary force.

They must respond at the same time to the worry of petit bourgeoisie layers, to the preoccupation of the proletarian vanguard, to the state of public opinion which is inescapable. The press which does not speak of Guevara every day is not read! It loses all authority and any other press can overtake it, and this includes the press of the Communist Party, and the world press for this reason has to launch a response to this world preoccupation.

Why such a preoccupation? Because the policy is necessary. The reanimation of the Socialist revolution, the "Cultural revolution" in China, the Socialist revolution in Syria, the triumph of the Arab masses over Imperialism and Israel, the development of the political revolution in Cuba are symptoms, demonstrations of the ascending force of the political revolution, of the world Socialist revolution, as well as at the same time, the lack of a centre.

From this comes the importance of Guevara, for he gave a centre. He was eliminated when he raised himself as a centre based on the authority of the Workers State, on his authority as a organiser of the Cuban Workers State. He was a centre. From this comes his world historic importance. Guevara did not develop this function in history simply by firing rifle shots. He commenced as a gunman, as a man protectionist and paternalist towards the masses, elevating himself afterwards to the level of an organiser of the Workers State. The masses have seen this advance. And on the other hand they see the criminal complicity of Fidel Castro. They see it. Once Barrientos understood the game,

when he understood that the stay of Debray could be used, he invented this trial of Debray. He began to prepare the discovery of the corpse of Guevara. He was still not sure, because he feared the consequences which could come from a denial from Cuba.

This is why, when he was first of all all asked if Guevara was in Bolivia, Barrientos replied 'Guevara has been dead a long time, he is already enjoying the just sleep of the dead.' One month later, when he saw that faking the presence of Guevara could profit him, he said that he was in Bolivia. He needed to do it because of his internal struggles, to support his policy of repression against the miners and to prevent the other military sectors in struggle against him, from overthrowing him.

He also wanted to justify the support of Imperialism, so that it could in its turn justify the 'Inter-American Peace Force'. From this came the game of Barrientos. On the side of the Cuban government and Communist Party this simulation was to remove from the masses of Cuba and the world the idea that Guevara has been assassinated in Cuba. For this reason they have staged this whole show, and in it Debray is a part. Innocent or interested, he is a part of this show.

All the world proletarian vanguard must repudiate this declaration on the death of Guevara in Bolivia. Guevara showed a sensibility to defend the revolutionary masses of the world. Thus, faced with the repression of Barrientos he has not published a single document. Barrientos assassinated miners, workers and peasants with planes and tanks, and Guevara has not made a single declaration against this! It is a lie! It is an infamy! If Guevara was there he would have intervened.

It is the contrary to what they show; in his diary he seems to flatter the Bolivian army without saying a single word about the revolutionary struggles of the miner proletariat. It is absurd. This is the proof for the world revolutionary vanguard, the proof of this macabre comedy put on by Fidel Castro, and to which Barrientos is joined.

The world revolutionary vanguard sees that Fidel Castro is hesitating, un-

## Comrade Elias Suarez of the Cuban Section is dead

We have learnt, in a letter from Cde Posadas, of the death of Comrade Elias Saurez, a militant of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Cuban Section of the IV International.

As Posadas said in his letter "Comrade Elias, a member of the Left opposition in Spain, went to Cuba in 1929, where he continued his struggle in the Left Opposition and where he identified himself with the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat in Cuba."

His struggle, like that of the whole Cuban Section, for the Socialist Revolution never wavered in the face of the repression of the Cuban Communist Party and Fidel Castro, and he never wavered in his unconditional support of the Cuban Revolution.

We render homage to Comrade Elias Saurez and salute at the same time the Cuban Section of the International who are carrying on his struggle.

# DEATH OF GUEVARA IN BOLIVIA. THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD REVOLUTION

**J. Posadas 16. 10. 67.**

certain, and unstable. It sees his complicity in this macabre comedy. This takes from him a great part of the authority which he was in process of gaining by his recent revolutionary advance in OLAS. With this attitude, Fidel Castro shows hesitation, insecurity and fear to affront world public opinion. It is a retreat of a petit bourgeois who defends his personality, through lies. The masses see at the same time that Fidel Castro wants to advance, but that he is weak. They understand the contradiction between his will to advance and his complicity in this crime. He is not solely an accomplice. He went to the extent of authorising this crime. The working class has judged him, but it has not wanted to damage the Cuban revolution. It feels the necessity to impel the Cuban revolution and Fidel Castro included.

This is why, while completely rejecting the argument of Fidel Castro it does not adopt an attitude of open attack, but solely of condemnation. Fidel Castro is in process of losing a great part of his authority and his prestige. These are the contradictions of the rise of the political revolution in Cuba.

The murder of Guevara has an historic importance. They put on such a parody, such a macabre comedy, because the thought, the development of the consciousness, and the understanding of the programmatic ability of Guevara was going to extend itself through all Cuba. In the last stages of his life, his revolutionary development was evident, conclusive. He fought for a moral stimulus, for the unification of all the Socialist forces in the world. He made an eulogy of the Chinese because they made loans without interest and without repayment periods.

Fidel Castro hid this Chinese aid. When at the Tri-Continental, they accused the Chinese, he did not say that they were the only ones to give interest free loans and without repayment periods. He only says it now. Stimulated, forced to advance because of the political revolution in Cuba, Fidel Castro sees himself obliged to seek points of support, and to show to the masses that he is in process of advancing. And the advance of Fidel Castro is one aspect which shows his real desire to progress but on the other side he tries to hide his complicity in this crime. He has waited for this occasion in order to rid himself of the corpse of Guevara.

Fidel Castro, like all paternalist and protectionist revolutionaries, who have not historic consciousness of the role and of the decisive force of the masses, does not believe in the historic capacity for creation, organisation, leadership and historic decision of the masses. No, he believes that they need a chief a figure. He is mistaken.

The revolutionary Party has never acted in this way. Never have either Lenin, Trotsky, Marx or Engels or the Bolshevik Party acted in this way. Fidel Castro feels himself paternalist in relation to the masses. He believes that history is going to judge favourably the day when he will tell the truth about the murder

of Guevara, he believes that he is going to pass into history. On the contrary history is going to condemn him. If the masses do not condemn him today it is because they consider that he wishes to advance and that he is not defending bureaucratic interests.

The attitude of Fidel Castro is contemptuous towards the masses and the world revolutionary vanguard. He has made himself a guarantor for the Bolivian and world bourgeoisie. The Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Party are going to take advantage of this attitude in order to be demanding towards him, using his weakness, his hesitation and his uncertainty. Fidel Castro will receive and deserve by this attitude the distrust of world revolutionary public opinion, for he imagines that the revolution is made at the top.

He believes that he can present himself in history covering up murders and playing this macabre farce. It acts as a blow against the advance of the Socialist revolution. It is this which the masses judge. It is a blow against the advance of the Socialist revolution in Cuba and in the world. It is not simply a question of the disappearance of a revolutionary leader. The masses see, feel, judge the leaders by their behaviour in the revolution. They have confidence and assurance in themselves, they have a historic class confidence.

Their role and their function in the economy and in society forces them to be objective, this is why they realised the United Proletarian World Front before any other leadership, even that of the Bolsheviks. Before them, it was already in the minds of the masses. The United World Front already exists.

The masses of the world have a capacity of persuasion, attraction, revolutionary historic stimulus. This is why they can make the united front in the trade union field, in the factory, in the streets and the districts. They are making it constantly because they feel concretely and historically that there are not divergencies of interests among them. To the measure that the revolution advances, the masses feel an elevation and a conscious identification.

What they are making objectively, pushed by necessity by their function in the economy and in society by their own situation faced with the capitalist system they are afterwards doing consciously in the revolution. The Syrian masses unify themselves in a very few years and they are the ones who have put Imperialism to flight. The Syrian masses! This is why, they have an immense historic capacity and certainty of persuasion, they do not fear the polemic, they do not fear the struggle, the political controversy.

They feel that they are winning, that they are polemicising to try to progress, to advance and attract. This is why proletarian democracy is the most complete that has ever existed in history, in the workers and revolutionary movement. It permits a discussion, full and without fear, without any hesitation and without any limit.

tector of the masses, he fears discussion, because he lacks security, because he does not see the objective force and responds more to his own subjective needs than to history, even if he is a revolutionary like Fidel Castro. Castro, one year ago, said that "there is no class struggle in the United States" and one year later, Carmichael comes to him to show that this struggle existed with the methods of civil war.

The Auto workers are demanding a guaranteed annual wage and participation in the profits of the enterprise. This indicates that the American workers have absorbed the world class struggle and that now they have the opportunity to express it. In less than one year; a complete denial and Fidel Castro has to

change his position. He does it without saying anything. The world vanguard sees it and says "In the same way as you lie over the class struggle in the USA, you lie over Guevara" this is the historic judgement which is to be found in the thought of the world working class. This is what it feels and expresses.

The working class has no fear of discussing and sees that Guevara has been pushed aside because he was expressing revolutionary positions which the Cuban leadership, the communists, and the Soviet bureaucracy did not accept. The world workers vanguard sees that Guevara has been murdered because he expressed the necessity for the moral incentive, the advance of the revolution, workers control, and that he was going to be gained by Trotskyism.

He has been murdered, not because he was a Trotskyist, but because he expressed still in his own manner, the world advance of the revolution and because he was going along the Trotskyist road. That is why they liquidated Guevara. The vanguard sees that it was Guevara who had all these positions, while Fidel Castro was against them. Now it is Fidel Castro who is advancing. The world workers vanguard sees in him this contradictory role of being a guarantor of crimes and this macabre comedy. It sees it and does not pardon it.

As with Stalin, the masses will take vengeance. As revolutionaries of their epoch, the Bolsheviks took vengeance on all traitors, all accomplices, all betrayers, by taking power. This is the historic vengeance of the masses of the world. Personal vengeance does not exist. The historic vengeance of the class is against the class enemy. This is the way of demanding the necessity of the advance of the revolution and eliminating the weak and the hesitating ones.

The historic assurance of the working class pushes it so as not to fear discussions, because it does not defend subjective interests, nor intellectual or material interests. It does not have these. It is not only material interests which determine bureaucratic functioning but also intellectual interests, a paternalist protectionist idealist view of history.

Guevara reflected the necessary function of the individual in history which is to interpret the revolutionary will of the masses. Guevara passed from the stage in which he wanted to close Cuba in on itself, to a point where he undertook his trip round the world. It was not Guevara but Fidel Castro who said "Khrustshev is the finest revolutionary". Guevara never said it. While Fidel Castro hesitated, Guevara advanced in the revolution and learnt from the world socialist process. Three years later, he went to Algeria and Tanzania, and he declared the necessity for the moral incentive, the elimination of the material incentive. He attacked the art and its

bourgeois representation in the Workers States.

This was the Guevara, whom they murdered and made disappear. He disappeared. He was a revolutionary who raised his revolutionary understanding, who advanced in the formulation of the programme and then all at once he disappears to go to bury himself in the mountains. In the mountains without contact with the population, without programme, without manifestoes, without political conclusions. It is absurd, outside all logic.

The world proletarian vanguard sees and understands that he would not act like this. It does not act in this way. And it wants to see the leadership act as it itself acts; by drawing programmatic conclusions, by fighting for the programme. To struggle for the objectives of triumph.

One cannot fight as in the guerrillas in Bolivia: isolated, alone, wishing to impose on the population a struggle which they do not see, do not feel, which they don't accompany, and in which they do not participate. And in this country, the miners in their trade unions, the peasants in their organisations, and militias, the factory workers in their organisations are the determining factors in the social struggles! The appearance of guerrillas in Bolivia is absurd. In every revolution guerrillas appeared. And they still will, because of the subjective and objective conditions, because of the existence of a great peasant weight. But an historic experience already exists in Bolivia in which the weight of the organised trade union movement, the worker, peasant, factory, miner movement demonstrated its determinant weight. It is the worst region to choose the guerrilla. The worst place, the worst region. The guerrilla must go to where there is an historic tradition. The Cuban revolution triumphed under the leadership of Fidel Castro and of Guevara, not because of the guerrillas, but because of the tradition of revolutionary struggle in Cuba.

In reading "Granma" (The paper of the Cuban CP) we see how in 1933 forms of soviets already existed in Cuba! In these struggles the peasants organised militias. Cuba is one of the countries of Latin America in which the left opposition had leaders, senators and deputies. There is a great tradition of struggle. It is not the guerrilla which permitted triumph. It is through the military forms of the guerrilla that the struggle can commence, but by basing itself on the already existing tradition, of great strikes, of great organisation of the worker and peasant masses in the sugar industry, and in the big towns of Cuba. This is what Guevara learnt, and he said it himself. In his last journeys within Cuba, Guevara went into the factories to impel the moral stimulus, to make a selection of leaders, by means

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## Six Trotskyists arrested in Seville

Extract of a declaration of the P.O.R(T) the Spanish section of the IV International, distributed clandestinely in Spain after the announcement of the arrests.

**Immediate freedom for the Trotskyist militants imprisoned in Spain**

"We denounce before the revolutionary vanguard, before all the Spanish working class, and before all the exploited masses in Spain, the repression which has fallen on the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Spanish Section of the IV International.

In Seville six comrades have just been arrested among them: Jose Bellido, Joaquin Vara, Gonzalo Toledano, Jose Fernandez Sastres, arrested on the denunciation of the Communist Party. These arrests make up part of a whole campaign of denunciation by the Spanish C.P. which has led to arrests in Barcelona, and to the fall of the Workers Commissions of Biscay. The bourgeoisie represses the revolutionary vanguard counting on the support of the Spanish C.P."

We appeal to the vanguard in the workers and student movement and to all the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie and intellectuals to denounce this new repression against the militant revolutionary workers and student vanguard in Spain.

**LIKE THE MASSES WHO BY THEIR OBJECTIVITY DO NOT FEAR ANY DISCUSSION AND SEEK THE TRUTH, IT IS NECESSARY TO IMPOSE PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE SOVIETS**

The workers movement objectively needs discussion. It needs to compare ideas, positions, in order to choose the best. Thus the working class sees itself united in the common desire to advance against Capitalism. Subjective paternalist, individualist and protectionist interests do not exist. There is only the objective interests which the class develops starting from its function in the economy and society. It is the revolutionary party which expresses this. The masses have not any hesitation to unify themselves to discuss whatever be the position. They feel sure of winning and advancing.

On the other hand the protectionist, individualist, subjectivist leader is frightened. Feeling himself to be a pro-

# Resist the closing of the mines by strikes and occupations, appealing to other workers on the basis of the Anti-Capitalist Programme

The Government has just announced a ruthless programme of pit closures to take place within the next few years and with many pit closing down in the next 6 months. The Labour Government is taking the action in the interests of the Capitalist class without any concern for the lives or wellbeing of the miners who will join the growing ranks of the unemployed. The crisis of the coal industry springs, in the main from the overall crisis of British Capitalism which is forced to rationalise and concentrate its industries to compete for a share of the saturated world market, and also to carry the cost of the preparation of the next war. The coal industry also has its own specific problems coming from the time of its nationalisation; the mines were nationalised in response to a pressure

from the miners certainly, but they were nationalised in a Capitalist fashion and for the overall interest of Capitalism. Thus the former owners were paid generous compensation (they shouldn't have received anything) for which the industry has been paying ever since, and also Capitalist industry was provided with a necessary abundant energy supply for which it paid below the cost of production. Now with the growth of other cheaper energy supplies—particularly oil produced by Imperialist exploitation of the colonial masses—the Capitalists propose to close the mines. They know there is no alternative employment but they are not concerned with human suffering, and they do this even though they know it is socially explosive.

The announcement of these closures has already caused a crisis in the Labour Party, among the miners MP's and among the NUM bureaucrats. The NUM leadership of Paynter of the Communist Party has for years done nothing to fight for the demands of the miners, and has been one of the principal props of the Labour Party, and as a result the day wage men—both underground and surface—are among the worst paid sectors in the country. Now the pressure from the miners is such that the bureaucrats are having to propose some action to keep control of the situation, and hence we see an NUM official demanding a new workers party to be based on the trade unions, calls for the ending of the payment of the political levy, and also from South Wales there has been the demand for a national strike. These demands do not come from the bureaucrats themselves who have been dormant for years but are a reflection in these bureaucratic layers of the combative spirit of the miners, who are looking for political solutions. And it is this spirit which breaks through even into Parliament, causing the miners MP's to resist, verbally at least, these measures and increase the crisis within the Labour Party.

But although these statements and this

activity by the bureaucrats are significant in showing the feelings of the miners and are important in that they will encourage and stimulate the miners own activity, no real defence against rationalisation will come from this direction. Even if the officials are forced to call a national strike—which is unlikely—they will try to limit and sabotage it. Only the most aggressive class methods of action will stop the bourgeoisie in its plans of rationalisation, and these methods cannot and will not be organised by the bureaucrats. Unofficial miners committees are necessary to organise the struggle, to plan and carry out strike action and occupations of the pits as the miners have done in Europe. In France and Belgium the miners have occupied pits to prevent their closure while in Germany, in the Ruhr, there have been enormous demonstrations of miners carrying red flags and singing the 'Internationale'. This is the response of the miner proletariat of Europe and it is done despite the sabotage of their political and trade union leaderships. This is what must be done here—nothing will be achieved by sending delegations to Parliament.

British Capitalism is sinking into a deeper and deeper crisis; the devaluation of the pound is one aspect of this, but the origin of the crisis is social not economic. It stems from the fact that Capitalism has lost authority over not only the working class but large sections of the petit bourgeois, the clerks, teachers, technicians etc., as well. All these sectors are pressing forward, taking strike action, and forcing Capitalism to make concessions which damage its own functioning. The recent strike of bank clerks in South Wales is a prime example of this and shows the maturity of conditions for a united front between the miners and all other sectors of the exploited population. All the masses are threatened by the Capitalist crisis; the Government has just announced sweeping rationalisation on the railways and in other sectors of industry workers are

threatened by the unemployment, speed ups and reduction in wages.

The miners vanguard must base themselves on these favourable conditions; British Imperialism is not strong as the Adeni masses have shown by booting it out of Aden—and they must organise in every pit a committee to plan the national strike without waiting for the NUM bureaucrats, plan an occupation of the mines, make contact with all other workers organisations in the area and put forward a programme not just of miners demands but an anti-Capitalist programme which responds to the situation and which will attract other sectors of the exploited masses. The Capitalist class is preparing to repress openly and brutally as the European Capitalist class is already doing, as the Belgian bourgeoisie did when they shot the Zwartburg miners earlier this year, but this is an indication of their weakness and fear before the masses. All the international and national conditions are ripe for an offensive by the working class. The will of the working class to smash Capitalism shows itself more clearly every day but still the organisations, the organisms for this do not exist. It is necessary for the miners to take the lead in building these organisations based on democratic elections, with all representatives subject to instant recall, appealing to all other sectors of the exploited masses to support them and putting forward a programme for workers control in the mines nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of all key industries, all wages to rise with the cost of living, all profits of automation to the workers etc. And it is necessary to fight for this programme with revolutionary class methods. Occupy the mines! Keep them running! Appeal to other sectors of workers for support! Sell the coal directly to householders and supply it directly to occupied factories! Appeal directly to the Workers States of Cuba, China, Syria, USSR, etc. to buy the coal.

With this programme and with these methods the whole working class can go forward to smash the plans of the Capitalists, with the perspective of organising the general strike to smash Capitalism and set up a workers government.

pel the best, advance with the best, support the best. They see that even without it being a question of a true bureaucracy, the interests are intellectual, protectionist, paternalist towards the masses. They feel it, they reject it, they repudiate it.

And Guevara found a world echo because the world workers vanguard was already ready to take power. Syria shows it. It is the advance of the masses in Syria, the constitution of a powerful revolutionary wing in Syria, which has restrained Imperialism, and forces Nasser to remain in government. Part of the force of the Egyptian masses, is the attitude of the Syrian masses. Even though they have murdered Guevara to prevent him exerting an influence, the revolution has already advanced well. It will not need, as in the time of Trotsky, where before they murdered him he declared "the revolution opens all the archives of history", 30 years to open the archives of history. This time it will not need 30 or 10. In a few years, all the truth on Guevara is going to break out. It will emerge rapidly because 14 Workers States exist, and half of the world is in revolution.

The masses show their interest, their preoccupation, in taking the control of the revolution into their own hands. In this macabre comedy, presenting Guevara as being assassinated in Bolivia, there is contained the intention to restrain the process of the revolution.

(This document will be concluded in the next issue.)

## OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
16. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
17. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
18. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
19. For the United Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

## The macabre farce...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

of elections in the factory. This was against the communists, against bureaucratic selection.

We invite communist militants to do the same. Leaders are elected because of their behaviour before the class. This is what Guevara did. It was an attack against the bureaucracy. At the same time that it was against material stimulus, it was an attack against the bureaucracy of the Workers States, and of the Communist parties, against the arrogance and the aid with interest of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, against the art, the cultural and social bourgeois forms and relations of the leaders of the Communist Parties and the Workers States. This is the Guevara which they have made disappear.

A Guevara who showed his elevation in revolutionary understanding does not go to Bolivia which is the least suitable place to make the guerrillas. They put him there to bury him.

The world proletarian vanguard has seen and lives the consequences of the assassination of Guevara. It has seen the murder of a tendency which advances in the Socialist Revolution. It saw him as a possible centre to organise the struggle, to eliminate the bureaucratic leaderships, the obstacles which hamper the advance in the revolutionary struggle to finish with what remains of Capitalism. Guevara has met such a world echo because the world proletarian vanguard is looking for this centre. Otherwise he would not have encountered it. Why would there be such a preoccupation with

Guevara? He would be dead, nothing more. But when the world press, the bureaucracy of Cuba, and Fidel Castro have such a need to refer to him, it is because he is alive in the spirit of the world proletarian vanguard. If it was otherwise the world press would have hardly given him an obituary. Guevara was a revolutionary leader, an organiser. Everything which we say about him is to be found in his texts, in his life. All the communist journals of the world, beginning by those of Cuba give obituaries to him. They make buffoonery, diminish his ability, his historic importance, so that he does not have any importance today. Guevara has an importance in history, by his political positions by the progress which he has shown. From a bourgeois origin, he became a revolutionary leader. He showed his ability and his revolutionary honesty.

The worker masses feel that revolutionary morality, honesty, dignity are necessary and indispensable to the revolutionary struggle. They are not appendages but are part of revolutionary action itself, which expresses the objective need to struggle for the best, to stimulate and support the best. This is morality, this is dignity. They are the representation of historic revolutionary objectivity. The attempt against Guevara is an attack against revolutionary morality. The masses of the world see this. They see that there is not an objective struggle to im-