

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 100 25th OCTOBER 1969 PRICE 6d

Strikes and  
demonstrations  
in support  
of the  
Lebanese masses

## Take the struggle of the miners and car-workers into the L.P. & C.P. to impel the formations of revolutionary tendencies there

The attacks by the Lebanese Army on the guerrilla camps in Lebanon, and the counter-offensive by the guerrillas taking over part of the city of Tripoli with the support of the population is another step towards the final settlement of accounts with Imperialism. In 1958 US Imperialism sent in the Marines to crush the Lebanese revolution, today it can do nothing in spite of the presence of the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean, because the revolution has advanced, the Soviet Fleet is there, and the Soviet Union has warned against any intervention by Imperialism. But at the same time US Imperialism cannot allow Lebanon to fall to the revolution for it is as much an Imperialist base as Israel is, but now the time for limited interventions is passed, Imperialism can only respond with the nuclear war, which it feels will be its own end. The blows which Imperialism receives each day become more frequent and harder, more and more areas escape its control. South Yemen breaks its diplomatic links with US Imperialism, Somalia after a military coup with popular support declares itself a 'democratic republic', Ovando of Bolivia, who has been an assassin of the masses, nationalises the US oil company. It is a whole world process, in which the nationalist revolution transforms itself into the socialist revolution, and it is a process foreseen in the analyses of Posadas and the IV International.

This advance of the world revolution finds its expression in Britain with the tremendous activity of strikes, both in the fundamental centres of the class and in other sectors, which in the past have not intervened with much force. The miners strike was a very clear example of the effect of the struggle of the most advanced sectors, the influence, of Ireland, the influence of the world revolution on a sector, which up till now had not found the way to intervene in such a powerful way. The speed with which the miners strike spread, the methods which the miners used to extend it, the rejection of all the attempts of the bureaucracy to conciliate, the fact that this was a strike to benefit the lower paid workers, is an indication of the depths of feeling of the miners, their combativity and confidence,

their desire, even though not expressed concretely and programmatically, to overthrow capitalism. And when it occurs in a sector that is not the most concentrated of the British Working class, where in the past the NUM bureaucracy has been able to control the miners, it shows, as did the dustmen strike, and the present bakers strike, that those sectors, which up till now have been on the margin of the process, are now throwing themselves into the struggle with as much confidence as those most concentrated sectors, who have been constantly intervening. It becomes less and less possible to talk of marginal sectors, as the advance of the revolutionary process becomes more uniform and harmonious, with all the class moving forward together against capitalism. The experiences of Ireland, of the

free zones, which were an echo of the class struggle in Britain, now returns to Britain to feed and stimulate the class struggle.

The calls by the miners for the resignation of Ford and Daly are an elevated example of the anti-bureaucratic spirit of the working class, who are disposed to criticise and reject all the levels of the union apparatus, which put themselves in opposition to the advance of the workers; it is the process of interior enmity at work, the struggle by the workers to take power in their own organisations. The miners are using the organisations, which they have, the union branches, the lodges, and it can be seen that within these organisations up to a regional level, there are officials who have shown themselves to be sensitive to the pressure of the rank and file, and prepared to organise. It is what the leadership of the International has analysed as the advance of the middle cadres, the regional and local officials, impelled by the struggle of the base, which is taking place within all the political and trade union organisations of the class in the world. But still the limitations of the miners leadership showed itself in the fact that the TUC was able to persuade it to return to work, while discussions on the 8hr day inclusive of meal breaks for surface workers continue. The miners have not been defeated; after the biggest unofficial strike in the coal industry ever, they have shown that they were able to organise nationally, and to extract the biggest ever wage concession from the national coal board. It is necessary to push forward with the organisation of the revolutionary tendency in the mines, which already is forming itself, on a programme

of demands, which tend to increase the control of the rank and file over the union leadership, and tends to link the struggle of the miners with that of the rest of the exploited masses. We support the demand of the South Wales miners in relation to the re-election every 5 years of officials, because it is a step in the right direction. But it is insufficient, and we appeal to the miners to demand all officials subject to instant recall.

In the fundamental sector of the class in Britain, the car industry, the class struggle constantly spreads and raises its programmatic level of demands. Even if at this moment there are no big mobilisations, it is clear that big new strikes are coming within a very short time. A one day strike is planned for next month in British Leyland, to enforce that BMLC on Merseyside pay the same rates there as in the Midlands. In Fords and Vauxhall the demand for parity with Rootes, which means about three shillings an hour more, is growing, and was one of the central concerns of the NUVB workers who intervened at the meeting in Luton organised to discuss the Vauxhalls management's pay offer. As with the miners in South Wales, the meeting ended with the bureaucracy refusing to accept resolutions from the workers, and the workers were unable at that moment to impose themselves on the leadership, even if the leadership was not able to impose a line of conciliation. The anti-anticapitalist spirit was present, but not a form of organisation, which corresponded to it. The Luton meeting showed, with the rejection of the conciliatory line of the leadership, the speeches of the workers,

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## Appeal of the RWP(T) British Section of the IV International for a campaign to guarantee the physical safety of the political prisoners in Lecumberri

We are devoting a large part of this issue of Red Flag to the campaign for the release of political prisoners in Mexico to prevent our comrades and other political prisoners in Lecumberri jail in Mexico from being assassinated by the Mexican bourgeoisie in alliance with U.S. Imperialism. The Press Communique, which we publish shows clearly, that a new manoeuvre against the comrades is being prepared. This is not the first manoeuvre against our comrades and the political prisoners, because previous to this there have been the rumours and the attempts to transport the comrades and other political prisoners to other prisons in the interior of Mexico saying, that on the journey "something could happen to them." There were threats of them being machine gunned. This is all part of a sinister plan, in which one can see the intervention of the CIA to try to liquidate our comrades and the other political prisoners, but fundamentally our comrades, who are seen as the centre of the construction of the revolutionary leadership in Mexico.

Our imprisoned comrades in Mexico maintain their activity as militant revolutionaries in prison, developing the Bolshevik tradition of functioning in prison and they have accused the Mexican government and bourgeoisie of showing themselves to be against progress by imprisoning them.

The whole process of the imprisonment of the comrades is against the ideas of the programme and the objectives of Posadism and the IV International, and moreover against the traditions of the Mexican revolution, which the Mexican bourgeoisie claims to represent. It is against this same IV International—the

leaders and militants—that these threats of attempts on the political prisoners lives are directed with the desire to liquidate the IV International. These threats show the extreme weakness of capitalism and imperialism and make their end, and liquidation come that much nearer, brought about by the powerful advance of the struggle of the world masses, and with them, that of the Trotskyists.

We appeal to the working class, the students and the exploited petty bourgeoisie and their organisations, the Labour Party, and Trade Unions, the Communist Party, and to the political organisations, the Young Socialist League, the Young Communist League, the Young Liberals, the N.U.S., the R.S.S.F., the Schools Action Union, the Socialist Societies in the colleges and universities, to make immediate declarations in support of the comrades demanding their immediate release, and demanding of the Mexican government a guarantee of their safety: to make declarations, and send telegrams and let-

ters. We appeal also to intellectuals, artists, scientists, professors to do the same.

It is necessary to act quickly and forcefully, because the lives of the comrades are in the balance. Only the world pressure of revolutionary and progressive public opinion can prevent the murderous forces of the Mexican bourgeoisie and the CIA.

DETAILS OF

CAMPAIGN

PAGE

3 & 4

# THE PROGRESS OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION & THE PREPARATION OF THE WORKER STATES FOR THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

The Kosygin/Chou En-lai meeting is a response to the need for a World Anti-capitalist United Front between the Workers' States and the world workers' movement. This meeting is the consequence of and an application of the chief resolution of the Moscow Conference of the Communist Parties. The Moscow Conference had to abandon its original intention of condemning China, and had to unite instead on a resolution confirming the need for a United Front and the unity of the workers' movement against imperialism.

The Kosygin/Chou En-lai meeting means that this line is being kept up, and shows in a categorical way that the world masses consider the Workers' States, which they have built, are a basis of support to them in getting divergences put on one side, so that these States can play their role as the leading centre of the world struggles for the liquidation of Imperialism.

The divergences between the Workers' States are not due to regional peculiarities, which make differences of tactic necessary. The divergences that might exist between Rumania and Yugoslavia are not the reflection of their populations' diverging national interests, but of diverging interests at the level of the

bureaucracies governing in each of these countries.

The intervention of the masses and socialist democracy would eliminate all this in no time. Comrade Posadas has analysed these phenomena with great depth in a whole series of articles on the Soviet/Czechoslovakian conflict.

## THE END OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

The fact that the common interests of the structures of the Workers' States bear more weight than the regional interests of the different bureaucratic leaderships and leads to the conservative interests of the bureaucracies being blocked, is strictly related to the advancing process of the Political Revolution in the Workers' States.

The advance of the world revolutionary process and the imminence of the final encounter make the Workers' States coordinate their internal preparation so that they can confront this decisive struggle. It is not possible to respond to imperialism's war preparations with peaceful co-existence. It requires a revolutionary policy. The bureaucracy, however, is not prepared to adopt such a policy. But neither can it allow imperialism to attack the Workers' States with impunity. The bureaucracy must defend the Workers' States, as well as itself and consequently it must take the appropriate measures.

The best defence is to go on to the offensive: a military and revolutionary social offensive. Important sectors of the bureaucracy and the army are having recourse to more aggressive measures in the confrontation with imperialism. But this is not so in the revolutionary social field and military measures cannot have the same decisive weight as aggressive measures in this field would have. But nevertheless the bureaucracy has to adopt more aggressive attitudes to some degree.

Comrade Posadas analysed when speaking of the Soviet/Czechoslovakian conflict that, "The Soviet bureaucracy cannot appeal to the masses, but in spite of itself it finds itself obliged to do so." Such is the contradictory position in which the bureaucracy finds itself, and with the margin of manoeuvre getting more and more restricted.

This contradiction explodes in full force over Czechoslovakia. Today, more than a year after the military intervention, the bureaucracy has to face the fact that the military measures haven't settled anything, and that imperialism has even been able to profit from them to encourage the pro-capitalist tendency of the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy. It is the intervention of the masses that is needed to solve the problem.

The political elimination of the right and the pro-capitalist tendencies from the leading organs of the Communist Party and the state apparatus in Czechoslovakia, expressed at its highest level in the Central Committee of the C.C.P., doesn't mean that the problem has been settled. Quite to the contrary, the problem is getting more and more burning and the attempts of the present Husak leadership to solve it in a bureaucratic way, without appealing to the masses, cannot but fail. The masses feel out of this settlement between tendencies of the bureaucracy, they don't feel that they are concerned, and meanwhile they bring other forms of intervention to maturity so their weight will be felt and so they can impose a solution of the problems of the country directly and in their favour.

The masses are going to intervene to impose socialist democracy, to organise soviets, the organisms through which they

can lead the Workers' State directly, and to encourage a similar process in the Soviet Union. This is why the Soviet and Czechoslovakian bureaucracies are uncertain and are trying to get rid of pro-capitalist tendencies, not through the intervention of the masses, but through repression made in the apparatus.

But the bureaucracies have to begin to develop more profound links with the masses in one way or another at the same time, although with a great deal of timidity. In Czechoslovakia the struggle against the right is beginning to make use of means more political than military.

In the Soviet Union the Secretary of the Tashkent Communist Party has declared that it is necessary to organise the preparation of the masses to face up to the atomic war, and Krilov, has declared in reply to the provocation of the C.I.A. when it talked of a so-called attack by the Soviet Union on the Chinese atomic bases, that unlike what Imperialist propaganda says, there will be a victor in the atomic war, and it will be the socialist camp. The times when Khrushchov spoke of the atomic war as a nuclear holocaust meaning the disappearance of humanity, are far off. Between the time of Khrushchov when the bureaucracy removed its missiles from Cuba, and that of Krilov, in which it has to send its Soviet Fleet to the Mediterranean and to the Gulf of Mexico, there is an enormous change.

Krilov's declaration comes after the first of May demonstration in Moscow when the central slogan was "Communism will triumph", and when the traditional military march past was replaced by a march past of 14 million workers. Today the Soviet bureaucracy has to declare that it will defend Cuba with all its might and that it will support the anti-imperialist movement in the whole of Latin America. The slogan "Peace in Vietnam" has now been replaced by "Unconditional Support to the Vietnamese People until the Final Victory". We can remark in the Middle East that after an attempt of conciliation with Imperialism following the 6 Days War in June 1967 not only has this attempt at conciliation resulted in nothing, but the Soviet Fleet is in Lattaquia and Alexandria as an important source of support to the struggle of the Arab masses. This constitutes a direct threat to Imperialism, a fact which the whole of the bourgeois press did not fail to remember when the victorious revolutionary coup d'etat in Libya occurred. It has contributed to paralysing British Imperialism and preventing it from intervening, this is source of support to the British masses in their struggle for overthrowing capitalism.

The Soviet bureaucracy is forced to employ methods, a language and slogans which go against its own existence. In a previous stage it had a certain liberty of action as to what slogans it agitated and was able to take measures which allowed it to impose itself on its other bureaucratic rivals. It did not allow any progress in ideas, slogans, measures or organisms favourable to the Workers State. This is very different from the present stage for as the world process surrounds the bureaucracy it removes from it the possibility of putting a brake on that pro-

cess or controlling it. The example of Libya is an irrefutable one.

The masses of the world are overthrowing the capitalist system at the same time as the masses of the Workers States are mobilising to make the bureaucracy retreat and to encourage the economic and social development of their states, putting obstacles in the way of the bureaucracy's apparatus. The bureaucracy cannot be opposed to this because it is finding less and less support from outside countries in the capitalist system, which is in a full crisis of decomposition.

Peaceful co-existence has come to a definite end, and has burnt all its boats. Consequently the bureaucracy is forced to respond in a different way to interior struggles. It cannot respond anymore with peaceful co-existence, but has to adopt more aggressive forms, sending its fleet to the Mediterranean or around the world to Cuba, for example, or in retaliating instantly to Apollo 11 with Lunik 15. The Soviet bureaucracy has to show itself against the relations, which Rumania is having with Imperialism, by talking of proletarian internationalism.

Even though in the last case, one is dealing simply with the demagogic intentions of the Soviet Union to contain the Rumanian bureaucracy, so that it doesn't go beyond its sphere of influence, this doesn't make any difference to the fact that it can no longer allow any Workers State to weaken the relationship of forces with world imperialism and capitalism. It can no longer solve the problems through peaceful co-existence for the world masses no longer allow this, for they have escaped from the bureaucracies control, and the growth of the Workers States is escaping more and more from this control just as much. It is for these reasons that the bureaucracy is on the defensive, and has to respond in a way that is favourable to the direct interests of the Workers States and not its own.

Its policy is not Trotskyist, but it is due to Trotskyism. The bureaucracy hasn't got a Trotskyist programme or objectives, but Trotskyism determines its

world policy and perspectives, and makes use of this through the advancing world process of the revolution, which attacks capitalism as well as putting the bureaucracy itself on the defensive. Our policy and our strength lies in the support that we get from the world mass movements and the understanding that we have of this, with a world perspective of advance and triumph of the revolution, which is stronger than all the apparatuses, however powerful they may be.

The political revolution is the centre of the world revolution, and is advancing quickly with the strength which it is impossible to contain. An example is the escape of this writer, Kuznetsov. He escaped saying, "you can't speak in the Soviet Union, there is no liberty of expression." He speak like this! He has always said whatever he had wanted to say, and he praised up the bureaucracy and was treated as favourite child by the regime, one who could say anything that he wanted to.

When he has to speak in this way and escapes using such false arguments as far as they concern him, it is because he feels that he is going to be deprived of his liberty, not at the moment, but later on. He feels the political revolution coming, and the rising decision of the masses, and above all that the Soviet working class is going to sweep him away, him and all those like him. He thinks correctly that the Soviet bureaucracy won't be able to go on much longer, and for that reason his privileges will come to an end. He chooses to flee from the consequences of the advances of the political revolution. In this sense he is an indirect representative of this revolution and its strength.

He realises that the people whose praises he sung and he bowed to, are losing their footing. He realises what the sending of the fleet to the Mediterranean, to Cuba, ships that are equipped with atomic arms, and the completely automatic rocket launches to the moon, mean. He knows about all the changes that are being put into operation in the Soviet Union. It's not the bureaucracy that he has escaped from, but the Political Revolution.

## THE INFLUENCE OF TROTSKYISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

This is why Trotskyism appears in every important meeting in the USSR, whatever the form may be. Faced with any sort of difficulty they say: 'Trotskyism'. Even when the Trotskyists have nothing to do with the affair. When they must refer to Trotskyism in this way it is because the stage of conciliation is finished. The parliamentary measures, of co-existence no longer find any place. All this is finished; they can no longer use capitalism to make the counter-revolution. Capitalism no longer has the strength to take the initiative of the counter-revolution, it can only retreat. Thus, as for example, when Yankee imperialism has to make excuses to the Libyan revolutionary government for the escape of this man who used their base and their plane: excuses. The only thing that remains to them is the possibility of accelerating the preparation of the atomic war, of increasing its military power. Politically and socially there is no longer any place for

it in the world.

The protagonist of all these changes is not the Soviet bureaucracy. It finds itself simply constrained to adapt itself and to respond, in the most limited possible fashion, to the demands of the masses of the world and of the Workers States in particular. It is the development of the process of the political revolution in the Workers State, which sharpens the inter-bureaucratic struggle (as in the case of the Sino-Soviet and Soviet Czechoslovakian conflicts), and which obliges this bureaucracy to have a greater sensitivity faced with the necessity of preparing the Workers States militarily and socially in the perspective of the final settlement of accounts.

The development of the political revolution is not expressed only in the struggle to impose socialist democracy, but also in the struggle to impose a revolutionary policy. Socialist democracy is not

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## NEW PUBLICATIONS OF THE SECTION

"The Intellectuals and the Professional Workers, the Development of the Socialist Revolution and the IV International"

J. Posadas, 10. 10. 68  
2/- p.p.

"The Study of the Texts of our Masters Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the Applying of the Marxist Method, and Marxism Today"

J. Posadas, 8. 10. 69  
1/- p.p.

"The Role of the Guerrillas in the Fight for Workers Power"

J. Posadas 1966  
1/6 p.p.

# The progress of the political revolution...

democracy in abstract: it is strictly linked to the intervention of the masses in the immediate tasks to finish with what remains of capitalism, and to advance at the same time in the construction of socialism.

The declaration of this Krilov does not only respond to the desire of a sector of the Soviet military bureaucracy to prepare itself to confront, and to crush imperialism without the intervention of the masses. It is certain that this makes part of the attempt to maintain bureaucratic power, now and after the war. There is a sector of the bureaucracy, which thinks of such a solution, but it remains nevertheless under the pressure of vast sectors of the Soviet Army, sensitive to the influence of the world revolution, those who in 1962 did not want to obey the orders of Khrushchev, did not want to take the missiles out of Cuba.

Also when Krilov said that the war will not be without a victor, he used this as a means to establish a link with the masses of the world, by stimulating their assurance on the fact that the atomic war will not be the end of humanity, but the end of capitalism. Even if it is not done at the same time as making an appeal to the masses of the world to take power,

it shows that the Soviet Workers State is playing its historic role. It is in every way an impulsion to the masses of the world to intervene independently.

In this discussion Trotskyism is present, at the very moment when Krilov made these declarations, "Kommunist" polemised with Comrade Posadas on the problem of the preventative war. The pre-occupation of a sector of the bureaucracy of polemising with the IV International and Comrade Posadas responds to the fact that our positions are being discussed in the USSR. A polemic with Trotskyism is being developed with more and more force in the Soviet Union, clutching hold of the most important and solid tradition. In this polemic "Kommunist" objectively says that Posadas is correct, in the measure where it does not deny that the atomic war will lead to the victory of communism, but that it will signify immense damage. This is a defensive polemic.

Krilov also make himself the echo of this Trotskyist tendency in the USSR when he took the position on the atomic war, which is purely and simply the one which the IV International has defended for years; the atomic war will not be the end of humanity, but the end of capital-

ism, and that to the preventative war which imperialism is preparing it is necessary to respond with the preventative war of the Workers States, that is to say the development and the support of the revolution in all the entire world.

At the same time and for the second time in less than a month Kap'tza repeats that in the capitalist states, Trotskyism influences the youth, and he wonders why it is, not the C.P.'s, who are exerting this influence. *Isvestia* for its part calls to its readers to intervene and write on the line that peaceful co-existence is not incompatible with proletarian internationalism.

The discussion on the necessity for the struggle for power, on the Mass Communist International, is universal. It is at the centre of the pro-occupation of the communist proletarian and world revolutionary vanguard. And it is to this that the bureaucracy must reply, even though it isn't prepared for it. It finds itself obliged to confront processes for which it is not prepared either theoretically or politically.

In this next stage of the atomic war, the masses of the world are entering with confidence assurance and the disposition to triumph. This is not the case of the leadership of the C.P. But different to be-

fore, the communist parties must in every way discuss the perspective of destroying capitalism. There is a great advance, when you relate it to 1939-40. It is not the same situation. The C.P.'s as in 1939-40 do not want to take power, but they see themselves obliged to discuss the problems of power, even if this is in a peaceful and parliamentary form of agreements, of convention, of alliance with sectors of capitalism, with sectors, but not with capitalism. It sees itself obliged to discuss the taking of power, to discuss the replacement of capitalism, a thing which it didn't do on the preceding strike. And the masses of the C.P. feel the situation, feel that their party does not refuse to take power.

They feel that they can exert pressure and they do it so that their party orientates itself for taking power, as much in France as in Italy. The pressure of the masses has produced interior changes in the C.P., the leaderships have not changed. They have the same criteria as before, parliamentary, of co-existence, of peaceful roads to socialism, which would be the revisionism of this period. They would like this through alliances with the socialist parties and the petit bourgeois parties, but the crisis of capitalism closes this road to them.

## THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE MEXICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

# Press Communique issued by "Cell Block 'N' Political Prisoners Commission" Lecumberri jail Mexico

Towards the end of September, United Press International made known the text of an anonymous leaflet, which was sent to their offices in Mexico City, and which warned that if 14 political prisoners, whose names were listed in the same leaflet were not released before October 2nd "those responsible for the 'mass-murder in Tlatelolco', (says this anonymous leaflet), Diaz Ordaz, Marcelino Barragan, Luis Echeverria and Corona del Rosel, will suffer from the action of the revolutionary justice of the people."

On 30th September, several of the political prisoners included in the said list received envelopes in Lecumberri Prison, that appeared to have been sent through the post and in which photo-copies of the above mentioned leaflet were enclosed with a photo-copied list of the relatives and friends, with their respective addresses, who came to the prison to visit the people who received the envelopes and a type written letter also in photocopy, which said the following, word for word. "IF THE THREATS (A COPY OF WHICH IS ENCLOSED), WHICH YOU SENT IN AN ANONYMOUS WAY TO THE U.P.I. ARE CARRIED OUT, AND IF PRESIDENT DIAZ ORDAZ, GENERAL MARCELINO GARCIA BARRAGAN, DR. LUIS ECHEVERRIA AND DR. CORONA DEL ROSEL OR ANY OTHER MINISTER OR HIS RELATIONS SUFFER ANY ATTEMPT ON THEIR PERSONS OR THEIR PROPERTY, YOU, YOUR FAMILY AND THE PEOPLE LISTED AND THEIR RELATIVES WILL PAY THE CONSEQUENCES THAT THE DEED MERITS BEFORE 24 HOURS ARE UP.

### THE RED BERETS OF NETZAHUALCOYOTL

Similar envelopes have been received by several relatives of the said political prisoners as well, and in the last few days well dressed young men, who would not give their names, went to the addresses on the lists to confirm if the threatened people really did live in these places.

The following characteristics of this operation against the political prisoners and their families make it possible to make a rapid judgement as to its origin.

1. The photocopies of the anonymous leaflet or text written by hand in capital letters, which demanded the release of the prisoners, and threatened various ministers, were taken from the original received by the U.P.I., and handed over by the agency to some state functionary or office. The said photocopy even reproduces a line written in the English language on a typewriter, at the top of the original, written entirely in small letters, as is the custom in press agencies, which work with telex, and which says word for word: "does garza have comment on this? tmg" Evidently the said line was written on the original by some U.P.I. journalist as is the common thing to do to obtain the filling in of the details on a piece of news. It is the said agency then that must know who Garza is, and to whom or to what the initials "tmg" refer, and to whom the original leaflet was given, which person must have been in the service of the anonymous terrorist band, which sent out the photocopied threat to the political prisoners and their relatives.
2. The lists of the relatives and friends of the political prisoners and their respective addresses, which accompanied the threat are exactly

the same as the lists which each political prisoners must hand over several days before receiving a family visit so that the visits can be authorised. This strict personal control of the identity of those making the visits is made only in the case of political prisoners. Copies of the visiting list are sent to the prison management archive, the Federal District Department (under which the prison management works) the Government Secretariat, the Federal Security Directorate which is under the said Secretariat, the General Prosecutor of the Republic and the President of the Republic.

The list of visitors, relations and friends of the political prisoners threatened with death could have been taken from any one of these state offices and only from them.

3. The envelopes containing the anonymous threats were handed over to those who received them in an office of the prison management, the "polygon" and not through the normal channels, through which prison correspondence is distributed, in spite of the fact that the appearance of each envelope with its postmark was the same as that of ordinary correspondence. It is the first time that this procedure of handing over letters with ordinary post marks in a special and personal way has been used in Lecumberri prison, at least as far as the political prisoners are concerned, which makes it possible to deduce that the prison authorities knew of the content and special importance of the said anonymous envelopes, and had received instructions to ensure that they were given by hand to those meant to receive them. The three points mentioned previously make it impossible to doubt that these anonymous letters containing threats of death to political prisoners, their relatives, friends and their relatives, originated in a state office or in a group with links with one of the said offices; that their writers have had access to information, technical means, and channels of circulation, which are only within reach of government offices, and that a very simple investigation would be sufficient to identify the originators of this terrorist campaign, and its hierarchical instigators higher up.

These death threats come as the culmination of constant provocations on the part of the authorities and their official and non-official agents against the political prisoners, such as repeated threats of machine gunning and other attempts on their lives and physical well being.

We, the political prisoners, do not expect any governmental investigation of these facts, whose official origin is obvious and evident. We direct ourselves to public opinion in Mexico, and the world, asking for the denunciation of these deeds, whose seriousness speaks for itself, and we hold the government that keeps us arbitrarily imprisoned responsible not only for this terrorist campaign, but for all the harm or attempts on the lives, physical well being or belongings of the people threatened by this supposed anonymous band, whose official origin is clear.

1st October 1969

Cell Block N Political Prisoners' Commission,  
Lecumberri Prison, Mexico D.F.

For the Commission: Victor Rico Galan, Adolfo Gilly, Gilberto Salam,  
Fabio Barbosa, Hugo David Iriarte B.

The following in an example of the police preparation made for the present situation:

(From the Mexican newspaper "La Prensa" (the Press)

21st September 1969

### "Led From The Prison (Headline)

In the opinion of the police investigating the identity of those responsible for acts of city terrorism carried out in the metropolis, these acts are being directed by those responsible for the attempts to blow up the P.R.I. (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) and C.T.M. (Central de Trabajadores Mexicanos) buildings, and who are at present in prison.

It has been made known that there is proof that the home-made bombs, which went off in the Government Secretariat, the District Prosecutors' Office, Television House and the "El Sol" and "Excelsior" newspapers

buildings, are identical to those which damaged the PRI and CTM buildings a few months ago.

The system used to position the explosive objects—it was explained—is also the same. Nevertheless those who put the home-made bombs in position must be considered as inexpert, since fortunately various bombs failed, and this reveals the criminals' nervousness.

IT WAS SAID THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT BLOWING UP BUILDINGS, WHO ARE IN PRISON AT THE MOMENT HAVE BEEN RECEIVING NUMEROUS VISITORS, THE IDENTITY OF WHOM IS BEING HELD IN RESERVE AND WHO ARE BEING CLOSELY WATCHED, NOW THAT IT IS VERY POSSIBLE THAT THEY HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE RECENT EXPLOSIONS."

## C A M P A I G N

# Texts of Telegrams sent to Mexico

The following are texts of telegrams sent by the party:  
To the Mexican Government.

Diaz Ordaz, Casa Del Gobierno, Mexico City, Mexico.

**WE DEMAND THAT GOVERNMENT GUARANTEES LIVES OF TROTSKYISTS AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS IN LECUMBERRI JAIL AND RELEASES THEM IMMEDIATELY.**

The same telegram was sent to the Judge in charge of the case who's address is: Judge Casano Castellanos

Primer Tribunal Unitario, Premier Circuito D.F./Avenida Division del Norte 1354, piso 6. Mexico City, Mexico D.F.

To the CTM (the Mexican Workers T.U. Centre)  
Allerto 8, Piso 20, Mexico City.

**WE APPEAL IMMEDIATE MOBILISATION SUPPORTING TROTSKYISTS AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS IN LECUMBERRI STOP DEMAND GOVERNMENT GUARANTEES SAFETY AND RELEASES IMMEDIATELY.**

The League for the Rights of Man  
27, Rue Jean Dolent, PARIS

**WE SALUTE ACTION LEAGUE APPEAL INTENSIFY ACTION TO GUARANTEE LIVES OF TROTSKYISTS AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS MEXICO AND SECURE IMMEDIATE RELEASE:**

We appeal to all workers', students' and intellectuals' organisations to send similar telegrams to the addresses given and to the Mexican Embassy in this country, in order to intensify the campaign to secure the safety and immediate release of all the political prisoners in Mexico.

Letters and telegrams have been sent from Italy to the Judge in Mexico and to Diaz Ordaz, demanding that the government guarantees the safety of the trotskyists and the other political prisoners in Lecumberrri from;

**THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF FLORENCE  
TULLIO VECCHIETTI NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE PSIUP  
A COMMUNIST PARTY PARLIAMENTARY GROUP  
ROME FEDERATION OF THE C.P.  
MILAN PSIUP  
CHARLEROI FEDERATION OF BELGIAN C.P.**

The texts of some of these telegrams will be published in the next paper.

## 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. 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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the reception to the ideas of the Car Workers Fraction of the RWP(T) both as expressed verbally by members of the fraction and by its publications, showed that conditions are ripe, more than ripe for the organisation of a revolutionary tendency in the unions of the car workers. The revolutionary tendency is necessary now to take the struggle forward on a programme of demands, which tend to impose the control of the base over all levels of the leadership of the unions and over all the discussions with the boss.

If this need for a revolutionary leadership is shown in the car industry, it is shown with no less force in Ireland. The police, even though timidly, unarmed and with army protection are back in the free zones, the leadership of the zones has allowed the barricades to come down, and the dual power to decay. But the masses have not suffered a defeat, and they remain confident, while the right wing feels that its power is being restricted, that its particular interests are being sacrificed in the overall interests of British Imperialism. The clashes between the right wing sectors and the army show the enormous crisis of Imperialism, and it will certainly stimulate the masses to intervene to solve all the problems in Ulster, which capitalism is showing that it is incapable of solving.

The fact that in all the political and trade union organisations of the class revolutionary tendencies are trying to construct themselves is shown in the present polemic in the British Communist Party over the attitude in relation to Czechoslovakia. The CP is not fundamental in the class struggle here as it is in France or Italy, but it is important, because of the authority, which the communist militants have in the struggle in the factories. The crisis in the British CP comes later

than that in the French or Italian CPs, but it has the same origins, the will of the communist base to impose a revolutionary policy in the CP. We appeal to this base to read all the documents of Cde Posadas on the intervention of Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia, to reject the line of the leadership, which support the pro-capitalist policy of Dubcek and company, and to form a united front with the RWP(T).

The vanguard in the miners and the car industry, who have led the struggles in the last period, must take their struggle into the Labour Party and the Communist

Party, to push forward the struggle for a revolutionary policy in the political organisations of the class, impelling those forces within the LP and the CP, which are sensitive to the struggle of the masses and who want to advance, but lack confidence in the masses and in the socialist future of humanity. We make an appeal to the vanguard in the Trade Unions, the Labour Party, the Communist Party, to push forward this task of constructing the new revolutionary leadership, taking power in their own organisations, so as to be able to take power from capitalism in the next stage.

## Long live the 100th Edition of RED FLAG!

In July 1963 the first issue of Red Flag was published, and since that time it has continued to appear regularly, developing itself, becoming monthly in 1964 and fortnightly in 1967. During all this time comrade Posadas and the International leadership have intervened constantly to elevate the paper, correcting and deepening its analysis, publicly criticising the leadership of the British Section, struggling to make the paper a real organising and political centre for the party and for the vanguard developing in the Labour Party, the T.U.'s and the Communist Party. Thus in these six years Red Flag has reflected with its strengths and limitations the struggle for a team capable of representing the International in Britain.

In all these 100 issues Red Flag has carried the articles of comrade Posadas, and also those of the International Secretariat on all the fundamental problems of this period of the final settlement of accounts. These articles have responded to the central concerns of the vanguard at this stage; the crisis of the bureaucracy in the Workers States, the Sino Soviet crisis, the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, the Political Revolution in China and Cuba, the process of Nationalism to the Workers States in the Middle East and Latin America, particularly Peru, the atomic war, the role of the students, the

intellectuals, the guerrillas in the struggle for workers power, on socialist morality, on the construction of revolutionary tendencies, all of which are problems and questions to which the vanguard seeks a reply.

It is these articles and these analyses, and the articles of the Section, which are an application of these analyses, which are influencing and orientating the workers and student vanguard more and more. In the next stage Red Flag must become not only a centre for orientation, but an organ of organisation for the vanguard. And on the occasion of this 100th Red Flag the Political Bureau resolves to deepen its understanding of, and its intervention in the national process, deepening its understanding particularly of the problem of the maturing of the vanguard within the mass organisations of the class, the Labour Party, the Trade Unions and to a lesser extent the Communist Party.

Red Flag is sold in the big car factories of Luton and Dagenham, in the shipyards of Newcastle, at factory gates in Manchester, in colleges, universities and schools, and it is sold in all the major mobilisations of the class. In the next stage we resolve to intensify the sales of the paper in the fundamental centres of the Party, in order to accelerate the construction of the revolutionary leadership

there.

The Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International, has decided to launch with this 100th number a financial campaign among the readers of Red Flag, so that we can regularise the printed publication of Red Flag, and increase its number of pages. We launch an appeal to the readers of the paper to take extra copies and sell them in their factories, in their colleges, in their places of work. We launch an immediate appeal for the success of this campaign.  
**FOR THE NEXT STAGE OF THE ORGANISATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCY IN THE LABOUR PARTY, TRADE UNIONS AND COMMUNIST PARTY!  
LONG LIVE RED FLAG!  
LONG LIVE THE IV INTERNATIONAL!  
LONG LIVE COMRADE POSADAS!**

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED  
FLAG**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 101 10th NOVEMBER 1969 PRICE 6d

LONG LIVE THE 52nd ANNIVERSARY OF  
OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE LENIN!  
LONG LIVE TROTSKY!  
LONG LIVE POSADAS!  
LONG LIVE THE SOVIET MASSES!

## The intervention of the lower paid workers, the rise of the anti-bureaucratic struggle, and all the recent successes of the class, indicate that conditions are maturing for the General Strike

The last period has seen a tremendous development of the process towards the final settlement of accounts between imperialism and the rising tide of the world revolutionary masses. The long awaited speech of Nixon merely reaffirmed the war line of US imperialism, making no concessions to the large and growing sector of the population in the USA who want an immediate end to the war in Vietnam, not even increasing the number of US troops to be taken out of Vietnam, but on the contrary threatening the Vietnamese masses that if they continued the war, US imperialism would respond with even greater military might. And the reply to this speech is that the Vietcong is launching a new offensive against the government, and against the American troops in the south, thus showing how much they are affected by the speeches of Nixon, they show that they are even more determined to continue the war against imperialism, for a Workers State throughout the whole of Vietnam. The spirit of the masses of Vietnam to continue the war after fighting for over 20 years is the same as the spirit of the Arab masses of the Middle East. Although a compromise has been reached between the government of Lebanon and the Arab guerrillas, the guerrillas still have the right to launch offensives from Lebanon, and will obviously continue to do so. The contradictory role that Nasser plays was shown very clearly in this last week, where on one day he was patching up a settlement between Arafat and the Lebanese Government, and a few days later declaring that the only way to settle the problem of Israel was through war. Never before has he made such a strong attack on imperialism, he has always discussed the possibility of a political settlement, but now he comes out and says the only way is to fight, that the war with Israel is inevitable. And a few days later the Egyptian Navy launches an attack from its battleships on to the shore of the Sinai Desert. The revolutionary process develops in the Middle East at a tremendous speed, the coups in Sudan, Libya and Somalia are led by the military, but all the time influenced by the struggle of the masses, and attracted to the camp of the Workers States, and they are a constant impulse to the masses, not only in those countries, but to all the revolutionary Arabic masses. The attacks on the British Embassy in Libya on the anniversary of the Balfour declaration are only a small example of the sentiment of the masses, and their hatred for imperialism. US imperialism and the Soviet Bureaucracy try to lengthen the time to the final settlement of accounts by attempting to patch up agreements between Israel and the Arab states, but it fails because the Arab masses will not accept conciliation.

In this country it is clear to see how the process of the world revolution influences the working class. More and more sectors of the working class enter the class struggle with ever increased energy, and determination not to allow the crisis of capitalism to be carried on their shoulders. Thus all the time we see, the lower paid and up to now not very active sectors of working class joining in the struggle. For

instance the miners, who organised a national unofficial strike, striking for the lowest paid sector; the Hackney dustmen whose strike spread throughout the country and included street sweepers, grave diggers etc, and now the strike of the workers from the power stations, which shows an enormous confidence, when they reject a 10% wage increase (three times the governments norm) and demand that their union negotiate a better one. The same spirit was shown by the firemen, again a sector which has never before contemplated strike action, and the farm workers, who although geographically dispersed, organised a large demonstration in London.

It is an indication of the level of the revolution, when all these less organised and lower paid workers feel that they have the power to strike, have the confidence to reject the offers made to them and demand more. It is a confidence that comes from the knowledge that Imperialism on a world scale is losing, a confidence they gain from seeing the weakness of imperialism throughout the uprising in Ulster, where the free zones functioned completely outside the capitalist repressive system, where the masses for a time, controlled. And this experience like the experience of the Revolutionary General Strike in France of May 1968, is not wasted on the working class here. As the International leadership has analysed, the uprising in Ulster did not come out of the blue, but as a result of the class struggle in this country, and so now we are going to see the results of Ulster similarly influencing the working class here, with the struggle reaching a new level.

Throughout the most recent strikes, and threatened strikes, there has been a very high level of struggle of the workers against the bureaucratic leaderships of the unions. The leaders of the miners unions and the firemen unions were constantly under attack from the base of the unions not only verbally, but also physically, and this also happened in the meetings of the car workers of the Vauxhall factories during the recent strike and lay offs there. The anti-bureaucratic struggle has reached a very high level, with demands for union leaders to resign, and with demands for union elections to take place each year or every five years instead of the present practice, where once voted in the bureaucrats are there for life! But although the working class has reached this level of constant attacks on the bureaucracy, and although it can see and understand how the bureaucratic leaderships of their organisations hold the struggle back, still its hasn't found the way to build its own alternative leadership in this organism. It is still the bureaucracy which has the initiative. What is needed by the working class now is a new leadership in these unions and within the Labour Party and Communist Party. This problem is common to all the working class of Europe. In France and Italy, the problem is the same, that of constructing the new revolutionary leadership. This is a process which is going on, and can be seen in the winning of the local and district officials of the unions to support recent strikes, for instance the miners

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Impel the campaign for the release and safety of the political prisoners in Mexico

The world campaign for the liberation of all the trotskist and political prisoners in Mexico has achieved a great success with the effect produced among the Mexican authorities, press, and justice, with the presence of M. Jacobi, a delegate from the International Federation of the Rights of Man and the International Association of Democratic Jurists, at the appeal of Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez Bruno, and Teresa Confreta, which took place on the 7th of Oct. These three comrades imprisoned since April 66 have already been condemned to 6, 8 and 5 years respectively, for 'Offences of opinion'.

A second appeal trial took place on the 17th of October, for eleven more prisoners, the most part of them students, in which our comrade Roberto Iriarte, who was won to the International in the jail, is appealing against a sentence of nine years in prison. Seven among the eleven made a political defence of such a force, and decision, that the judge had to suspend the hearing, while the seventh was speaking, because of the "atmosphere of a political meeting" which reigned in the court.

At this moment the campaign expresses itself strongly through the world press. The Guardian, Morning Star, Tribune, Le Monde, L'Unita, Rinascita have published large articles on the arbitrary imprisonments in Mexico and the permanent violations of the constitution, and also carrying information on the threats, which have been made against the lives of the prisoners, their parents, friends and lawyers (as we in-

formed in the last number of RED FLAG.) The journal El Dia of Mexico has had to, in spite of the general blackout of news of the trial in the Mexican press, refer to the situation of the imprisoned political prisoners and the opposition, which this has found in the world.

Another aspect of the campaign has been the sending of telegrams and resolutions to the Mexican government, to the judge, to the Mexican embassies on the part of workers' and students' organisations, by groups of intellectuals, making the weight of progressive public opinion in Western Europe weigh to the maximum. We once more appeal to the workers and student organisations of Britain, to take resolutions demanding the release of the political prisoners, and send them by telegram to Mexico, for they will have a fundamental importance in affecting the attitude of the judges passing sentence.

We also make a financial appeal to progressive opinion. The costs of sending a lawyer to Mexico still have to be covered. Other important sums of money are needed for the campaign, for the publishing of books, and to prepare the sending of other international observers.

It is possible to make the political prisoners free, and to reduce the sentences under the pressure of the struggle in Mexico, and the active intervention of International public opinion.  
10. 11. 69

LAWRENCE DALY, SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF  
MINEWORKERS

To Diaz Ordaz

Demand that your government guarantees the lives of political prisoners in Lecumberri jail and arrange their immediate release.

THE RUSSEL PEACE FOUNDATION

Mexican Government

We appeal for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Lecumberri jail, and for a governmental guarantee of their safety.

THE YEMENI STUDENTS IN BRITAIN SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM:

Diaz Ordaz

We demand that government guarantees lives of trotskists and other political prisoners in Lecumberri jail, and releases them immediately.

CAMPAIGN NEWS CONTD. PAGE 4

# The Alliance of the Arab revolution with the Workers States and the World Revolution

THE NECESSITY FOR THE PROGRAMME AND THE MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES

23. 7. 1969 Part 1

The Arab revolution is part of the world revolution. It does not occur at an unimportant moment in history. It occurs at this stage in history, in which the world division of labour no longer allows the building of any large capitalist country. This is the key to history. No poor capitalist country, or medium poor, can develop itself. The world division of labour, does no longer allow any underdeveloped country, or more or less developed to enter into the market of the world competition. There is no room anymore. Capitalism prepares itself to close the door, because it has a panic fear.

The Arab countries, which want to develop the internal market, the life of their country, cannot do it in the capitalist system. The historic conditions lead them inevitably to develop measures, forms of economy, relations, that inevitably lead them to weaken, break, disintegrate, the capitalist structure, and install some bases for the ascension of the socialist revolution, beginning by winning some layers of the bourgeoisie, of the petit bourgeoisie, and to take socialist measures.

Comrade J. Posadas, after the six day war of June 1967, gave as an example of the feeling of social triumph experienced by the Arab masses since then, the fact, that the Arab masses were feeling themselves to be part of the world socialist revolution. The masses have triumphed and rid themselves of the two principal difficulties of history; the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism. They fear neither one nor the other. By their action, their will and their force, they oblige today some tendencies, which were indifferent yesterday, to take some interest. The changes that occur in the Middle East are a concentrated consequence of the world revolution. It expresses itself in a limited way in the Middle East.

The historic situation, in which the Arab revolution takes place is such, that on the one hand, there is no conscious revolutionary leadership, while on the other, the masses have already consciously decided to impel the revolution. At the same time, world capitalism is struggling in great difficulties, and a great crisis, and must make use of Israel.

## THE INTERVENTION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE ARAB REVOLUTION:

At the same time, one must draw another conclusion, the intervention of the Workers States in the Middle East signifies an impulsion, a link, which unites the Arab revolution and the Workers States. This process cannot go back. Thus with the building of the Aswan Dam, a new stage began in the history of the Arab revolution. However, the first attempt of the Workers States to link themselves to the Arab revolution does not come from this stage, it happened before, at the moment, when the Soviet Union was supporting Kemal Ataturk for the development of the bourgeois democratic revolution. It was an expression of the necessity to spread the revolution for the Workers State to survive. The Soviet Union gave unconditional support to Abdel Krim in Morocco, whilst he was a feudal type, similar to those still existing now, but his struggle against the Spanish signified an impulsion to the Arab revolution.

The intervention of the Workers States is not a new phenomenon. But since Lenin's death, the assassination of the Bolsheviks, the dissolution of the Communist International, the Soviet bureaucracy has lost interest. It has allowed the installation of Israel, has supported it with its vote, knowing the significance of Israel. It was a matter of dividing the world. The bureaucracy had the strength to make such a division, because the world revolution had no world centre not even an empirical one. It was still under the control of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy could not prevent it, but it took control of it, the Soviet bureaucracy made all possible effort to prevent the taking of power in Czechoslovakia, to leave Masaryk in the government. In the same way in Rumania it tried to keep King Michael on the throne. It tried to make an alliance with Chiang Kai Chek, with the King of Yugoslavia, with all the bourgeoisies of these countries that became Workers States. But the will of the masses, the contradictions and weaknesses of capitalism, the economic and social advance of the Soviet Union, all this obliged the bureaucracy to go forward. The Workers States felt the neces-

sity of protecting its frontiers. It could no longer do so by the means of war; so, it did it by spreading. A new stage was beginning for the Soviet Workers State. But it still had neither the strength, nor the interest, nor the possibility of intervention in the Middle East. On the contrary, at the present moment, the historic conditions allow it and oblige it to intervene.

The building of the Aswan Dam in Egypt, represents a race with Imperialism, a competition, in the form of an economic and peaceful race. But the sole fact of building this dam shook the masses of the Middle East, and made them feel capable of passing from feudalism to the Workers State. It is the concentrated expression of the permanent revolution. The process can realise itself in some weeks, instead of lasting for years, but it is unavoidable. It changes in forms, in degree, in details, it concentrates itself but it is an unalterable process. In the same way, the policy of the IV International is an unavoidable necessity. The Sudan is a notable expression of this process. It is not yet a Workers State, but the internal struggle, which develops there is an aspect of the permanent revolution. All the conditions and the possibilities, in order to pass to the installation of a Workers State exist. Then, the permanent revolution takes the form of the struggle for political power, without the necessity of revolution, or through a limited period of revolution.

This process is irreversible, we have the proof of it in Mali, in Ghana, in Zanzibar for example. In these countries that began to install a Workers State, the counter revolution was possible. But it could not progress. The masses did not allow it to progress, and they made their social weight felt. In the same time the capitalist world was not allowing any returning back either. Those who want to make the counter-revolution, have an historical barrier before them; they want to come back to the capitalist norms, and they have no access to the world market, they are excluded from the world division of labour. If they do not take socialist meas-

ures again, the whole population rises against them.

The intervention of the Soviet Union State, in the building of the Aswan Dam represented, in its first moment, a direct economic competition with capitalism, for the domination of the world. When the Yankees refused to finance the building of the dam, they were still hoping to provoke an uprising of certain sections of

the army, of the petit bourgeoisie, of the bourgeoisie. Capitalism demonstrated already that it was unable to understand anything of what was happening in the world. The secretary of the Kennedy, Sallinger, tries to explain the Kennedy's government's behaviour. The only thing that he succeeds in saying is that "the forces that mobilise history are beyond our imagination."

## THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ASWAN DAM

When imperialism refused to finance the Aswan Dam, it inevitably impelled the Soviet bureaucracy to intervene. The latter, with prudence, hesitation, timidity, intervened; this was already the indication of a new stage in history. For this reason Stalin was already finished. The Workers State needed to expand, needed a new elevation.

The conclusions that the Arab masses drew from the building of this dam is that they were capable of organising, deciding, and directing. It was not simply the problem of irrigation. This water was serving the interests of the bourgeoisie, (and for this reason, a large sector of the bourgeoisie accepted the building of the dam by the Soviet Union). But the masses measured the historical power they possessed, in spite of the smallness of their countries. The same thing occurred with the Vietnamese masses, when the Vietnamese Workers State built the dam after the defeat of Dien Bien Phu. The latter has important an effect as the military triumph against French Imperialism.

In Vietnam as in China, there were two evils, the floods and the droughts. Every year, in Indo China, the floods of the central valley swept everything away. And every year, the people were fleeing away, taking their effects, living for two months in the bad weather, and then coming back to rebuild their houses. This gave them a feeling of helplessness that paralyses. When the Vietnamese leadership decided to build dams, at the same time as crushing Imperialism, it gained an immense victory, and the Vietnamese masses felt their immense power. They already had the support of China and Korea. But in China, there was still a government including some bourgeois. But the policy was not a bourgeois one. It tended to-

wards the building of a Workers State.

The dams built in Vietnam gave a boost to the masses, they felt powerful and capable of progress. In the same way, the Aswan dam signified for the Egyptian masses, and for the Middle East a very large development of their consciousness. Until recently, and now in part, the earthquakes, cyclones dominate the consciousness of people and give to them a feeling of helplessness. When they succeed in dominating these phenomena, they break away from their dependance upon nature and also upon those in power.

The revolutionary impulsion of the Arab masses does not originate in the Aswan Dam. After the war, the masses freed themselves from French and British imperialism. Before this they liberated themselves from Italian imperialism. The formation of the Baath dates from the thirties. There have been very important movements, revolutionary clandestine movements, organised by some sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. But it was the end of the war, the expulsion of British Imperialism from the Middle East and Africa that gave a boost to the revolution.

The building of the Aswan Dam was the material expression of a country getting out of nothing, of feudalism, in which the masses, that could not even talk, were capable to achieve such an historical work. The masses became aware of their immense possibilities. Simultaneously with this, the proletarian vanguard, conscious of its strength was already imposing some organic forms of power.

In Egypt, power was shared out into three branches; the parliament is composed of 33% of the T.U. representatives, 33% of the bourgeoisie, 33% of the government with priority to the military.

## THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING A BOURGEOIS POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The unions participate in the government, as organisms, but their function is usurped by the bureaucracy. 33% of the parliament is composed of the representatives of the Workers movement. The masses supported Nasser, and prevented him from the least capitulation and, on the contrary, they impelled him to advance, because they have the feeling of exercising power. They do not give him a platonic support. The problem is; how to make this power advance.

The same conditions exist in almost all the Middle East. If there exists a tendency that wants to develop the country, it must lead a socialist policy, and it cannot support itself on a bourgeoisie. There does not exist any bourgeois power. The bourgeoisie did not succeed in building itself as a ruling class. The small bourgeois nucleus bases itself on the small oil producing sectors, and it takes its strength from a large military apparatus and the support of Imperialism. Once this is liquidated, the bourgeoisie is left dispossessed. The students who, previously, were the base of support of capitalism, who were becoming its accountants, its lawyers, its policemen, the military men of the bourgeoisie, are won today to the revolution. In the Middle East all the

access to the bourgeois centres are blocked at the present time.

There is nobody who can develop a bourgeois policy, except some small military centres, directly supported by imperialism, or by the feudal milieu, as it is in Saudi Arabia, and in part in Iran. In this country, Iran, there is such an internal crisis that they must inevitably support some measures that are going against the feudal system. They have no other remedy in order to sustain themselves because of the conditions in which the Middle East was developed. Mossadek appeared, because of the boost given by the process after the war.

These conditions create very weak bases for the development of any sort of capitalist power in the Middle East. However, in addition to these objective conditions one must take into account, the intervention of the Workers States in the building of the Aswan Dam, and the speech of Khrushchev to the Egyptian people, speaking of the unification of the people in the Middle East with the Socialist states. Although he does it in a bureaucratic manner, he has to integrate the Middle East with the Socialist States. He made

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## RESOLUTION OF P.B. ON LEBANON

Unfortunately due to lack of space the resolution by the P.B. of the R.W.P.(T) British Section of the IVth International on the situation in Lebanon cannot be reproduced in this paper. If any comrade who has not received a copy of this, and would like one, please write to the Party address, and we will forward a copy.

# The alliance of the Arab revolution...

this statement in front of thousands of Arab people, and Nasser has to let him speak.

Nasser is without any doubt, manoeuvres. He lacks the confidence and security in the socialist ideas, but he is not an enemy of socialism. If he were, history in the Middle East would be different. Nasser, manoeuvres through lack of confidence and self confidence. He has been in power since 1953, and Egypt is driving towards socialism. Nobody can stop it. The advance of Egypt is caused by the strength of the world revolution, and among other things, by the intervention of the Workers States. Nasser manoeuvres in order to maintain himself in power. He does not yet have confidence in socialism, as being a system that could already be installed, he only supports himself upon progressive military measures. He is a military, who came from the petty bourgeoisie, who has not acquired the conviction and the confidence in socialism. It is the Soviet Union, which has not transmitted this to him. All the layer, which follows Nasser, could be won consciously to socialism, if the Soviet Union

had given them confidence. Entire layers of the army could be won, as the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry are. The army as a structured body, cannot be won to socialism, because it is not dependant on this or that military man. The high posts, which decide of the structure of the army are in the hands of sure cadres of the bourgeoisie. But all the structure is actually disintegrating.

The connection between the Workers States and the Middle East allowed in the internal struggles, a leap forward. This struggle is not the result of political polemics, based on congresses, texts, publications, tendencies, and factions. There are no important texts. The most important have come from Egypt and later from Syria. From the other Arab states there is not a single important text, for socialism. No text intervenes on the subject of the economic and military programme, on the building of socialism in the Middle East. The stage of real texts and publications began around 1962/63. At this same stage, the IV International intervened more directly in the Middle East. The elevation of the publications is not the product of this intervention, although

there is a participation of the IV International. The national radio of Iraq recently broadcast the text of the Arab Trotskyists. It is not by chance. These Iraqi leaders are seeking for support in the International, and in the authority of the Trotskyists to be able to tell the masses that the Trotskyists are supporting them.

All this means that there is a process of elevation of the revolution. The leadership must use this means, because it is in this way that it can address the masses, because it addresses a public that is in process of observing, of meditating, reflecting and of intervening with a revolutionary interest. The Soviet Union has not yet intervened in the Middle East with all the strength that it can and must give. The leadership of the Workers States is consciously frightened of intervening. But the revolution is more powerful than them, and comes and knocks at their doors. It is because of this that the Syrians go to find their arms in China and after that in the Soviet Union. It is not a blackmail. But the revolution must develop itself in this way, because the leadership, consciously, does not have

an interest in organising, in leading.

It is the concentrated strength of the revolution that makes the Syrians see that the Chinese and the Soviet Union have the obligation to give them arms, because neither of them can do without the world unification of the revolution. It is this concentrated force of the revolution that is expressed in Sudan with the installation of a Workers State. The Syrians show that the small states have a great strength. Otherwise the Soviet Union would have sent them back, with the accusation of having previously asked arms from the Chinese. On the contrary, they could not do this, but they had to give arms themselves. The revolution unifies itself empirically, under this form, because it does not have any conscious leadership.

The masses feel this process, in an unorganised manner. But their vanguard, their middle representatives, are very well conscious, and they act consequently; they address themselves both at the same time to the Soviet Union, and to the Chinese.

To be completed in the next issue of Red Flag

## Editorial

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strike had the support in most parts of the country of the miners lodges, and the district officials of the miners union. The dustmen's strike was led by a union official, who said that the unions were not doing enough for the men. This lack of a revolutionary leadership, which is prepared and able to lead the struggle consciously, was also seen in Ulster, where the organisations of the working class, the defense committees of Bogside and Belfast in the end capitulated to the Ulster bourgeoisie. The workers most immediate need is for an alternative leadership within their own organisations, the trade unions, the L.P. and C.P. They have shown throughout the last period with the enormously high strike rate that they have the confidence to take on the capitalist system, the need now is for the organisations for the struggle. The latest strike, which has lasted for almost three months by the car workers at Standard Triumph shows the urgent necessity of this, when after a long militant strike the workers were urged by their leadership to return to work, much against the will of a large sector who said that they had been sold out. It is essential for these workers to form within their factory a factory committee, which groups together all workers from no matter which union in order to organise the struggle in Standard Triumph, not outside the unions, but independent of their leaderships, in order to continue the struggle there. If the offer, which the management makes directly after the return to work is not satisfactory to the workers, it is necessary to organise a further strike with an occupation of the factory, appealing to all the other factories in the BMLH group to support them. After the strikes of the Ford and Leyland workers and with the constant advance of the world revolution, the new occupations of Renault at Le Mans, and the constant process of strikes, occupations and demonstrations in Italy, not only demanding higher wages, but better social services etc., the workers at Standard Triumph can win great concessions from the management. But still a superior factory, trade union and political leadership has to be built.

The leadership of the Labour Party feels the advance of the L.P. base, sees that all its attempts to discipline the workers, and to hold down wages have failed. It sees also that the labour rank and file are not bothering in the main to vote for the Labour Party in the bye elections, and they feel their bureaucratic careerist interests threatened. Another General Election is approaching and the Labour leadership feels the need to improve the relationship with the rank and file, and for this reason proposes to abandon any penal clauses, and Barbara Castle tells the meeting of directors and managers that power is on the shop floor, and that management will have to accept this. In the mouth of Barbara Castle this is demagogic, but it is going to encourage the masses to increase their power on the shop floor, and they feel that the Labour leadership is not strong enough to oppose itself to this power. Also it will be a stimulus to those lower and middle sectors of the L.P., which are sympathetic to the struggle of the masses, and support the power on the shop floor, and in fact this statement encourages the formation

## VAUXHALL

### REPLY TO THE SACKING OF A MILITANT OF THE RWP(T) BY PUSHING FORWARD THE ORGANISATION OF THE FACTORY COMMITTEES AND REVOLUTIONARY CURRENTS

We publish below extracts of the leaflet distributed by the party at the factory gates of Vauxhall last week, after the sacking of the Trotskyist militant, B. McNeil. This leaflet shows that the party is in no way intimidated by this sacking, we are responding to it by increasing the political and organisational weight of our intervention in Vauxhall, deepening our understanding of the process of construction of the revolutionary tendency in the unions and LP, and accelerating, by our political and organisational intervention, this process of construction.

"During the recent period of 'lay-off', with the workers out of the factory, the Vauxhall management have taken the opportunity of sacking a militant worker and member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), British Section of the IVth International. The excuse the bosses have used to sack Brian McNeil is that the information on his original application for employment was false. This is, in fact, true, because he had been sacked for his militancy as a shop steward at the BLMC Austin factory, and for his revolutionary activities as a member of the RWP(T). Following this sacking and the slanderous article, which was written for a national newspaper by the 'scab' reporter McGarvey, this comrade of the Trotskyist fraction was blacklisted and unable to find employment. For this reason he was forced to make a false declaration in order to gain employment at Vauxhall.

This false application damaged no one and is, to say the least, a flimsy excuse for sacking this comrade after nearly eighteen months of work at Vauxhall. In fact it is just an excuse on the bosses' part who took this action at the point when they received shop stewards credentials for the comrade from the NUVB—of which he is a member. The management have sacked Brian McNeil in order to prevent him acting as a representative of the workers on the 'gate line', because of his militant activities in the past and because he is a revolutionary worker, a Trotskyist! The prime reason for the bosses' actions against this comrade is a fear of Trotskyism, they fear Trotskyism, because the conditions, both nationally and internationally are ripe for the overthrow of what remains of capitalism, and because Cde. Posadas and the IVth International play a fundamentally important role in this revolutionary process. And what a process it is! In France the workers with all the confidence of the gains of the Revolutionary General Strike of May/June 1968 continue to develop their struggle with factory occupations,

like that of the Renault factory in Le Mans recently. In Italy there is a massive process of constant strikes, demonstrations and occupations, and in West Germany the workers have just reactivated their struggle with enormous 'unofficial' strikes. The exploited masses of the whole world are struggling against capitalism, against imperialism and against all systems of oppression and repression. This struggle finds its expression in the Arab Revolution in Lebanon, and in all the Middle East, in the struggle of the Vietnamese masses against American Imperialism, and in the anti-Vietnam war movement within the United States itself. Similarly the workers of this country show their anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic spirit, and one has to look no further than the mass meeting of the NUVB in Luton and the mass meeting of AEF at Ellesmere Port—both of course meetings of Vauxhall workers. At both these meetings the workers showed that they were not prepared to have rotten 'productivity' agreements imposed on them by either the bosses or the union officials.

We call on the workers at Vauxhall and particularly on the workers of the 'gate line' to organise action—in the factory and in the trade union branches—in defence of Brian McNeil. We call on the workers to defend any militant worker who is threatened by the bosses, because this is not simply the case of one militant. No! the bosses will try to use repression against any militant workers and, more than that, they will continue to try and decide who is to represent the workers. In this particular case the Vauxhall management have decided that they will not allow Brian McNeil to represent the workers on the 'gate line'. It is a situation which cannot be tolerated, and we call on the workers of Vauxhall to organise action for the reinstatement of this militant, and to demand that the workers, and only the workers have the right to decide, who is going to represent them.

It is necessary to draw the lessons and

prepare to defend other militant workers against the repression of the bosses. The best way of doing this is to build the organisation, which will not only be capable of defending militants, but which is also capable of developing the struggle for workers demands. The necessity is to build the factory committee with representatives from every department, who are subject to instant recall by mass meetings of workers, and who are subject to the decisions of mass meetings, which discuss everything, and at which every worker can intervene and decide! The factory committee must be based on this form of workers democracy and on a programme of demand, which must include—as a very minimum—the demand for an immediate 3/- per hour wage increase, for an immediate 35 hour week leading to a 30 hour week without loss of pay, that all wages rise with the cost of living, for equal pay for women and youths, for the end to all shift-work without loss of pay, for all meetings to be held on the factory premises, and in work time, and for all workers representatives to be decided by the workers and only the workers. This basic programme must be discussed and expanded to include other demands, which lead towards the nationalisation, under workers control, and without compensation to the former owners of the car industry, the car component industry and all other major industry.

The conditions are ripe for the appearance of the revolutionary tendencies which are developing—if not yet in an organic form—at the base of the unions and the Labour Party. These tendencies, which will appear in the factory, in the trade union branches and in the Labour Party must organise the struggle for a programme of workers demands—anti-capitalist demands—and for workers democracy in the factory, and in the trade unions with all officials subject to instant recall, all decision taken at a mass meeting, with the officials subject to these decisions, and no official to be paid more than the average workers wage. We call on workers to intervene in the factory, at the base of the trade unions and Labour Party in order to construct these revolutionary tendencies...

FORWARD TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES IN UNITED FRONT WITH THE IVth INTERNATIONAL!

# News of the campaign

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RESOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN SENT FROM NUVB NO. 6 BRANCH,  
LUTON and BEDFORD COLLEGE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

MANY SIGNATURES HAVE BEEN COLLECTED FROM SCHOOLS  
AND COLLEGES IN LONDON, MANCHESTER AND NEWCASTLE

## LETTER FROM THE PORTUGUESE STUDENT COMMITTEE

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

Dear Sir,

The Portuguese Students Committee demands the immediate release of all political prisoners in Mexico. In particular we appeal for a guarantee of the safety, and the immediate release of the Trotskyist and other political prisoners in the Lecumberri Prison.

Jose Laranjo  
Secretary.

## The successes of the campaign in Italy

FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP OF THE ICP

Telegram

To the President of the Republic of Mexico—Diaz Ordaz

Parliamentary group, in the name of Italian communists, demand the restoration of freedom for Gilly and other militants condemned for their ideas and their action at the service of a cause which in spite of different points of view must unite all the forces in struggle against imperialism for the independence and right of peoples.

Parliamentary Group of the ICP

Telegram

FROM THE ROME FEDERATION OF THE ITALIAN CP

Roman federation of the ICP protests indignantly against detention of Trotskyist Militants Gilly, Fernandez, Confreta, which is an attack against the freedom of opinion and political organisation, on the occasion of their appeal trial we demand immediate liberation as also for all imprisoned militant workers and students.

Rome federation ICP

FROM THE ITALIAN YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF FLORENCE

Judge Casianos CASTELLANOS  
Primer Tribunal Unitario del Primer Circuito Del D.F.  
Avenida Division del Norte 1354

Sir,

We express our total solidarity with the trotskyist comrades imprisoned in Mexico for three and a half years, and who remained in jail for three years without trial, in violation of mexican law itself.

These repressive measures show precisely the impotence of the bourgeois regime in Mexico to confront the revolutionary fight of the Mexican masses, which will destroy all its coercive and repressive power, as well as all forms of exploitation.

The political functioning of the trotskyist comrades, and of all the revolutionary comrades in prison, shows that no force is capable of preventing the just struggle for human progress, democracy and the victory of socialism.

We denounce these juridical monstrosities and demand the immediate liberation of the trotskyist comrades; Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez Bruno, Teresa Confreta, Cesar Colmenares, Roberto Iriarte, and all the political and trade union prisoners in Mexico.

FROM THE NATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE PSIUP

Telegram

To the Mexican Ambassador in Rome.

Raise vigorous protest forced detention popular leaders, when the guilty ones are Diaz Ordaz, Marcelino Barragen, Luis Echevaria, Corona del Rosal. We protest against the threats made to the 14 political prisoners held in the prison of Lecumberri.

Demand public and serious guarantees defense of lives against reactionary attacks and nullify all attempts at provocation.

Tulio Vecchietti

Other telegrams and letters were sent by:

ENZO ENRIQUES AGNOLETTI  
Director of an Italian Juridical Review.

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSTITUTED DURING THE FESTIVAL OF  
UNITA IN FLORENCE FOR THE COLLECTION OF SIGNATURES.

## Demand the immediate release of Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernan- des Bruno & Teresa Confreta

## Long live the reconstitution of the Bolivian Workers Centre

Reproduced from Frente Obrero, the paper of the Uruguayan Section  
in clandestinity

We are publishing below the programme of the C.O.B. (the Bolivian Trade Union Centre) approved recently, immediately after the coup of Ovando. This programme takes up again the most elevated points reached by the workers movement in Bolivia. The importance of this programme is that it is put forward in this process of the rising Latin American revolution, the elevation of the programmatic and conscious level, where the role of the proletariat is rising and the need for such organisms as the Workers TU Centre, and the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions is of prime importance.

The force of the Bolivian masses which imposed the nationalisation of the 'Bolivian Gulf Company', when Ovando had a few days before stated that he was not going to touch imperialist enterprises, the student demonstrations, which demanded that the nationalisations should be without compensation, saying that "we support the measures not the government", and the most important thing of all, which is the taking over of the mines by the miners, which indicates the immediate reaction, indicates that the masses feel that they can weigh and concretely take the mines, stimulating the reorganisation of the COB and the workers militias.

Our party calls to all the trade unions, to the Socialist Party and CP to support the nationalisations in Bolivia, as a part of the world anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle.

This process in Bolivia, elevates the role of the IV International, confirming and reaffirming the conception, programme and policy of J. Posadas, the tradition and struggle of the Trotskyists, of the Bolivian Section of the IV International.

**LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES, THE NATIONALISATION,  
THE TAKING OVER OF THE MINES:**

**LONG LIVE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT:**

THE C.O.B. PROGRAMME  
(Slightly condensed)

1. Lifting of the military blockade, and the withdrawal of the repressive forces from the mines...
2. Respect for Trade Union rights and re-establishment of Trade Union freedom allowing the functioning of the COB, the FSTMB, and the class and independent Trade Union movement.
3. A general unrestricted amnesty for all those detained, tried and persecuted, condemned and banished for political and trade union motives. Suppression of the security law of the state...
4. Putting back the salaries of the miners to the levels of May 63, and paying attention to the demands of other working class sectors. Giving back the local offices to the COB, FSTMB, and also the other Trade Union goods, and the radio transmitters, which were destroyed.
5. Nationalisation of the Gulf Oil, natural gas, gold, and imperialist mining companies.
6. Intransigent defence of the nationalisation of the mines, and of the statified enterprises such as YTFB, ENAF, RAILWAYS, ENTEL, ENDE, CBF, LAB etc. studying the possibilities of suppressing the evils of bureaucratisation by means of workers self management. Abolition of article 201 of the Mining Code, and abrogation of the Petroleum Code.
7. Fight for the organisation and setting up of heavy industry and Petro-chemical industry in the hands of the state.
8. Superceding the Agrarian Reform by means of the agrarian revolution, with the objective of bringing about the final liquidation of 'Latifundism' (big land holdings), avoiding the inconvenience of small land holdings by means of mechanisation and co-operativisation of the country side...
9. Socialisation of medicine, and the making of social security universal to all the population.
10. Protection of the really national industry and of the artisans, with appropriate tariffs, credits, and technical assistance. Impelling the co-operative movement of the small producers.
11. Massive drive against illiteracy. Educational reform, by means of a single school system, through congresses of teachers. Respect to the Autonomous University, and advance towards the constitution of the Bolivian University. Protection of native and popular culture.
12. Revolutionary alliance to organise the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, as a basis for the formation of the Revolutionary States of Latin America.
13. Independent international policy. Diplomatic and commercial relations with the socialist countries.
14. Organisation of an International minerals pool in order to oppose the Imperialist mechanisms of domination.

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of the revolutionary tendency within the Labour Party. The vanguard in the Labour Party, Trade Unions and Communist Party must base themselves on the tremendous confidence, which the workers have shown in the last period, on the massive intervention of the lower paid workers to push forward the struggle in all the organisations of the class for the national minimum wage, for all wages to rise with the cost of living, for a workers plan of housing, of health, of education, because capitalism shows that it is incapable of solving any of these problems of the masses, but on the contrary, the proletariat has got the capacity to solve them. We

appeal for the struggle for these and other points of programme, and for the vanguard to concretely construct the organisations, and to form itself into a leadership with the perspective of organising a general strike to impose these demands.

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

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
revolution.

LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

**RED**   
**FLAG**

CONTINUE THE  
WORLD CAMPAIGN  
FOR THE  
RELEASE OF THE  
TROTSKYISTS  
AND OTHER  
POLITICAL  
PRISONERS  
IN MEXICO

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

No. 102

25th November, 1969. price 6d.

# THE TEACHERS MUST IMPEL THE STRUGGLE IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS, FOR THE PROGRAMME TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM

The strikes and demonstrations of the teachers occur as the process leading to the final encounter between imperialism, the Workers States and the world masses accelerates and deepens. Yankee Imperialism faced with the total disintegration of its social authority launches its Apollo 12 in a vain effort to show to the rest of the bourgeoisie of the world that it can compete with the Workers States. And at the same time intensifies its preparations for the nuclear war with mounting expenditures. The farce of the Helsinki negotiations over nuclear weapon "control" takes place against the development of ever more developed nuclear devices whether in the form of anti-ballistic missiles or multiple warhead missiles. And the tendency in the Soviet Union in favour of the preventative war to smash imperialism comes to the fore, more and more. The masses everywhere prepare for great events, mobilising for example in a massive general strike in Italy leading to direct confrontations with the forces of law and order. The bourgeoisie likewise prepare. In Italy the pressure to impose the line of a military coup hardly bothers to disguise itself. Mass arrests are carried out in France, workers are forcibly ejected from a plant in Le Mans, a measure showing the advance towards civil war. And in Great Britain similarly all the signs show that imperialism is preparing for the next round in the civil war in Ulster, simply integrating the thugs in the B Specials with the army. The brutality of the police in handling the anti-Springbcks demonstrators, and the strikers and pickets at East Kilbride and Grangemouth form part of the pattern - preparation to intimidate the vanguard, preparation for the nuclear war.

The teachers strike therefore is much more significant than simply a wages struggle. The massive support of the teachers for continuous strike action imposing a united front between the NUT and the NAS and with the support of some technical college lecturers, is a massive blow at capitalism because it means that a whole sector of the petit bourgeoisie

has removed its social support for capitalism and allied itself firmly with the proletariat at a time when capitalism is more and more socially isolated. The strike of the teachers has been stimulated by the prior actions of the miners and the dustmen, the prior actions of the proletariat. The concentration of the strike, its unanimity,

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# THE ALLIANCE OF THE ARAB REVOLUTION WITH THE WORKERS STATES AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

23.7.69

It is impossible not to take into account the existence of the Workers States in order to lead to a revolutionary policy in the Middle East. To think the contrary is an absurdity. One cannot either ignore another fundamental principle; to know that the Arab world is united by the language, traditions in which religion played a very important part.

Islamism created a series of structures that still weigh to the extent in which the revolutionary movements of Moslem origin, still depend on bourgeois or petty bourgeois leaderships. It is these leaderships which still impose the dependence upon religious ideology. This weight of Moslem origin is still going to make itself felt in the masses for a certain length of time. It is through religion that feudalism maintained the unity of the Arab world, by imposing the maintenance of ignorance. And, on this basis the feudalists dominated. But with the later developments in the Middle East, the bourgeoisies clashed with this religious structure tried to arrange the Koran in their own way, and in their own interests. But the rules of the Muslim religion, as in the case of the Jewish and Catholic religions, are seen to be incompatible with the needs of economic and commercial development of the capitalist system in the Middle East.

They maintained the unity of the Arab countries on the basis of a very backward state, and a submission to the religious origin. It is neither culture, nor trade, nor economy that maintained the unity of the Arab world. The development of trade, the world division of labour, lead to the rupture of this dependence upon the religious centralisation. However, there still remains the weight of this religion. It does not represent an obstacle, and it does not have any decisive importance. But, simultaneously to this situation, the communist life is developing in the masses. The militants of El Fatah criticize their leaders in the name of communism: It is not a struggle of a specific nature; but the IVth. International must give political, theoretical confidence to a series of teams in order to confront this difficulty which is weighing on them, and which partly holds back the ideological and theoretical development of those leading layers of the Arab revolution. This struggle is necessary.

One of the most eloquent expressions of the unequal and combined development is the attitude of Nasser: on one hand he fears the breaking away from the bourgeois and petty bourgeois capitalist wing that is giving him support because he is frightened to support himself on the masses. However, each measure that he takes signifies a blow against these sectors. It is before the masses that Nasser withdraws, and not before the bourgeoisie. Since June 1967, until today, he yielded before the masses, and before the Soviet Union. Even in Syria, there is a united front between the Baath and the bourgeois, feudal layers that support themselves upon religion and the church. At the same time, the masses of El Fatah, the Popular and Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Al Saika, all a series of movements tend to live in a communist fashion, expressing all the progress of the revolution.

In Palestine, the revolutionary vanguard of the whole Middle East is in process of concentrating itself, because it does not see the means to intervene in the other countries.

Al Fatah which originated from a guerrilla movement, must function in the process of its development as a revolutionary political movement. These movements of guerrilla have no uniformity in their objectives, or in their leadership. They are not the product of the necessity for a leading centre; they are some volcanic eruptions of a movement that has inside itself an explosive strength and that is not organised. Twenty groups, twenty movements spring up. The lack of the Party, of congresses, of an organised political life provoke the occurring of explosions of a guerrilla form. But all these guerrilla groups are divided because they all discuss which programme, which objectives, which tactics to adopt. Moreover, a sector of these guerrillas is composed of agents of the Arab bourgeoisie in charge of hindering it, of putting obstacles in the way of the programmatic struggle. Up to now, the bourgeoisie could prevent the revolutionary political organisation of the masses. But at present, it must act as it does, because the masses are pushing them. The struggle of El Fatah gives a centre for the comprehension of the fact that the gun, the programme and policy are part of the same problem. El Fatah is in process of discussing; "where are we going to?" Before it made statements against Judaism, for the suppression of Israel. Now they say; "we have nothing against the Jewish people, we must unify ourselves in a popular and democratic Palestine respecting the interests of the Jewish and Arab masses." If El Fatah had remained purely a guerrilla movement it would have been liquidated. El Fatah is the politico-military expression of the necessity of a single organisation.

They have been discussing, in the whole Middle East for 2 years on what are the forms of power. This power expresses itself empirically, in facts that go from the military hangings to the guerrilla form. There does not yet exist definite forms of power, because the revolution is not yet programmatically orientated.

Nasser still supports himself on a layer of the very rich bourgeoisie of the textile industry, and on the landowners. However the last agrarian reform represents a blow against the capitalist oligarchy. But, at the same time, the political power is shifting in favour of the socialist revolution and not in favour of the masters of the textile enterprises on whom Nasser still bases himself. Power is in process of concentration against them.

The process of these two last years indicates an elevation of the political power which is gradually suppressing the layers linked to the exploiting system, and to capitalist functioning. This explains also the recent brutal blow against the army.

All this tumultuous life, inside the Arab states ranging from the hangings of the officers, chiefs, who up to yesterday, were leaders of the revolution, to the problem of Israel, is united in a single conclusion; the problems of the Middle East find their solution at the same time as the process of the final settlement of accounts. They have no special solution. The Middle East signifies the final settlement of accounts. Hence, the agitation of the Soviet Union.

In 1956, the Soviet Union threatened the French and the British with their missiles. They could do the same today. They do not do it, because it is a matter of an atomic war, of the worldwide war. The Soviet Union does not intervene firmly, but one must also see that they do not withdraw either. They have boats, missiles a whole team ready to intervene. They feel that the solution will be global. The Chinese do not understand this. This problem shows the difference of origins of the Workers States of the Soviet Union and of China. In the USSR, the first seven years of the Workers State have created a whole tradition, a whole Leninist layer. The Chinese on the contrary have no notion of the continuity between what they do today,

and what is going to take place tomorrow. Internally, they take measures that are progressive, for the political revolution. But they cannot decide history. They go slowly. One fundamental step forward for example would be to side with the Soviet Union, right now, in order to defeat Israel. If they were doing so the affair of the Middle East would be resolved in one minute. And the Yankees would not dare to launch the war.

One must consciously enter into this stage. The masses are ready. One proof is the historical achievement that El Fatah constitutes. In a few years they have created a movement that has such an authority that one cannot discuss the Middle East, without taking El Fatah into account. This intervention of El Fatah is not solely stemming from the decision of the chiefs of the movement. We salute these revolutionary comrades for their decision, their audacity and their determination to impose the communist life in their ranks. They organise children as conscious revolutionaries. And their children find that the best game in the world is overthrowing capitalism. El Fatah is the only organisation together with the Chinese, the Vietnamese, and the Cubans, and in a conscious manner the IV International, which educates children in this manner.

El Fatah entered history, as swiftly as it did because history is seeking for forms of organisation that are capable of liberating it from the oppression and the repression represented by the Soviet bureaucracy. The masses in the Middle East, are impelled by this historical experience of the existence of the Soviet Union of China, of Cuba, of the world in process of revolution. They feel that one must be a revolutionary in order to live. In the Middle East, there is no great artist, or writers or pianists, but there are plenty of revolutionaries. These have more value than all the others together, because their function is far more important. These Arab masses are concentrating their feeling their will, their consciousness, towards the centres that decide history. Then, history shows itself to be invincible. The attack of Israel in 1967 put in full light the feelings of the masses, feelings that were already existing before in an organic way. The military triumph of Israel signified the social defeat of Imperialism.

There does not exist yet any conscious leadership, in any of the states of the Middle East. There does not exist any Communist Party, or any Revolutionary Marxist Party, that consciously reflects the necessity of the revolution. There exists some sectors that try to intervene, but they lack decision. It is still

the Baath that resumes the political life of the masses; but in the last stage, the crisis in Syria showed a new event, which demonstrated the existence of an elevation of the political struggles; (as is shown in El Fatah itself) they discuss who must exercise power and how, and with what objective. Twice running, the trade unions assumed a preponderant part of power in Syria. It is their intervention that prevented the irresolute, timid layers, from making the process of the revolution regress.

In spite of their lack of organised strength the unions had already a sufficient weight to have their say in the decisions of the Syrian leadership to prevent them from regressing.

Some organisms are in process of appearing in an unorganised form. In Egypt, after the military defeat, the right wing was preparing itself to take power. It could not organise a coup against Nasser because of the intervention of the masses, orientated, stimulated, by the proletarian vanguard, in the unions. The unions are exercising a part of the power, through the parliament. Although the majority of the sectors of the unions that are inside the parliament are bureaucratic, and careerist, the masses do see in them a source of power and do try to make them advance to directly exercise power.

#### THE POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE UNIONS

In Egypt, in Syria, in Algeria, the essential sources of power are concentrated in the functioning of the union, the proletarian vanguard, without any party, without organised forces of its own, exercise indirectly the function of leader of the society, through the trade unions. The situation in Algeria is clearest. In the name of the sector linked to capitalism, Kait Ahmed dissolves the political leadership of the unions and replaces it by a leadership that submits itself to him. He suppressed the political leadership, but the unions take back all their previous revolutionary forms of functioning. And Kait Ahmed himself, is obliged to support himself on the revolutionary function of the unions, and he cannot dissolve them. He is obliged to combine the interests of the enterprises with socialism. Boumediene, on the contrary always talks in the name of socialism, even it is a sort of socialism of his own. The trade unions in the Middle

East are a politically leading centre from where authority is radiating towards the rest of the working class and the exploited masses. The proletarian vanguard of the trade unions transmits to the whole working class and to the peasants, a feeling of strength and capacity, the feeling that is precisely at the base of the construction of the Aswan Dam, and at the base of the social victory against Israel in 1967.

In Egypt and in all the Middle East, the trade unions are in this stage, the key of the situation. Their function is different from the one which they exercise in some other countries. They must combine the struggle for retaining the gains of the masses, and at the same time prepare themselves for the taking of power, by developing a policy independent from the bourgeoisie and from the government, independent from the team in power, without attacking it, as in Syria for example. There actually, the trade unions must act taking into account that the country is already a Workers States still considering that their role in demands and in politics, must be situated at a much higher level than in the Workers States as they exist today.

In the same time as they struggle for the satisfaction of the demands, the Trade unions are prepared for the imposition of measures that would tend to eliminate what is left of capitalism and to organise the struggle against imperialism.

In the Middle East it is necessary to unify the trade unions with the strength of the petit bourgeoisie that represents some very large layers in this part of the world. The petit bourgeoisie must find a way to reach the trade unions without corrupting them or crushing them. Often, it tries to prevent them as in Syria- from exercising their function of power. One of the first measures that Assad took when he arrived in power has been to push the trade unions aside from power, as he did with the workers militias. In Syria, the army and the trade unions are the only two sources of power. It is equally true of the whole of the Middle East. The bourgeoisie has neither force nor social capacity to impose itself.

One must expect that, in Syria, very soon, a conflict between the army and the Trade Unions will occur, and one must be prepared for it. One cannot expect that the trade unions will organise the taking of power. They must, in the first place organise themselves in the factories in the countryside, in the offices. They must organise territory militias, and not trade unionists militias, as actually exist. In this way, the worker becomes dependent on the trade union for receiving arms and being called to the struggle etc. The worker must organise himself at the place of work, in the districts, and have a type of independent functioning of meetings and assemblies that are outside the trade unions.

One must unify all the trade unions, of Arabic language together. To form a United Federation of the Arab trade unions, on a common programme. The federation that is actually existing remains formal, without functioning. It may be the base for a sort of federation that could really function, that would have an intense political life, allowing the participation of all the masses in revolutionary life. It must publish resolutions and communications, hold national and regional Congresses that discuss on how to impel the revolution.

It (the Federation) must struggle for the planning of the economy of all the Arab countries and not only on a national basis, must intervene and give the necessary strength to liquidate the state of Israel.

El Fatqh, by its revolutionary military force, cannot liquidate Israel, on its own. The solution of the problem that Israel poses can only be found in the revolution of the whole Middle East. The more El Fatah is spreading and developing, the better, but it will never gather sufficient strength to liquidate Israel. It expresses the necessity of the revolution, but does not represent the force that would allow the revolution to triumph.

If Israel still exists, it is because there is in all the Arab countries some sectors of the bourgeoisie and of the petit bourgeoisie that still weigh in the structure of the society. These sectors are embedded in the State and Church apparatus and the struggle against them is inevitable and imminent, as much politically as militarily.

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## THE TRADE UNIONS MUST FUNCTION AS REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES

The objectives of the discussions in all the Middle East, in El Fatah, in the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, in the trade unions must be primarily what policy to lead against Israel and the "Muslim Brotherhood", but also and above all to decide the measures which develop the socialist and political revolution. It is necessary to launch appeals to the Jewish masses, appeals to the United Front on the programme of planning of production, self determination or integration of the Jews in the Soviet Socialist United States of the Middle East. It is necessary to convince the Arab revolutionary leaderships of the need to unify themselves on a programme of unification of the Arab world. In this political struggle, the trade unions have a great role to play, as an axis of this unification.

On the other hand, the trade unions are the fundamental basis for the construction of the Marxist Revolutionary Party. The Baath is not an organism really representative of the revolutionary will of the exploited masses and above all of the working class. It is still composed of a whole old apparatus. It is necessary to eliminate this and do so that the masses organise themselves politically, so that they have a marxist revolutionary party fighting on the programme of the socialist revolution in all the Middle East and including the Jewish masses.

The intermediate stage towards the Marxist Revolutionary Party is the workers party based on the trade unions, functioning as such, even if it is not constituted as an organism.

The workers party based on the trade unions must fulfil its function in a short time. It is necessary to make it function as a political organism and not as a substitute for the leadership of the revolution. It must be an organising element of the real leadership of the revolution.

It is possible that the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions will not be able to function in any of these countries. But the trade unions, under one form or another are going to make themselves felt as a political force.

It is necessary to break the structure of the Baath; its bourgeois origin, and its intentions are still bourgeois. This organism, semi-paralysed cannot either feel or receive all the force of the revolution.

If it is not strictly bourgeois, if it can take and does take socialist measures, it weakens their effect because of its links with the still bourgeois layers.

Kait Ahmed in Algeria is an irrefutable example of this fact; he serves as a bridge between the Algerian State, which is going towards a Workers State and capitalism. This is why he wants to crush the trade unions, in the measure in which they are the organised political force of the masses. Kait Ahmed wishes to take from them the organisational representative force and imposes the F.L.N. as leadership. They feel that the trade unions are a centre of political regroupment of the class and intend, but in vain, to oppose them.

The trade unions must exercise a political function, to eliminate these conciliatory leaders and build themselves afterwards as a leadership, to intervene as a Party, even if they do not function as such. In Algeria, they accomplish this function. Kait Ahmed tries to prevent it. He eliminates the leadership, but the new one which is constituted tends already to fulfil the same function.

It is evident that the Baath does not represent the force and the needs of the revolution. It is a heavy and slow organism, which holds back the revolution, because its leaders do not base themselves on the confidence in the socialist programme, objectives and measures. It is necessary to lead a struggle to eliminate this leadership. With this end, the workers organised in the trade unions must struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution, with the militias by exercising their political function. There is no antagonism between the trade union and the leadership of the Baath, but a difference of intentions, of objectives and above all of rhythm and dynamism.

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There is not any antagonism because the leadership of the Baath is not opposed to socialist measures. It is against the rhythm of these measures. However in this case, the rhythm is decisive. It is the same in Egypt: Nasser is not against Socialist measures, but says "it is necessary to wait ..... " The trade unions must not wait to exercise their influence on the state apparatus and parliament. They appear as a workers party based on the trade union, dissolved in the state apparatus. One must give to it an appearance of its own, make it decide. It may be that it will not have to be called a workers party based on the trade union, but it must fulfill this function.

In Syria, one sees well that the union and the army are the two determining centres. The unions must call the whole of the population in support of its programme. They exercise the function of political leadership of the population that wants to make the revolution advance.

The same for the army. The latter exercises the political function. Without setting itself up as a separated political power confronting the state and the Baath, it must function within the Baath, without prejudicing the Workers State. There cannot be any internal struggle that paralyses the revolution.

#### THE NEW COMMUNIST PARTIES WILL HAVE A TROTSKYIST POLICY.

The communist parties in the Arab countries have a very limited function, practically non-existent. If a C.P. develops itself, it will no longer be as a C.P., it will be as a revolutionary marxist party. Cuba gives an image of how they are going to be formed. In Cuba, the C.P. had an immense tradition, it had up to 6 deputies, a left wing opposition, which continued until 1936. But the struggle for power eliminated the CP, because it was opposed to it. The Cuban C.P. has nothing to do with the previous one. It is Fidel Castro's party. They called it communist because it had to be communist. In the Middle East it is the same thing. All the C.P.'s have been liquidated, none of them has any importance. If a C.P. develops it will be as a revolutionary party.

It is still the Baath which leads all the Arab states, Algeria excepted. One must lead the struggle in the Baath, supporting ourselves on the trade unions, in order to organise the new revolutionary leadership, which is probably going to be called Communist Party, but without depending on Moscow. It will be a revolutionary Communist Party, that is to say Trotskyist. The communist parties have not been capable of understanding in time to give an answer to the revolution. They have been eliminated. That is why there is no communist party tradition in the Middle East. This does not mean

that there is no communist vanguard. It exists, it is courageous and heroic. But it does not have the possibility to be a pole of attraction in the Middle East. It is even aware itself that the development of the revolution unfolds in spite of Moscow, in spite of its party. No communist party has any future in the Middle East. On the contrary, there exists very wide possibilities to build new communist parties, that will be Trotskyist. It is the policy, the objective, the tactic which define the party. The communist party are strangers to all this.

The changes of Moscow which are favourable to the revolution, can stimulate the leaderships and the communist militants; but at the same time, it stimulates the sector which supercedes the former. All the journeys of the different sectors of the bureaucracy - among other things the journey of Shelepin made in the name of the Soviet Trade Unions - are more important and more directly linked to the impulsion of the revolution. They all have the same significance. Comrade J. Posadas said this in the article on the Bratislava meeting ("the Bratislava meeting, the conservatism of the communist parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the development of the political and socialist revolution - 25th. July 1968") "they launch themselves in search of a contact with the world working class". In the same way Shelepin seeks contact in Egypt, in Syria, in all the Middle East. But he no longer has an access there. For this aim he should lead a revolutionary policy and create parties that do not answer to Moscow; these are going to answer to Trotskyism.

The soviet missiles installed in Algeria, unite this country to the objective of the final settlement of account. At the same time as Algeria depends on the USSR, the USSR depends on Algeria: the concentration of the revolution allows Algeria to influence the whole world and the missiles are impelling the Arab masses. There are missiles in Syria, in Algeria, the Soviet Fleet is in

the mediterranean. Dayan is feeling that if he does not launch the war it is him who will be destroyed. In Israel, there is a bourgeois sector which wants to fulfill its bourgeois function; on the other hand, the other sector solely acts as a block against the revolution. This is why the struggle in the interior of Israel is sharpening in a very important manner.

The Soviet Union seeks contact with Syria, Algeria, and soon Egypt, because it is preparing for decisions in the near future, and because the bureaucracy cannot oppose the revolution as before. It must give arms to the revolution. In Spain, it was assassinating the revolutionaries, and now it gives them arms.

The Soviet Union must publicly declare that it has a base in Algeria. They have nothing to lose there and everything to win. In the final analysis of this action there is the attempt to have a means of persuading, of containing and of maintaining a possibility of peaceful co-existence. But to send missiles, is scarcely a peaceful thing! This action comes from a sector of the bureaucracy which feels itself more decided. It is support to revolutionary tendencies, which will be the only ones to welcome the missiles with pleasure and Kait Ahmed will not.

The actual task to carry forward in the Middle East, is to create the revolutionary tendency; later it will be to construct the Marxist revolutionary party. The trade unions must intervene, participating in all the tasks of the revolution, to impel the revolutionary tendency. In this sense, they must act as workers parties based on the trade unions. It is necessary to construct organisms which correspond to this aspiration of the masses. Not to wait for the government to decide; but to do things so that it is the masses who decide. In this sense the Algerian trade unions have developed a political function which competes with the political leadership of the government. And because of this there are these reactions against them.

These same problems are going to be reproduced in all the countries of the Middle East. It is necessary to take account of the fact that the trade unions, even without constituting themselves as parties, must act as political organs fighting for political power. For this it is necessary to make agitation for the programme of socialist unification of the Arab countries; for a common economic, political, military planning. A programme for the expansion of the revolution; popular militias, so that the trade unions discuss politically what are the organs of power of the Syrian Workers State and lead the struggle for the revolutionary tendency on the base of such a programme.

It is necessary at the same time, to outline the necessity of revolutionary marxism, to show

that it is the correct method in order to understand, organise, progress.

In Syria, if the government campaigns for parliament, one must oppose it and intervene. Power must be in the hands of the Trade Unions. The Parliament is a backward, conservative, form that separates resolution from execution. One must demand in all the Middle East, the disbandment of the Parliament, and form Soviets, from the districts, the factories, the Trade Unions, In the soviets the delegates are deputies only in name. They do not have the same executive function as in the bourgeois Parliament. They are going to discuss the problems posed by the masses and not the laws coming from above.

The actual crisis in Syria, stems from the fact that the discussion is always going on in the summits. Al Atassi asked the unions to be alert and to mobilise themselves, but they hardly had a chance to discuss. The unions must be capable of intervening deciding executing. One must arrange for the organs of power to be capable of discussing all the problems of the country and have the possibility of intervening. For this the independence of the unions is necessary. The control exercised by the Algerian government on the unions is aiming above all at hindering the political life of the unions.

One must struggle against these attempts and render the unions independent. Independence from the government, but not from the progress of the revolution! The unions support the revolution with their own organs and at the same time, they prevent conservatism, regression. The masses must be capable of exercising workers control, to function in the factory committees, in the workers militias. A planning of the economy is needed between all the Arab countries, and the workers must control their factories. The workers must elect their director as an individual in charge of the administrative questions

# THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF NORTHERN IRELAND: A NEW STEP IN THE EUROPEAN PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

26-9-69

We are publishing this document from Lutte Communiste because we think that even though it is now some two months old, it is a very profound analysis of the "Irish August."

As Comrade Posadas has consistently analysed, the world masses are seeking power. In every corner on the globe, the masses are struggling for power and the rising of the Northern Irish masses is an elevated expression of this fact. On the surface, there is the problem of religion, but at the bottom of it, it is a problem of the class struggle, the struggle for power against the capitalist system, even if it is involved with the religious problems. This problem exists, just as the problem of civil and democratic rights also exists. This is true, but what does not exist, is the possibility to resolve these problems within the framework of bourgeois-democratic methods, within the framework of the present regime. Any possibility of solving these problems with the usual methods of capitalism has been passed. And it is for this reason, that these problems have acquired a revolutionary form, the appearance of civil war.

And if the discussion and the demands for these rights, adopt the perspectives and methods of civil war, it is because society is already able to solve these problems - with the methods of socialism and not those of capitalism. The declarations of Bernadette Devlin, amongst others, attacking and opposing the Southern Irish Regime, explain this fact. This is a new problem, which capitalism, once again, is incapable of resolving.

If there was an answer, a solution, capitalism would have put into operation immediately a political plan, a programme, showing that it possessed the capacity to give this solution. It has not done so, no more than have the workers parties, with the exception of the Trotskyists. This fact can be seen, in that, parallel to the development of all these struggles, mobilisations and violent confrontations, in which the Trotskyists have not participated, the name of Trotskyism appears at every step, just as it has appeared in some very important meetings in Moscow. When these references to Trotskyism appear, it is because the solution is neither capitalist, nor Stalinist, or socialist but Trotskyist.

After the "French May" there is now an "Irish August", and the entire world masses feel very moved and have been in solidarity with the struggle of the Irish masses. This struggle shock the entire capitalist world and is in the process of running over it. The troops of British Imperialism, sent to Belfast, do not dare to attack the barricades in the working class districts, and when some barricades are dismantled, they are replaced by another chain of barricades. Because they are powerless, these troops are unable to throw themselves against the masses. The masses are imposing a system of dual power. All this proves, that there is a ripening of the situation and a preparation for the changing of power.

The rising of the Catholics has posed the problem of democratic and political rights, the right to vote, freedom of expression and the right to stage demonstrations. In order to impose these rights, the Catholics do not go on to the streets with God or the Virgin Mary, rather, they throw Molotov Cocktails, build barricades and attack the police with stones. None of these things have anything to do with religion! It does not matter what kind of person he is, even religious, but if he wants to be useful, he has to throw Molotov Cocktails.

It is the same feeling, the same development which is expressed in Dublin and Southern Ireland, where the masses are in the process of passing from the stage of peaceful demonstrations, to that of sit-downs, violent demonstrations, with bombs and Molotov Cocktails, and

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violent confrontations with the police. This transformation in the actual form of struggle, in the methods of action, is not simply the product of what has been happening in Belfast or Londonderry, but is, above all, the result of the world revolutionary struggles.

This developing situation affects the masses of Northern Ireland from Londonderry to Belfast, because they feel the moral support and general sympathy of the world masses, including a section of the exploited working people of England, who have delivered a real setback to Wilson by abstaining in the elections and developing a formidable strike movement and tomorrow the methods of the Irish masses struggle are going to be adopted by the English workers.

All these are the factors which lead the leadership of the International to write that the election of Bernadette Devlin is a result of the combined concentration of forces by the English masses. This concentration is expressed on the one hand, by this election, and, on the other, by the almost instantaneous appearance of the Civil Rights Committee, which has acted and is still acting, as a centre for the struggle. When necessary history is capable of creating any committee! What does the "defence of civil rights" mean, when this "defence" is carried out with bombs, stones or arson? What kind of "civil rights" are these? It shows that the English masses no longer have any respect for formal bourgeois democracy, because they have acquired a revolutionary conception of democracy.

All this is something new to England. It is the first time since the war, that in the struggle between Ireland and England, the struggle for democratic rights, has been with the methods of civil war, and not with pious words about "liberation" or "independence". The demand which has been posed, in this struggle, is for the establishment of anti-capitalist power throughout Great Britain.

The use of such civil war methods signifies that their consciousness is in process of expressing all the strength acquired by the world revolution and this implies that, in order to get what they want, the masses have to rely on the methods of struggling for power. Large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, and even of the working class, who were not inclined until now to throw themselves into action, into civil war, today launch into this struggle because they have been won over to the idea, that it is the only way to satisfy their demands. It is the same thing in France, with the struggle of the small merchants, who, for the first time in their history, are talking of the methods of working class struggle, the methods of civil war.

The struggle of the Irish masses comes after the triumph of the English workers, inside the Trade Unions, against Wilson. This struggle does not just occur at any time, rather it indicates a centralised concentration of the actions of the masses, who are going to extend and elevate the struggle. The Irish masses have not raised any territorial or national claim; they have posed social and political demands, which establishes a relationship between them and the English working class.

The struggle of the Northern Irish masses, like the struggle of the world masses as a whole, is for power and the fundamental task is to organise this struggle with a political programme, with the conscious aim of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to organise an alliance between Irish and English workers, because their demands are the same, against unemployment, for the raising of wages, for workers democracy. In their struggle for the socialist programme and for the defeat of Wilson's reactionary capitalist politics, the English masses are ready to give very important support to the Irish workers. British Imperialist troops must get out of Ireland, workers assemblies and a congress of all workers organisations must discuss and resolve their problems.

The struggles of German, Italian, English, Irish, French workers, and of all the exploited masses of Europe, have created the conditions for the unification of these actions, these struggles, which are going to result in the victory of the European Proletarian Revolution!

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the strength of anti-government, anti capitalist feeling are all a fundamental part of the polarisation of class forces against capitalism a part objectively of the preparation for the taking of power by the masses. The level of concentration of class forces in Great Britain can be gauged in a multitude of ways. The recent speech of George Brown with its unequivocal support to the Yankee imperialist assassins in Vietnam cannot be disassociated from the exasperation felt by the pro-capitalist sectors in the Labour Party in the face of the advance of the world socialist revolution. It demonstrates the enormous tensions that are gathering in the Labour Party and Unions.. And it has to be realised that in calling for America to finish the job in Vietnam, Brown was calling for the third world war, this in itself shows the level of concentration of class forces in Great Britain.

In this situation the prime tasks for the revolutionary vanguard remain twofold, on the one hand impelling the revolutionary current in the unions and the Labour Party and on the other struggling to develop class organisms of the factory committees, organisms of dual power. The teachers - as also the students who in their recent Conference have called for a one day strike in support of the teachers and for the direct intervention of students in the problems of the masses such as housing - should utilise their union and their own committees in this struggle to appeal for demands and policies which do not simply remain at the level of their own professional wage demands but extend to all the demands of the exploited masses. In a confused and limited way the NUS Conference showed a tendency in this direction. We appeal to the teachers, to demand that all wages should rise with the cost of living that it is necessary to meet the housing situation by the organisation of planning as with the other needs of the masses, such as hospitals, transport etc. that it is necessary to prepare the way to overthrow capitalism with a general strike. We propose that they work consciously with the working class to develop a programme for the united front on these and other demands of the anti-capitalist programme, so that strikes do not just follow one another but are co-ordinated on a common programme with a perspective of the general strike.

It is true that capitalism has been forced to make concessions in face of the tremendous strength of the working class and now Barbara Castle speaks of the need to meet the demands of lower paid workers but capitalism cannot sustain for any period of time any real concessions. No sooner do the wages increase - as they did in France after May 1968 - than capitalism promptly increases prices. We are told of a better balance of payments situation but British capitalism for once has only benefited from an increase in world trade at the expense of its rivals. None of the underlying problems of the capitalist economy have disappeared. Arms distort the economy and breeds inflation. Capitalism has no means of developing the economy to satisfy all the needs of the masses. Thus we propose that the teachers persist in their offensive against capitalism in unity with the rest of the working class on the common programme. And we propose that they impel the unions and the left wing of the Labour Party in this direction. This is not simply a wages struggle, it is a fight to smash capitalism.

More and more opportunities are made available to intervene in the struggle to build the anti-capitalist leadership in the Labour Party and the unions. The case of George Brown is an example. It is necessary to stimulate the struggle to impose the will of the Labour masses in such an instance, to impel the union leaderships to withdraw their support from those who reject the policies of socialism, to impel the left Labour M.P.'s, to argue much more vigorously for an anti-capitalist programme and to appeal to the masses directly for support. The workers forced their leaders to conduct the struggle against Fords and the workers won. They impelled the union leaders to oppose without concession the anti-union legislation and the workers won. Now above all it is necessary to impel the revolutionary current in the Unions which carry tremendous weight in the Labour Party and have the capacity to mobilise millions of workers. This cannot be achieved overnight because in both the unions and the L.P. there is a lack of organised political life and the union bureaucracy has never wanted a political life. But the unions are the instruments of the working class and in the decisive encounters with capitalism which are not far distant, the trade unions are indispensable means of organising and centralising the class. It is totally absurd that the unions after flattening capitalism

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# CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF THE IMPRISONED TROTSKYISTS IN MEXICO

We are just about to publish a bulletin containing the Political defence of Adolfo Gilly at his appeal. We call to the worker and the student vanguard, to the revolutionary intellectuals to read this tremendously important political document, which puts the Mexican bourgeoisie on trial and which expresses all the confidence of Trotskyism, of Posadism in the final victory of socialism. The price of this Bulletin is 1/- but we ask you to pay more for it as a contribution to the expenses of the world wide campaign, the sending of a lawyer to Mexico etc. which the International has undertaken.

The response to the campaign has been excellent but it must be continued and intensified because there are forces which are at work which want to prevent the release of the Trotskyists, want to increase the sentences passed on them and want even to liquidate them. But the Mexican bourgeoisie and US Imperialism who are behind them, can be made to give up their sinister intentions by the mobilisation of world progressive public opinion.

CONTINUE THE CAMPAIGN UNTIL ALL THE TROTSKYISTS AND POLITICAL PRISONERS  
IN MEXICO ARE FREE

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF VICTORY OF THE MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS.

## Down with the repression in Spain Freedom for Francisco Cuadrado

We condemn with all our indignation the summary trial before a military tribunal which the Spanish bourgeoisie is preparing against the comrade FRANCISCO CUADRADO a member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Spanish Section of the IV International, imprisoned for six months in the 'Modelo' prison of Barcelona.

There is no juridical basis, no proof or evidence which can be brought up to justify this trial. It is purely a trial against ideas.

The Spanish bourgeoisie seeks once more to prevent the functioning of the revolutionary vanguard, of the IV International, seeks to prevent its fusion with the communist, socialist and anarchist vanguard on the programme, the ideas and the policy of the IV International.

Francisco Cuadrado was in jail 4 years ago for a few months and was finally released on bail. Hundreds of militants, workers, students continue to be held in prison, some condemned for tens of years and others threatened with death sentences.

It is necessary to demand their liberation, to elevate the mobilisations and the strikes in Britain and in the rest of Europe for the overthrow of Franco and of the bourgeois regime in Spain.

DOWN WITH THE ARBITRARY TRIAL AGAINST FRANCISCO CUADRADO AND ALL THE OTHER PRISONERS.

DOWN WITH THE FRANCO REGIME.

FOR A WORLD UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-CAPITALIST FRONT FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST REGIME IN SPAIN

LONG LIVE THE UNINTERRUPTED STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH MASSES

LONG LIVE THE SPANISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

# 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 Polarix and racket 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.

a new publication

## THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLA IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER. I/-

J. POSADAS. FEB 1966

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With the Party we  
are everything.

TROTSKY

The substitution of  
the bourgeois state  
by the proletarian  
state is not poss-  
ible without violent  
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LENIN

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 103 10th DECEMBER 1969 PRICE 6d

## Liberty for Francisco Cuadrado

## The Left & revolutionary currents in the Labour Party and Unions, must base their confidence on the successful struggle in the Docks, the Car Industry etc. To push forward the fight for the anti-capitalist programme.

Stimulated by the struggle in industry, by the resistance of the working class to the pro-capitalist policies of Wilson, by the whole world process of the revolution, the advance of the left tendencies and currents in the unions and the Labour Party, accelerates. The officials in the lower and middle layers of the Trade Unions and L.P., who in the past have not felt animated or confident enough to struggle against the right wing, or who have felt that such a struggle would only damage the organisations of the class, now feel willing and able to do so. The class struggle in Britain now presents us with any number of examples of regional and local trade union officials, who are supporting and helping to organise the struggle of the rank and file, who are throwing their weight behind the strikes and demonstrations of the class, when before they opposed them or were at best luke-warm in their support. This is not to say that all the T.U. and Labour Party officials are responding to the working class, but what it is true to say is, that those who are responding, are winning positions in the unions, gaining confidence and transmitting the pressure of the base to the very summits of the workers organisations.

This is a fundamentally important process, for it is the construction of the new revolutionary leadership of the working class, the process in which, as Cde. Posadas has insisted, the working class takes power in its own organisations prior to taking power from the bourgeoisie. And all the strikes, all the mobilisations of the class, all the formation of independent organisms of the class in the factories, the docks, the workers areas, feed this current and stimulate it to raise its programmatic and organisational level.

It is against the background of the developing industrial struggle, with big class confrontations looming, and in the context of the advance of the left, that one must see the significance of the attack by Fulham Labour Party on the support of the Labour government for the US policy in Vietnam, and their attack on George Brown, following his openly pro-imperialist speech on radio. Also the statement of the TGWU, following Brown's speech, that trade union sponsored MPs could not expect to continue as TU MPs if their policies went against those of the trade union, and the later statement of the TGWU leader Jack Jones saying, that union was going to make itself the most democratic union in the world, are expressions of the struggle of the working class and its petit bourgeois allies to impose a proletarian programme and proletarian democracy within their own organisations, and moreover, that they are beginning to succeed. We salute the statement of Fulham Labour Party, even though we recognise its limitations, and we appeal to the militants of the Fulham LP as to other LP and trade union branches to continue the struggle to oust the pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist wing within the workers movement, but to organise this struggle on the basis of an alternative programme, a working class and revolutionary programme; ending of support to US Imperialism, out of NATO, ending of any attempts to curb the TUs, minimum living wage to rise with the cost of living, all profits of automation to the workers, nationalisation of key industries under workers control, a crash housing programme etc. These and other points of the

programme have to be fought for in the LP and the trade unions; the centre of the struggle must never be against a personality, but for a programme, for a proletarian solution to the problems set by capitalism. And such a struggle will attract the support of the whole exploited population.

The left in the Labour Party, which is advancing, as can be seen by this statement of Fulham LP, still does not do so with all the confidence, which the international and national situation should inspire. It advances timidly, with attempts at conciliation with the right, and does not appear clearly with a solution to the crisis which British capitalism and the Labour Leadership are sinking into, deeper and deeper. But even in Parliament we see that the Left MPs are receiving the influence of the British working class and the world revolution, by their opposition to the Vietnam war, by their opposition to Wilsons continued supplying of arms and support of the Gowon regime in Nigeria, their opposition to the Springboks tour etc., but in all these their attitude is insufficient. These MPs, including Bernadette Devlin, must base themselves on the reality, which is Britain; the strikes, the opposition to the incomes policy, the refusal by the class to pay higher rents etc., all of which indicate an advance of dual power in the country, the dual power, which already has functioned in Belfast and Londonderry, and which will soon function again. They must base themselves on this reality to force a discussion in Parliament and outside in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions on all the problems caused by the decay of capitalism, and to propose working class solutions to them. It is not the most important problem at this moment, but nevertheless it is possible to draw some conclusions from the Springbok tour. The preoccupation of the students, who want to stop the tour is correct, even if it is a secondary issue; but how can it be done? The Irish working class through the Irish Trade Unions have shown the way, blacking the tour in Ireland, and it is this experience which the Left MPs must take

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

## South Yemen Salute by the RWP(T) to the S. Yemen Govern- ment and N.L.F. on the Nationalisations

To the South Yemen Government and the N.L.F.  
Dear Comrades,

We salute the government of S. Yemen, the National Liberation Front and the revolutionary masses for the sweeping measures of nationalisation, which have just been made. The nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies, shipping, ports, and other commercial enterprises owned by American, British and French imperialism, and other foreign and national capitalists—virtually without compensation—deal a tremendous blow at world imperialism, to its puppet Israel and to all the forces in the Middle East, which stand in the way of human progress. These nationalisations come as part of the process of the world revolution, where from Peru to Libya, from Bolivia to South Yemen, the process of the nationalist revolution to the Workers State and the construction of socialism, foreseen by Comrade Posadas and the IV International for many years, develops and deepens.

We particularly salute the decision of the government to create a new "Economic Organisation for the Public Sector and National Planning" and the statement that "the creation of this new organisation constitutes the beginning of the socialist revolution and the founding of a transitional society leading to socialism." This statement of the South Yemen government is of tremendous importance, and we salute it for it shows that the N.L.F. and the South Yemen government are elevating their scientific Marxist understanding of the way to construct socialism, and their application of a Trotskyist policy.

However, it is necessary to be clear that imperialism through Israel, through Saudi Arabia, through those international forces hostile to the revolution, and directly itself through the world-wide nuclear war, is going to intervene to try to stop this process. It is necessary to continue the process towards a Workers State expropriating what remains of imperialist enterprises in the form of the refineries in order to eliminate a possible counter revolutionary base, and it is necessary to allow the full intervention of the masses in the political decisions of the country as a guarantee of its continuing advance. We therefore, while saluting the South Yemen government for the measures it has taken, urge it to continue the process with the organisation of the soviets everywhere and the communes in the countryside, and to develop the links with the Workers States U.S.S.R., China, Cuba, N. Korea, N. Vietnam etc.

We appeal to the government to strengthen the united front of the revolutionary Arab countries, beginning by attending the forthcoming conference in Tripoli of the U.A.R., Libya and Sudan, planning a common policy there, and we appeal to the National Liberation Front to convert itself into a revolutionary Marxist party, on the programme of the world anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist front, for the destruction of capitalism and imperialism.

VIVA THE NATIONALISATION IN SOUTH YEMEN  
VIVA THE PROCESS TOWARDS SOCIALISM IMPELLED BY  
THESE MEASURES  
VIVA THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

## Down with the attacks by Saudi-Arabia on the Peoples Republic of S. Yemen

# The United Front of the Communist and the struggle

The centralisation of the masses on a world scale in the communist movement, in the revolutionary nationalist, or socialist movements, that are acting in united front with the communist movement, with the Worker States, the weight and determining role of the Worker States, in the process of the revolution demands every time more the comprehension of the historic role of the IVth International, concretely in this stage.

Only the IVth International is prepared for this process, Trotsky led an uncompromising political struggle against all those, who detached themselves from the Soviet Union, from the unconditional defence of the Worker States, when they were confronted by the victorious phenomenon of the bureaucracy and its crimes. Cde. Posadas has led and is leading the same uncompromising struggle against all the capitulators of Trotskyism today who are turning their back on the objective comprehension of the communist movement, of the role of the Worker States, and, in France, of the role of the Communist Party. All the activity and analysis of these sectors to put themselves forward as competitors of the C.P. They are not prepared for the process of the political revolution, of interior entrism, such as it is and not as they would like it to be.

They disintegrate with the growth of the Communist Parties, with the integration of the masses in the communist and socialist parties, with the ascension of the revolutionary struggles. All the texts they write separate them from it, and lead them to the libraries, to a dead life. As does Mandel when he writes his "Treatise of political economy" or "The history of the economic thoughts of Marx"! This is what they write in the place of being concerned to write books that organise the revolutionary struggle. They dedicate themselves to the writing of dead books. They have no confidence in the masses, in Socialism, in the revolution. They try to grab hold of history, remaining, clinging to the last rung of the thoughts of Marx. This is the way Mañan, Pablo, Frank are acting, also Mandel, and all these groups that are disintegrating.

All of them are remote from the problems, that are central and determining in this stage. None of them understand anything about the crisis of the CP. They do not understand anything about the fact that in spite of its policies of conciliation and even of betrayals, the masses remain in the Italian CP, the French CP, and concentrate in it a little more at every turn. This leads them to the explanation that "the masses are reactionary and follow blindly".

In France, "Rouge", the "Workers Voice", and others, are addressing the workers to tell them: "We are struggling to overthrow the capitalist system of oppression, and you, you are struggling for more money"! They call on the workers to take power and, and when the workers do not follow them, they say: "The French working class is spontaneously Stalinist, the workers are only interested in the struggle for salaries." They are unable to understand the masses and the communist vanguard.

The ones who prepared themselves to understand all the new developments are the Trotskyists, the IVth International, Comrade Posadas. If the International had only written some articles from day to day, of agitation, propaganda, it would have been careerist, trailing after this process, seeking like all the capitulators of Trotskyism, to compete with the Communist Party, the Peronists, the Socialists, the nationalists, as the leadership of a small group of the masses. The International would have died, from a lack of perspective, because all the perspective is confirmed and developed in relation to the movement of the already centralised masses.

There is no room for new mass movements in the large countries, where there already exists some centres. There is no room for huge moves; this was good for another stage of history.

At this stage, there are 16 Worker States, and they are the states which are marking the way, giving the objectives. It is what Comrade Posadas formulated theoretically in his document "From Nationalism to Workers State", when he said: "The revolution can advance under any form, among others, the nationalist form, but, to survive, it must transform itself into a socialist one". In the same way, for any sort of revolutionary movement like a guerrilla, the movements like El Fatah, The MR. 13 of Guatemala, etc., to advance, to survive, and to play their historical role, they must take the communist programme, the programme of the socialist revolution, and act in united front

with the world-wide Communist Movement and the Workers States. If they do not, they disintegrate and die. The example of Cuba cannot be refuted. It is not possible to exclude the phenomena of centralisation and concentration, because history does not allow any choice, any hesitation. The ideas, the programme and the objectives are now determined.

It is on this perspective that Comrade Posadas, continuator of Trotskyism, supported himself to elaborate these documents written over the years, to write more and more texts, to orientate politically and theoretically all the communist vanguard and the IV International.

It is for this reason that Trotskyism maintained itself, is in process of elevation, and is winning everyday, a greater world authority. It is for this reason that, today in any movement that has some importance, Trotskyism appears and, in conjunction with it, Posadism, and that Posadas is discussed in the whole world. It is for this reason that the united front, the IV International, the communist vanguard, and the world communist movement is on the order of the day.

One of the conditions of the United Front is the maintenance of our independence as the IVth International. For the International to continue to elaborate texts, giving its orientations, maintaining the continuity of Marxism, it must have an independent life. In all the CPs, it would be obliged to live the superficial life that exists there.

Everywhere in the world, the communist vanguard is seeking contact with the International. In Uruguay, in Italy, in Argentina, in France, everywhere, in order to allow the International to explain, to discuss the texts of Comrade Posadas, because, everywhere in the communist movement, in its vanguard, there is an impetus to maintain the continuity of the Marxist comprehension of the process.

The communist leadership of any Communist Party of the world, has no texts which explain the phenomena of today, the Chou En Lai-Kosygin meeting, Libya, Peru, the French May, Czechoslovakia, anything. And the communist masses want to understand, and orientate themselves. Partial and fragmentary explanations are not sufficient any longer. They want to have a complete comprehension of the processes, and only the IVth International, Cde Posadas can give it to them. This is why more and more, the communist base is calling on the Trotskyists to join it, to struggle with it, to discuss, to exchange ideas, and to act in united front.

So it is, when the comrades of the Italian Young Communists, concede to a comrade of the IVth International its mandate to be a delegate to the Helsinki meeting, allowing the IV International to be present in this meeting, openly in the Italian Communist delegation.

The leaderships of the communist parties are obliged to note the crisis of capitalism, but they persist in offering only a parliamentary policy. If they show—as recently, Marchais, W. Rochet or Seguy did in France—that capitalism is in process of disintegrating, of weakening, they still do not draw the logical Marxist conclusion: "that no dominant class ever leaves the scene of history without struggle", and that, consequently, one must prepare the working class, the communist party for the revolutionary struggle, for the civil war, for the revolution, before

they (the dominant class), actually launch the counter revolution.

This is why the policies of the Communist Party appear with its contradictions, with a very great lack of perspective. They lack confidence, and they do not prepare themselves with the Marxist method. Their internal relationships are not the relationship of a Marxist Party, it is one which is formed in the mould of parliamentary relationships, on the basis of co-existence with capitalism. Hence, a lack of aggressivity towards capitalism, an administrative apparatus that is linked to capitalism, where a considerable number of officers are determining the policy of the party, and not the discussion, and the revolutionary intervention of the militants, of the communist vanguard.

Its lack of revolutionary democratic functioning, is creating a series of crises, of contradictions, when it is confronted with the problems that are arising from the development of the proletarian revolution, of the political revolution, of the national revolution in progress towards the Workers State.

From there also stems on the part of the communist vanguard, a more and more intense search for contact with the Trotskyists, and the IV International. This vanguard feels the necessity of a theoretical preparation that it does not have, it wants to dominate the process to be capable of determining tactics not only in relation to the country in which it happens to be, but in relation to the world process of the revolution.

## THE POLICY OF THE BUREAUCRACY CANNOT SATISFY THE COMMUNIST BASE, HENCE THE TURNING TOWARDS THE INTERNATIONAL

The tactic in France, in Belgium, or in Brasil, is not determined by the conditions in only one country, but as much by the world process and its consequences on what is characteristic of the country. In the same way as the revolution in one country is the result of the revolution on a national and on a world wide scale, the policies for a determined country are the product of the world perspective of the revolution applied concretely in the said country.

In the stage of history in which we live, the struggle for power in Brasil, in Argentina, in France, or in Italy is constantly a process of combination and interpenetration, with the struggle for the political revolution, the inter-bureaucratic conflicts that it provokes between the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, of Czechoslovakia, of Rumania, the Sino-Soviet conflict and the ascension of the Cuban revolution. All this process escapes from the perspectives and plans of the Soviet bureaucracy just as much of those of the capitalist regime.

It is the lack of perspective and of preparation, which explains, for example, the fact that the leaderships of the CPs, are characterising the military junta of Peru as progressive, after having characterised

it 6 months ago as "gorilla" (1). Their changes are not the product of political or theoretical progress, in which we do not note any explanation, any self-criticism. This policy cannot give satisfaction to their base, to the middle cadres, who, for this reason, turn themselves more and more towards the IVth International, to understand and orientate themselves.

The bureaucracies, and the apparatuses of the communist parties, find themselves placed before an avalanche of revolutions in which they understand nothing, for they had not been prepared. But they find themselves compelled today not to reject them, not to surrender them, or to ignore them, but to assume and support them politically and materially without delay. They feel the weight of the revolutions, and of the whole world revolutionary process on their shoulders, but without any sort of preliminary Marxist comprehension. This is why, from one day to the other they characterised Peru, without any other explanation, as "gorilla", and after as progressive. Or again, when they say "it is impossible to take power, capitalism is armed to the teeth", and suddenly they say "Capitalism is finished".

(1) "GORILLA" i.e. right wing linked to land owners.

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# Vanguard with the IV International for power (30-10-68)

FROM "LUTTE COMMUNISTE" ORGAN OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL

No theoretical link, no self criticism, no marxist comprehension appears. The base and the middle cadres of the CPs are disorientated.

On its own side, the communist vanguard is seeking an explanation of the problems of the revolution everywhere in the world, in France, in Italy, in Argentina and in the Middle East, but also in the Workers States, confronted by the problem of Czechoslovakia, of the Sino-Soviet conflict of the construction of socialism. If we exercise a stronger political and theoretical influence that leads to the united front with the communist vanguard in all the countries, it is because this vanguard has the need to discuss, to orientate itself, to understand scientifically in order to act. The invitations to the Trotskyists to participate in the Cadre School of the Young Communists, in the cell meetings of sections, assemblies, meetings, demonstrations, are, today, common place and normal facts in Italy, in France, in Uruguay, in Argentina, in Spain, for example, and in Cuba too.

In the actual discussions of the problems of the revolution, it is not possible to ignore the Trotskyists any longer. The texts of the communists do not suffice any longer, because they are the texts of the bureaucracy, and because when they have to begin to give some more scientific explanations, they immediately give the arguments of the Trotskyists, and formulate the positions that the Trotskyists and the IV International have been defending for years. The masses and the communist vanguard want answers to the questions which they are asking themselves of the complex problems that are being posed, and they do not want the simple schematic and bureaucratic answers any longer:

## POSADISM, THE TROTSKYISM OF THIS PERIOD

The International is prepared to utilise Trotskyism and Trotsky to apply them to this stage; because of this Comrade Posadas is the continuator of Trotsky, because of this we speak of Posadism, that is to say the Marxism of this stage, as in their time one spoke of Leninism or of Trotskyism. It is necessary to use all the heritage of Marxism up to today to apply it to what must be done in this stage. One cannot mechanically apply "Revolution Betrayed" in order to analyse the stage of today. What still hold good are the fundamentals of the analysis, the laws which permit us to characterise the bureaucracy in each moment. Today it is necessary to analyse as the IVth International does, in relation to the world advance of the process of the world revolution, of Libya, of Sudan, of Vietnam, and to the advance of the proletarian revolution in Italy, in France and in the whole of Europe.

Trotsky said in "Revolution Betrayed" that the "dream of the bureaucracy was the permanent status quo with world capitalism". This dream has not changed. But today it has become impossible, because the masses act without the bureaucracy's authorisation, stimulating the revolution more and more each day, defeating world capitalism, developing new Workers States. The bureaucracy sees all its plans made inapplicable to the revolution. Its capacity of leadership diminishes, and the sectors which seek to advance in the struggle to overthrow capitalism without revolution are replaced by those who want the revolution, and who understand that it is irreplaceable. It is a change which has important historic consequences.

The old leadership of Trotskyism, the Mandels, the Franks etc. try to live in the past, which leads them to apply outdated schemes to a reality which has changed and is changing more and more quickly. This leads them to a total inability to foresee. Nobody outside the International and Posadas were capable of foreseeing the transformation of Cuba, the phenomena of "From nationalism to the Workers States", the centralisation and the concentration of the masses in the historic instruments which they have already

why the conflict between China and the Soviet Union? why Czechoslovakia? why Rumania, why the lack of planning, why the frontiers still existing between the two Workers States? Why is Cuba still dependent on the Soviet aid? Why is it still possible for the imperialist Yankees to bomb and maintain themselves in Vietnam? Why is power not taken in Italy and in France? The masses, the communist vanguard are wondering, and they do not want a partial explanation, they want a full explanation. This is why they are more and more appealing to the Trotskyists.

This progress is in the entire world and we are in process of doing it! If the objectives of the revolution in the world are the same as in Trotsky's time, the forms have changed. There are sixteen Workers States, the Sino-Soviet conflict, the shattering of the Social Democratic, Christian Democratic leaderships, and the integration of these masses into the revolution. The CPs instead of breaking away as was the case in the whole last period, must advance today on the road of the revolution, yield to the revolutionary pressure of the masses and of their own base. Within them, new revolutionary leaderships are in formation. Some new Christian Democratic, Socialists, Nationalist movements are in process of developing and are won to communism, become communists, even though they do not change their name. They become communists, but they do not depend on the bureaucracy of Moscow. The example of Fidel Castro is the most notable, and will be followed tomorrow by thousands. It is this that Cde. Posadas and the IVth International, above all apply themselves to understand in its present form.

built, the Communist and Socialist parties. The force and the authority of the IVth International comes from the fact that it is capable of understanding and of dominating these perspectives.

The communist militant needs this understanding. It needs that we transmit to it, assurance and certainty. It is not sufficient just to say the truth; it is necessary to increase its confidence by building it theoretically, showing that it is possible to defeat the bureaucracy and its leadership. This assurance comes from the basis of a generalised understanding of all the phenomena: of the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Soviet-Czechoslovakian conflict, the forms of maturing of the proletarian revolution and of the construction of a new revolutionary leadership in the advanced capitalist countries. Thus the communist militant can take account of and see the historic and concrete roots and elevate his confidence in socialism for tomorrow. Otherwise he hesitates, vacillates does not know how to understand the process, he is disorientated and remains glued to his leadership.

If on the contrary he raises his theoretical and political comprehension he separates himself from his leadership, but without separating himself from his party. On the contrary he feels capable of winning the leadership of his party. And it is this which we seek. The form under which this is going to be realised is another problem, which depends on a series of circumstances. It is necessary to prepare oneself for this activity to intervene with this consciousness.

The concern of the communist militant is legitimate. He wishes to organise a series of trade union actions to increase his weight and authority in the party. And if we had the strength we would do it. But we lack the cadres and we must know how to use those which we have. Also in these circumstances, the most important thing is the functioning of the party, the elevation of its theoretical and political ability in such a way as to increase our authority and our capacity to orientate, to influence with texts, arguments, orientations, propositions. Our independent activity as a Party is irreplaceable. The in-

dividual form of intervening lasts for a very little time. The communist militant and the necessities of history have an interest in the intervention of the party. The communist vanguard, the ascending communist movement needs the IV International as an organisation, even if it is only expressed by a small number of militants. The ideas are and must be represented by an organisation. The communist don't need personalities, but a theoretical and political leadership, a communist behaviour and morality.

The simple fact that in Italy, for example, they have accepted the integration of comrades as Trotskyists in Cadre Schools, to participate there with complete equality in the discussions, and to give courses, indicates that a historic stage has been opened up within their organisation. Without abandoning their sentiment of a party, acting consciously so as not to damage the structure of their party, they want nevertheless for their party to be the best, and for this they invite our comrades, because they see that this is not the stage to change parties. They are conscious of belonging to a party, which is the historic prolongation of the October Revolution, of the Workers State of the USSR, of the 15 other Workers States, and that in spite of the faults of the leadership, of the errors and the crimes of Stalin, of the capitulators of the Workers States, the latter and the world socialist revolution extend and are developing in the world, lead by the communist parties.

Nobody will be able to take this assurance away from them, nobody! And nobody will be able to make them be-

come anything else but communist. They have enough historic legitimate proofs to remain united to the CP.

It is different for the countries where there is no Communist Party as a means of centralising the masses. There exists for us in these countries other perspectives, and we act not only as Trotskyists, but allied and in united front with other forces. But there where there are solid communist parties, then these are the parties of the revolution.

It is certain that the internal struggles for a change of policy, of leadership, to renew them with the policy and the programme of the revolution, is going to bring about changes, conflicts and splits. But the communist masses are not going to desert these parties, but are going to struggle there. This is all in the analysis of interior entrism, which Comrade Posadas has developed.

May 68 in France is an example, but also may 69; the masses are concentrated in the communist parties, and through the general strike or through the daily strikes, the votes, the abstentions, are centralising themselves to be able to weigh and decide as a class. It is the communist vanguard which draws along the others. And because of this it says to us all the time, "You must enter the Communist Party". It asks us to enter to draw full advantage from us, without understanding that if we were to enter, our role and function would cease, and we would not be able to write political and theoretical documents any more. Entering would force us to live the life of the CP, and we would not be able to live as the IVth International.

The communist base needs revolutionary ideas, but also examples of revolutionary organisation, behaviour and morality. And we must give the example. It is because of this that we consider the references, which Picquet made in his report to the last Central Committee of the PCF on communist morality as very important and as a product of our influence.

The communist masses need a more and more elevated, more generalised, and at the same time more concentrated help from the International, because it is a question not only of the taking of power, but also the construction of socialism. These problems are fundamental for them, as are those on socialist morality. Socialist morality allows us to abandon the individual sentiment, which capitalism creates, the sentiment of possession, the sentiment of those, who are more able, and who consequently have more, and to replace this by the sentiment of revolutionary fraternity. Not that he who is more capable should have more, but everyone should have; such is the communist sentiment.

When we make such a policy of united front, we give one of the most elevated examples of historic objectivity and of communist morality. We act vis-a-vis to the Communist Party so that it takes power, not so that it gives us power. We try to take power, because we feel that this is the best way, the most complete way, the most harmonious to progress. But we understand also, that it is not possible to wait historically until we have the strength. Thus we are inserted in the movement which exists, impelling it to act and take power. This is our way of taking power. It is not a question of any renunciation, of any abandonment of ideas, of positions, of objectives, or of principals, but of ways to apply these objectives, principals and positions, without renouncing or diminishing our capacity. On the contrary the historic objectivity elevates the revolutionary to inconceivable, immeasurable heights, elevates consequently all the IV International to play its historic, objective role in the actual process of the world revolution towards the final settlement of accounts and the world triumph of socialism.

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for workers power

J. Posadas

FEB. 1966.

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# EX-PRESIDENT CARDENAS INTERVENES, DENOUNCING THE HOLDING IN JAIL OF DOZENS OF MEXICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

The recent declarations of the previous president of the Mexican Republic LAZARDO CARDENAS denying the statements made by Luis Echeverria the presidential candidate in the next election have an enormous importance in the present situation in Mexico.

In complete violation of the facts Echeverria declared that in Mexico "There is total freedom of expression!" And he added "Nobody in this country has been for

quite a long time, persecuted because of his political or religious ideas..." Dozens of prisoners, among whom are our comrades, Gilly, Fernandez, Confrera, Irararta, and Colmenares, have been held in jail for years and condemned to years in prison solely for political opinions.

The taking of positions by Cardenas demanding the setting free of political prisoners is a very direct product of the development of the campaign of world opinion, which denounced the violations of the Mexican constitution, the violation of the democratic and revolutionary traditions of Mexico.

In this situation, we appeal for a re-intensification of this world campaign to demand in every way the liberation of political prisoners, and to denounce the stealing of the democratic rights and liber-

EUROPEAN  
MARXIST  
REVIEW NO. 1.

Contents:

All the political documents of the VIII World Congress of the IV International  
Editorials by J. Posadas  
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ties of the Mexican masses by a government more and more in the pocket of American Imperialism, and whose growing weakness leads it to its only desperate remedy: repression.

The struggles of the masses in Mexico,

the campaign of protest in Britain and the rest of the world, weighing on the Mexican authorities will lead to the liberation within a short time of the political prisoners and of our Trotskyist comrades among them.

## NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN

### ★ BRITAIN

#### TELEGRAM FROM LABOUR MP'S

The following telegram has been sent to the Mexican government;—

"WE DEMAND GUARANTEES OF SAFETY FOR TROTSKYISTS AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN LECUMBERRI JAIL AND FOR THEIR IMMEDIATE RELEASE"

signed. Bob Edwards and Frank Allaun, Labour M.P.s

### ★ GERMANY

#### LETTER FROM BRITISH SOLDIERS AND GERMAN WORKERS AND STUDENTS

The following letter has been sent to Judge Casiano Castellanos, who is in charge of sentencing the Trotskyists, the letter was signed by members of the British Army in Germany and by German workers and students.

TO JUEZ CASIANO CASTELLANOS,

I MUST PRESENT THIS PETITION ON BEHALF OF BRITISH SOLDIERS AND GERMAN STUDENTS AND WORKERS. WE COMPLETELY CONDEMN THE IMPRISONMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE PARTIDO OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO (TROTSKISTA), WHICH HAS BEEN REPORTED IN THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS AND PROGRESSIVE PRESS OF OUR COUNTRIES. YOU ARE A MAN OF JUSTICE, I APPEAL TO YOU TO IMMEDIATELY PROCEED TO RELEASE THESE PEOPLE, AND ANNOUNCE THEM INNOCENT.

YOURS CFN. A. ILES

AND 13 OTHER SIGNATURES

## 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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

## EDITORIAL

when they discuss how to stop the tour. It is also necessary to discuss that problem, which the Labour leadership never wants to discuss, because it touches directly on the structure of British capitalism; i.e. the monarchy. The recent disclosures of the financial 'problems' of Royalty, in which right wing Labour MPs rallied to the defence of the Queen, should have been used by the Left as a platform to launch an attack on the whole monarchical system, pointing out that this is now the only form in which British capitalism can exist, and that the struggle against the monarchy is the struggle against the capitalist system. And this discussion must be made in all the organisations of the class. The left in the Labour Party, in the TUs and in the CP must realise that today is not the epoch of the bureaucrat or the apparatus, but that the relation of forces nationally and internationally is changing against the bureaucrats. The bureaucracy cannot just expel militants as it did in the past—now it has to yield in part to the militants, facilitating the advance of the left. This is not to say that the advance of the left can be made without crises or splits, it cannot, but the left must not be intimidated by this prospect or by the jibes of the right wing that they are splitting the party. We are not in favour of a split in the LP at this moment, and there is no need of one. The left and revolutionary tendency, which is developing in the unions and the LP can advance, based on the support of the rank and file for a revolutionary programme, and when the moment for a split comes, it will be the expulsion of the right wing of the apparatus, and will involve no loss of centralisation of the masses.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

The left must also be conscious that the time when it was possible to advance by means of manoeuvres and conciliation is finished. Throughout Europe the most resolute sectors of the bourgeoisie are digging their heels in against the struggle of the masses. In the car industries of France, Italy and Britain the bourgeoisie is prepared to sabotage its own production to try to smash the vanguard, resorting to lock-outs, measures of civil war as the International has analysed them. The new boss of the Mersey Docks warns of agitators, who want to overthrow the capitalist system, while Quinton Hogg talks of the slide into anarchism. The bourgeoisie, while not possessing the capacity to foresee events in detail, feel that their system is going to be shaken to its foundations in the next period, and try to plan counter-measures, to prepare repression.

But the working class also makes its plans; without the pessimism of a doomed ruling class it works more coherently and rationally, even though hampered by a leadership which does not express all its militancy and consciousness. But consciousness is beginning to impose itself. To the proposal by the bosses to transfer the container terminal from Tilbury to Antwerp, the workers reply with the making of an agreement with the Dutch and Belgian dockers to oppose any such move. The BMLC shop stewards committee makes plans to form a national organisation of shop stewards committees for the whole industry, and to make links with the European car workers, and an international meeting of engineering trade unions in Paris draws up plans to fight for a 6 point programme, which includes the guaranteed wage, lay off pay and workers control of the track speed. The class

struggle and the development of the workers organisations are uniting the working class of Europe. We salute all these meetings and proposals, but it is necessary to go further, and the Left in the LP and the unions must put forward the perspective of the European Trade Union centre and the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

We are in the stage of the final settlement of accounts, imperialism is preparing for the war, and the Workers States are preparing also. The bourgeoisie throughout Europe is preparing repression and the working class, and its allies are going to respond by burying them. The higher and more developed the organisations of the class the less will be the damage and chaos to humanity, which imperialism can cause. This is what the Left in the Labour Party, the Unions and the CP must be conscious of at this stage, accelerating the struggle for a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, for all profits of automation to the workers, for nationalisation of key industries without compensation and under workers control, for a workers plan of production, housing, health, education etc. to solve all the problems, which capitalism is incapable of solving, for an ending of the support to US imperialism, placing this struggle within the perspective of workers government.

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

No. 104

25th December, 1969

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## THE ADVANCE OF DUAL POWER IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND DEMANDS THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NEW CLASS LEADERSHIP IN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

The continuous advance of the masses in the extension and deepening of dual power in Great Britain can be seen in a variety of ways. The breakdown of negotiations between the Confederation of Engineering and Shipping unions and the employers, the fact that the union leadership has said that the workers can strike when they think fit is an example of this process. It is true that the union leadership is attempting to avoid any responsibility for organising the struggle but when negotiations involving millions of workers break down so completely at this stage of history, there can be no question that the room for manoeuvre of capitalism and the union leadership is extremely limited. Also the plans of the bus and underground workers to organise a one day strike on January 1st, not for higher wages but for a better transport service and for a halt to the running down of London transport, is an expression of the willingness and ability of the working class to give solutions to problems which capitalism has no interest in solving. In the power industry, a week long unofficial strike is planned for January 5th in the teeth of the opposition of one of the most bureaucratic trade unions, and is a clear expression of the advance of the vanguard even in those unions where the leadership has carried on a policy of terrorism and expulsion. The fact that the leader of this proposed strike is an executive committee member of the Communist Party is an indication of the important rôle of the Communist vanguard in Britain, despite the smallness of the party.

The perspective of continuous action by the teachers is part of the whole process whereby the proletariat and petit bourgeoisie masses are seeking the way forward to take power from capitalism. Every demand for wage increases or improvements in the conditions of work increasingly put the whole capitalist system in question, puts in question how is the system to be overthrown, what is the programme to unite the masses? What are the organisms by which the masses can express their will?

The action of the T.U. leadership and even the abstentions of the left M.P.'s is far below the level of the masses. Thus for example neither the leadership of the Transport Union nor the A.E.F. have made any effort to really organise the struggle against capitalism. Jack Jone of the T.G.W.U. allowed a

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# TO THE PALERMO COMMITTEE FOR PEACE, TO THE INTERNATIONAL MEDITERRANEAN CONFERENCE 1970.

( For Self Determination And The Progress Of The Peoples Against The  
Policies Of The Block )

- TO SMASH CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IN THE WORLD  
IN ORDER TO ATTAIN PEACE IN SOCIALISM!
- UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES OF THE ARAB WORLD! RIGHT  
OF SELF DETERMINATION OF THE JEWISH MASSES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF A SOCIALIST  
FEDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST!
- FOR THE UNITED FRONT OF THE ARAB AND EUROPEAN MASSES AS A PART OF THE  
UNITED WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT!

The objective which the Mediterranean Assembly Year 70 pursues, organised by the Palermo Committee for peace, is very important: to secure peace, against NATO, to unite the mass movements in Europe with the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the Arab world; but the method and the programmatic line of action which are given do not allow the attaining of these objectives. Our appeal has as its objective, to intervene in the Assembly to discuss fraternally with the promoters and with the delegations of Europe and the Middle East which are present with the object of impelling an anti-imperialist policy, an understanding from the class and proletarian point of view and the point of view of the masses of Europe and the Middle East and to advance in the organisation of the anti-imperialist united front on a regional and world scale.

In making this appeal we salute all the delegations of the countries of Europe and the Middle East, in the Assembly and we express our most fervent desire that the discussions which will be made and the resolutions which will be taken will constitute a fundamental impulse for the struggle against imperialism throughout the region and the world.

## THE PROBLEM OF PEACE IS LINKED TO THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The problem of peace, like the problem of progress of the Arab countries, as the problem of the development of Italy, as the other capitalist countries of Europe, is closely united to the world settlement of accounts between revolution and counter revolution, to the atomic war which imperialism has decided to provoke. There is no problem of the Mediterranean isolated from this process! There is no possibility of a Mediterranean peace separated from the objective logic which leads to war. There is not, there will not be peace so long as capitalism does not disappear.

One cannot ignore what is happening in the Middle East. One cannot conceive that the solution is saying to the Arab revolutionaries that they should maintain themselves passively and that the Israelis should leave the occupied zones. The Israelis are not going to go. It is necessary to throw them out by force. It is the Yankees who are behind them. And thus there can be no other solution than to act as the masses are acting and the revolutionary movements of the Middle East: peace with arms in hand.

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The Middle East is a fundamental centre of the revolution. The European countries even in the hands of capitalism, like France, Italy, Spain, elevate themselves each day more in the anti-capitalist struggles. These are the conditions which are more than mature, to unite all the forces in a united front against capitalism which will be and is a formidable impulse to the struggle against capitalism which is the regime promoting war, aggression, oppression, and the massacre of all the people. We understand the desires, the intentions, of the organisers of the Assembly to seek to secure peace in the Mediterranean. But there is no other form of securing peace than to do what the masses are doing; to impel, organise the revolutionary war to develop as in Italy for example the war against capitalism. Every other method every other policy is to create an illusion. Any other form of intervening favours the plans of tranquility, of conservatism of passivity.

We propose that this Committee and the assembly which will take place issue a resolution of unconditional support to the struggle of the Arab masses which is a just struggle, which is a necessary struggle for progress. Why do they want peace? Who represents progress? It is the Arab masses who represent progress. And the action of the Arab masses is directed to eliminate the factors, the forces, the arms, the armies which impede the progress of the Arab masses, of the Arab countries. It is necessary to pose this, to eliminate every appeal to peace in the abstract, not to expect that peace comes from appeals. We are in agreement with peace, but for that it is necessary to eliminate all the factors which determine the war; it is necessary to overthrow capitalism, it is necessary to expel, to defeat, to liquidate imperialism. This meeting must resolve a campaign for the expulsion of imperialism from the Middle East.

The same for the countries of Europe which have a regime which is still capitalist. The exploited masses, the worker masses are those who represent progress. There is not, there cannot be social economic development in Italy, on a national or regional scale, without the struggle of the masses as they are doing, for their demands against capitalism, disputing each day capitalist positions, developing the revolutionary process through which Italy lives as part of the world revolution. The meeting must deepen its consciousness of this reality which has an immense strength for its own objective development and which must resolve the programming of an action to liquidate all the imperialist bases, to expel the imperialist troops, expel the imperialist fleets from the Mediterranean!

We consider that thus it is necessary to pose the problem. War exists because it is imperialism which leads to war. The policy of conciliation of shaking hands only serves the enemies. It is not possible to secure peace by means of negotiations and agreements. There is the agreement of the United Nations in respect of Israel and it is not respected. On the contrary the Israelie bourgeoisie, like imperialism, elevate their aggressivity, seeking to manoeuvre with its fists clenched. It is not possible to secure peace, nor to arrange that imperialism abandons the concentration of ships, of military forces, that it withdraws from its bases nor also to restrain the aggressivity of Israel through peaceful means. 40 Million Americans mobilise themselves against the intervention in Vietnam. For the 15th November there are going to be other millions who are going to mobilise, Yankee imperialism is preparing for an internal war. In the United States itself there is a very great number of the popu-

lation who are opposed to the war. Yankee imperialism spends almost 40,000 million of dollars per year in Vietnam and the war continues. It is very necessary to avoid every idealisation with respect to the problem of peace. It is impossible for the Yankees to go or for Israel to abandon the occupied zones through declarations and requests, through the medium of pressures and influences. In the United Nations it has been posed and suggested a thousand times that Israel withdraws from the occupied zones. The Yankees support them and they remain there. The question then consists in throwing them out by force. It is necessary to make a united front to throw them out by force. We can only arrive at the objective which we seek, by the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, supporting and making them intervene in the Workers States, establishing the united front with the Workers States and in the first place impelling more audaciously the intervention of the Soviet Union, of its fleet, of its armed support and aid of the revolutionary masses of the Arab world, in support also of the masses of Italy, of France, of Spain who struggle against capitalism and for the expulsion

of all the Yankee Bases of these countries.

Cde. J. Posadas, General Secretary of the IV International has analysed scientifically the nature of Israel in the heart of the Arab revolution. Israel is an instrument of the counter revolution. It is necessary to eliminate the force which created it, Yankee Imperialism, although it is necessary to give battle at the same time, directly against the reactionary Israeli bourgeoisie. It is necessary to pose that to discuss alone the problem of peace, to make a campaign of peace is to disarm revolutionary action, disarm the masses and the progressive forces <sup>who exert</sup> a necessary pressure for the development of the combativity and the aggressivity to smash imperialism. And this allows imperialism to manoeuvre and gain time. Through peaceful methods, through simple declarations of peaceful intention, imperialism is not going to abandon any of its positions; neither the fleet or the military positions of imperialism are going to go, neither will Israel stop being the instrument of the counter revolution. Imperialism made of Israel a counter revolutionary centre to contain the Arab revolution, to make it a point of concentration of ships, of planes, of soldiers. The Arab masses above all from the Six Day War, have elevated their understanding of the struggle for economic and social progress, the struggle to reach a worthy and peaceful life and that this demands the full development of the revolution, the programme of the socialist revolution and that this struggle in the area in which they advance is part of the revolutionary world struggle. For this reason it is fundamental to discuss in the Assembly that the war in the Mediterranean is the consequence of the preparation of the war by imperialism, and that as Cde. J. Posadas has analysed in this framework, it is necessary to pose the function of Israel and that there cannot be peace so long as capitalism exists.

THE IMPERIALIST FLEET AND THE SOVIET FLEET IN THE MEDITERRANEAN ARE PURSUING DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED OBJECTIVES.

It is not possible to place on the same plane the Imperialist and the Soviet fleets. The function of the soviet fleet and that of the American fleet is not the same. Imperialism is going to try to terrorise and make the counter revolution through Israel. The presence on the other hand of the Soviet fleet feeds and stimulates the revolution. We cannot be for the withdrawal of the two fleets. We are against Yankee imperialism which is the force which supports Israel. We cannot establish equality between imperialism or parity between imperialism and the soviet bureaucracy, between Israel and the Arabs but we must show that one is the invador and the other the invaded, one is the oppressor, and the other the oppressed. The Soviet fleet fulfills a necessary role. And it is necessary to underline the necessity that the Soviet fleet must intervene more concretely, with more military and economic and social support with all their forces in favour of the Arab countries and of the Palestinian resistance, directly to expel imperialism.

One of the most recent examples, Libya demonstrates the importance of this. With the triumph of the Libyan revolution, British imperialism sought to intervene and immediately afterwards desisted.

The declaration of the Libyan government has been fundamental, showing that this retreat of British imperialism was due in part to the presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean which showed support and a tacit united front with the Libyan revolution. It is the strength of the masses of the Workers States and the social and military force of the world revolution under all its forms which can contain the aggressive plans of imperialism, while the conditions are advancing so that they can unite better their own force of the revolution in the conscious revolutionary programme and policy, to destroy definitely what remains of imperialism and capitalism. This Mediterranean meeting can be the opportunity for an important step on the road of the organisation of the common front of the revolution in this area, as part of the necessity for the world anti-imperialist united front.

We propose that the pilot committee and the Assembly which will take place, resolve on a campaign for the progress of the Arab countries and that they make an appeal to the Jewish masses to impose on their government the cessation of aggression against the Arab countries. We propose that they plan a whole activity of days of solidarity, a world campaign of support to the Arab masses, an appeal to all the trade unions, workers centres, workers parties, progressive movements, cultural and scientific organisations of the whole region of the Mediterranean

and the whole world; an appeal for the active intervention of the masses of the Workers States beginning with the Soviet Union, China etc. to realise massive meetings, debates, to take resolutions to programme the solidarity, the revolutionary mobilisation with the struggle of the Arab masses to smash imperialism, impelling most dynamically the intervention of the governments of the Workers States with this objective.

As has analysed the IV International and Comrade Posadas, the situation of the Mediterranean is united to the revolutionary situation of the countries which form the area of the Mediterranean and which constitute an expression of the world area of the revolution. The Mediterranean is no more than an area of encounter between the forces which are going to decide history; Yankee imperialism and the forces which represent the interests of progress, which are the masses in revolution or with the disposition to advance towards the revolution and which do not always find their leaderships disposed and sensitive to represent the interests of revolutionary progress. It is not possible to pose in the abstract or in particular the problems of the Mediterranean without analysing the forces which push forward progress and what are the forces hostile to and opposed to progress; the revolutionary struggles of the masses in the Middle East, in Italy, in France, in Spain and throughout the world on one side; capitalism and imperialism on the other. For this reason it is necessary to give unconditional support to all the struggles of the Arab masses against imperialism which includes the struggles against Israel, agent of imperialism. But at the same time to combine this in what concerns Israel, with an appeal to the Jewish masses for self determination so that they liberate themselves from the Israeli bourgeoisie and fight in the perspective of the organisation of the Socialist Federation of the countries of the Middle East with the right to self determination. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of the Middle East, of the Mediterranean, for the struggle to smash what remains of the system of oppression which is against peace, against progress, against the social and economic development of the peoples which is capitalism. In this situation we propose a specific resolution and appeal from the pilot committee and from the Assembly which takes place.

UNITE THE STRUGGLE OF THE EUROPEAN MASSES WITH THOSE OF THE ARAB MASSES

The struggle of the Arab masses is part of the world struggle against imperialism and capitalism. And in a more direct manner, through the area in which it develops, this struggle influences and is influenced by the struggle of the masses in Europe. For this it is an important point which the Congress proposes to discuss; the union of the movements of the masses in Europe with the movement of the masses in the Arab world. For this union can only be reached with the conscious programme of the socialist revolution, for which the masses of the whole region fight already with different levels of understanding and organisation. The course itself of these struggles shows that it is possible to organise now a full united front of combat against imperialism. Various revolutionary movements and countries in revolutionary process in the Middle East have posed now the necessity of this united front. The Mediterranean Assembly must be based on the level already reached by the anti-imperialist struggle. It is necessary to appeal for the mobilisation of the European masses against Yankee imperialism and a General Strike against the intervention of imperialism in the Middle East. This is going to unite the Arab masses and is going to make them feel the necessity of associating themselves with the European proletariat, to exert a pressure and to impel their own leaderships. At the same time, it is necessary to appeal to the European proletariat, to the workers organisations and trade union centres so that they bring out resolutions, appeals and mobilise for the defence of the Arab masses.

Contd on page 7

New Publication of the Section.

THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLA IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER

by J. POSADAS. February. 1966. 2/- p.p. from  
Fourth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St. W.C.2.

As part of this common front of struggle against imperialism and capitalism, it is necessary to programme a mobilisation throughout Europe with the support of the Arab masses for the fall of Franco, for the liquidation of the regime of Salazar and of the regime of the Colonels in Greece, for the solidarity with the Spanish, Portuguese, Greek masses who fight for these objectives.

And it is necessary to insist because it is one of the essential points which arise from the theme of the Assembly, that historic reality does not allow a balancing between the two camps in struggle; revolution and counter revolution. The world is advancing towards a definition through the process of the struggles of the two antagonistic forces which dominate the history of today. There is no possibility of being neutral if there is consciously the desire to be useful to human progress. The imperialist fleet in the Mediterranean - we repeat - is to impede the revolution which matures. This is also to support the reactionary coup which is being prepared in Italy against the exploited masses and their class organisations. This is the objective of the Yankee fleet. This is not the objective of the Soviet Fleet. The Soviet Fleet, the Soviet armada, gives arms to the Vietnamese, to the countries of the Middle East, to Algeria also. Imperialism gives arms to Israel against the Middle East. A new expression of the objective for which imperialism is preparing with its bases in the Mediterranean, is the recent crash of the American plane, loaded with instruments of massive destruction and precision, in Sicily, and which the Pentagon has sought and seeks to keep in the most strict secrecy. In this sense the meeting, which the promoting committee of the Mediterranean Assembly is holding is important to discuss the crash of the Yankee plane. But at the same time we consider following the line we have analysed in this document - that every resolution which is taken cannot remain limited to simple denunciations and appeals for peace and against war, but it is necessary for an appeal for the revolutionary mobilisations in Italy and throughout the basin of the Mediterranean with the object of liquidating the Bases of imperialism throughout the whole region.

This is a new example of how it is not possible to place on the same plane the forces which seek progress; the workers states, the revolutionary movement in the advanced capitalist countries - including the United States, with the forces hostile to progress, world capitalism guided by Yankee imperialism. <sup>that is why it is necessary</sup> to impell the revolutionary struggle. This is the road of the propositions which we are making to the Assembly; of the problems which we propose to discuss in the Assembly and of the appeals which we propose should be supported.

To these proposals and appeals we add the following proposals:

- A call to the Federation of Arab Trade Unions and European Trade Unions to Support the Masses of the Middle East and of all Europe, to make a United Front to expel Imperialism and the Bases and Forces of NATO.
- To call and support the Nationalist Revolutionary Movements and Masses who are Fighting against the Feudal and Capitalist Regimes in Jordan, in Saudi Arabia, in Kuwait, in Morocco and Tunisia.
- To call the the Communist and Socialist Parties, the Trade Union Centres and the Nationalist Revolutionary Movements to intensify the Struggle for the Expulsion of Imperialism from all the Region.
- To Salute the American Masses for their Gigantic Mobilisations Against Yankee Imperialism and its war of Agression in Vietnam.
- To Salute the Struggle of the Italian, French, Spanish masses, and the Proletariat of all Europe.
- To Salute the Heroic Struggle of the Arab masses, to Salute El Fatah and the Palestinian Resistance.
- To impel the Rapid Organisation of a Unified Military Action to Liquidate the Israelie bourgeoisie by Basing oneself on the Revolutionary Mobilisation of the Masses.
- To salute the Vietnamese Masses for their social Historic Heroism which is Disintegrating Capitalism and Imperialism.

## THE PALERMO PEACE CONFERENCE.....

- Strengthen the Organic United Front with the Vietnamese Revolution.
- Salute and Support Anti-Imperialist Measures taken in Peru, and in Bolivia. To Support Unconditionally the Revolutionary Programme which has been made Public by the Bolivian Workers Centre (COB). We Appeal that the Convention Directs itself to all the Workers and Nationalist Revolutionary Organisations of Latin America, and in Particular to the Cuban Workers State so that they Concretely Push Forward the Anti-Imperialist United Front beginning, together with other Measures, for the Organisation of a World Campaign of Support to the Arab Masses.
- Prepare the Participation at the AntiImperialist Conference decided by the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers Parties, proposing the Attendance of all Anti-Imperialist, Revolutionary Nationalist and Left Catholic Movements at the Side of the Workers Parties and Revolutionary Communist Parties.

We repeat our fraternal salute to the promoting committee and to the delegations present at the Conference and wish that the International Mediterranean Year 70 Conference be an important step forward for the historic progress in which the exploited and oppressed masses constitute the essential force.

LONG LIVE THE HISTORIC COMBAT OF THE ARAB MASSES!

LONG LIVE THE CONSTANT RISE OF THE ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLES IN EUROPE!

LONG LIVE THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT!

Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Party  
(Trotskyist)

Italian Section of the IV International.  
13th November, 1969.

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### EDITORIAL CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE.

resolution of his supporting the teachers and nurses to be over ruled by the TUC. Vic Feather says that the Prices and Incomes Policy is unacceptable but does nothing concrete about it. The move, by the government to reactivate the Penal Clauses should have been met by a massive struggle inside and outside Parliament, should have been met with massive mobilisations of the workers in a general strike. For basic demands such as all wages to rise with the cost of living, equal pay for women and youths now, workers control of the track speed, hiring and firing etc. The opposition in parliament was purely verbal. The argument that it is necessary to be careful not to rock the Labour boat because of the possibility of an election is totally absurd. The masses will deal with an election if and when it comes, but their interest is in making progress here and now, creating the organism in the daily struggle, preparing the way to take power. Their interventions are not governed by electoral considerations. It is possible to put forward demands now which unify the offensive of the masses. The left M.P.'s have at various times spoken of the need for more nationalisations but this must be allied to demands which can benefit the masses immediately such as those we have outlined above.

The very narrow Parliamentary margin by which Wilson 'passed' his wage restraint bill shows up once again the serious political and social crisis of British capitalism. It may not have reached the gravity of the crisis of the Left Centre government in Italy but the whole parliamentary regime has been challenged by the unions who have defied the objectives of capitalism - in opposing the bill to fetter the trade unions - even if they have not taken full advantage of the victory they have won over capitalism. It is necessary for the leaders and cadres who are advancing in the unions, to organise a new leadership to isolate and by pass those elements who refuse to wage the struggle against capitalism.

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# ON THE IMPORTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF MORITORIUM DAY IN THE U.S. AND THE WORLD.

(Taken from Lutte Communiste paper of the French Section of the  
IV International)

The depth of the intentions of the mobilisations in the United States, indicates that there is a sufficiently conscious movement, which wants to weigh and which does not wait on Congresses, laws or democracy of the United States. It is an event of very great importance, very great, because North America is one of the countries where the bourgeoisie maintains through the petit bourgeoisie, a control over the masses and imposes on them, forces them to yield, so that the Congress may decide, that the laws may decide. There is no workers party, the trade unions are in the hands of the bureaucrats, bureaucrats of the worker aristocracy who are powerful because of their economic means.

When the masses demonstrate in this way, it is because they go beyond the apparatuses. It is the beginning of the application of their will and decision to pass beyond them. This stems from a non-proletarian sector, but it is going to attract the proletariat which passes only in a very limited way beyond the apparatuses. The strikes and demonstrations which it has made against the bureaucrats have still remained on the plane of respect for the leadership, for the "democratic" laws of capitalism.

The mobilisations of the moritorium are in direct confrontation with the capitalist system. They affront precisely the laws, the apparatuses, the principles everything which is the basis of the support of Yankee Imperialism, opposing itself to the idea that the American army should continue to defend American capital in danger. In this case, it is a question more over not only of this capital, but of the world interests of the capitalist system, defended in Vietnam by the Yankees. Against this now 40 million people speak out. In the demonstration of the 14th 15th November, a million and a half or two million, marched throughout the United States. It is already the beginning of a very elevated and conscious aggressivity.

The demonstrators do not come out to defend a protest for democratic laws or individual rights, they are defending collective rights. And in North America, the individual interests have been the basis and the sustaining force of Yankee imperialism, on the basis of a constant development of the means of a more comfortable life and of improvement among petit bourgeois layers in the standard of life, while there has been a lowering of the standard of life for the rest of the population. Now, this mobilisation indicates that already there is in the demonstrators, groupings, a very numerous sector of the masses which seeks to mobilise itself, which is not guided by the "democratic" laws, because it feels that all these are false, that Congress cannot give anything. It wishes to mobilise **without expecting** better conditions of life. **Those who take part** in this mobilisation do not reason individually but collectively. It is a very elevated principle for the base of a mass movement, class and mass movement.

This mobilisation is not a class mobilisation, the proletariat does not strictly compose it or the poor petit bourgeoisie. It finds its

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## ON THE IMPORTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF MORITORIUM DAY .....

origin in the petit bourgeoisie bound to the proletariat and not in the well off sectors. The latter followed afterwards. In effect, the very important layers of the well off bourgeoisie have arrived at the conviction of the necessity to struggle against this war. Part of this repudiation comes not only from Vietnam, but from the repudiation, the expulsion of Rockefeller and of all the Yankee apparatuses from Latin America, the advance of the struggle in Latin America which has always a central objective to throw out Yankee Imperialism. And the North American masses feel and see the persistence of Cuba in spite of the policy of Cuba which does not contribute especially to this activity. Now it is trying to enter there.

But in spite of not finding an exterior sustaining force, this important sector of the North American masses has been animated to unite itself, to find the road, to identify itself, to unify and centralise itself in these mobilisations, and there are already the conditions for a mass party. There are already the bases in which the poor sectors of the petit bourgeoisie attract the well off sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and impose the line. This is against the separated struggle of the black masses, it is going to attract the negroes, to show them, this is the road, not the peaceful road, the road of mass mobilisations. Now it is peaceful, tomorrow it is going to be aggressive.

All the black movements who have sought and seek still a separated movement, of blacks against whites, in place of seeking a class movement where the blacks have a particular condition but within the class struggle, come to nothing. All the present demonstrations are going to influence the black cadres and show them that it is possible to mobilise in the United States, millions and millions. One of the reasons why the blacks have remained in an isolated movement is that they have felt that their movement had no echo.

Neither the proletariat or the white petit bourgeoisie form great mass movements in support of them. Now there are certain movements, but very limited, movements of the defence of the negroes, of racial equality, it is important in the universities but not in the workers movement. But on the other hand, this mobilisation is a movement which has united negroes, white workers, petit bourgeoisie, including a sector of the liberal-bourgeoisie. And this is going to have an influence among the negroes to seek the road of the organisation of the masses, stimulating them to unify with the whites.

In this movement, the trade unions have had to participate, that of Reuther and the Auto Union and that of the dockers which struck in 1967, and

a little time ago also. This movement teaches and impels the negroes to see that they have to seek the road of class organisation, not of race organisation. It is a good impulse it is going to increase the confidence of important sectors of the negroes to seek the path of organisation. And also the proletariat is going to animate itself to feel that the North American population is mobilising itself as throughout the world in defence of Vietnam. And it feels that in defence of Vietnam it is not in defence of an increase of salary, nor a lessening of hours of work, nor an increase of democratic rights but it is acting against capitalism in its own country. And when such a fight occurs, it is because it is animated by a much deeper feeling, than this mobilisation.

This is not linked to wages, or work, or employment or democratic rights, there is a feeling of hatred, not of repudiation, of hatred for the war in Vietnam and why? The North American population feels the pressure of the masses of the world which oppose imperialism. And they incorporate themselves with what gives them a means of unifying themselves, and which is the war in Vietnam. The rest no. In the strikes of the workers, there is no direct participation; in the war in Vietnam, yes. Because in one or another way, in one or another place in the United States, or in one or another family, someone is linked with the war in Vietnam, and does not find the reason to defend imperialism. They do not see, are not agitated by the patriotic feeling but by the repudiation of the action of imperialism, although there may not be an interest linked still to the class struggle, this is sustained by the impulse of the class struggle on a world scale.

There is an obligation of the Cubans particularly to make appeals for the organisation of a mass party in the United States now. Out

with the troops from Vietnam, but also revolutionary and democratic rights, in which to pose a series of conquests, lessening of hours of work, increasing salary, for democratic elections in the unions with all delegates subject to instant recall, and the nationalisation of the arms industry. Now, immediately. Nationalisation of the arms industry and workers control of the whole of production and utilisation of military means. Nationalisation of the principle sources of production in the United States. And a plan of production directed to satisfy the necessity of whites and negroes, who live in indignity, there are 12 million who do not eat, who are in need of food. This must be done by the socialist, communist trade unions of the capitalist countries and the unions of the Workers States, particularly of Cuba and China. They have to make appeals to unify a world movement to throwout Imperialism from Vietnam, to appeal to the masses to overthrow capitalism throughout the world. To struggle for the United Socialist Soviet States of Latin America, for the United Socialist States. It is necessary to underline, to show that without a mass party, without a mass leadership, the latter pass beyond the conciliatory leaderships who control and realise such movements. They have mobilised without a leadership.

Such mobilisations are not produced only in the United States but throughout the entire world. The North American masses are going to see that their initiative to promote a day of action to reject the war in Vietnam is going to have an echo among all the masses of the world and put them in communication with them. The Americans and among them the students who have gone on strikes and demonstrated in England, Germany, Italy, and in the rest of the world have done this under the impulse of the struggle of the masses of the country in which they are. They are a direct expression of these struggles. Even if the number of these Americans abroad is small, their action is very significant, showing that even abroad they are influenced and wish to unite themselves to the struggle of the masses of each country. It is an event which is going to influence the United States, even the formation of a revolutionary movement, class movement even if it does not have this character in the beginnings and contents itself with being a movement independant of the plans of Imperialism. It hinders, perturb , destroys, tends to disintegrate the strategy of imperialism and indicates what will be the behaviour of the North American masses during the atomic war.

If now in the war in Vietnam which has a vital interest for imperialism, for its economy, for its social and political interests, if in these conditions the North American masses act independantly of these objectives and interests, it is an indication of an elevation of the political understanding and consciousness of the world process. This is not a feeling of self denial , of difficulty or of misery of simple solidarity but the expression of a feeling of rejection of justice by the North American masses against capitalism.

If there had been a class party, it would express it with revolutionary positions. To the extent that this does not exist, this feeling expresses itself by inferior means as a feeling of justice which is at the basis an opposition to the plans and the actions of Yankee imperialism.

The daily papers of the Communist Parties eulogise the North American masses, but do not help them to overcome the present phase. They must appeal to the North American masses in the struggle to organise a

a class party not remaining concentrated or limited to the small nucleus which there is in the Communist Party, to appeal to them to organise a class party, a workers party based on the Trade Unions, with an anti-imperialist anti-capitalist programme. This is what they must do. The North American masses need the help of the world proletariat, of the Communist Parties, of the mass Socialist Parties, and of the Workers States, they need such help. And such help they have to arrange, and it is necessary to make an appeal to the Communist Parties, Socialist Parties, to the Workers centres, of the capitalist countries, and of the Workers States so that they make an appeal to the North American masses for the organisation of a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions, with an anti-imperialist anti-capitalist programme. And to pose that it is possible to develop such an activity. The North American people know that in Vietnam they are struggling for socialism and come out to defend a people struggling for socialism.

Even if in the beginnings, it is a movement still limited to a part of the population, the echo will be very

## ON THE IMPORTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF MORITORIUM DAY .....

great and immediate. This action against the war in Vietnam takes the place of the student movement in defence of the racial movements, for the annulling of racial inequality, for democratic rights. Today it is against the war in Vietnam. There is then an advance. Then the blacks try to shake the North Americans so that they might support them, and as no movement of importance has unrolled, with the exception of the purely black movements, Vietnam gives a centre to the extent that the masses of the world feel that it is a just war for the Vietnamese people who wish to struggle for socialism whereas Yankee imperialism wishes to hinder it. The North American people know it.

It knows that in Vietnam, they are in process of struggling for socialism and they come out to defend this struggle. This expresses very well the depth of the historic impulse which moves such movements. Whereas the blacks have not had the necessary force of attraction to lead the North American people, Vietnam has. It is clearly evident that the North American people have seen the struggle of the blacks with sympathy but it has not been able to be attracted to the extent that it is a racial and not a class movement. The blacks oppose the same racial attitude as Yankee imperialism even if they were and are right to wish to oppose racial inequality. They have made of it a problem of the blacks. Whilst in Vietnam there are neither blacks or whites. This is a movement which tends to impose the rights of justice and the North American masses saw it as just.

All this expresses the fact that these masses do not live dependant on the gangster feeling of Yankee imperialism. They are animated by a feeling of justice and for that reason are led by Vietnam. It is on the basis of these conditions that the Workers States must intervene and launch an appeal to the North American masses, they must organise a movement co-ordinated on a world scale of the Workers States, of the great trade unions, of the great workers parties for the organisation of a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions in the United States on the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme. Such is the most important task and the conclusion to draw at this stage.

## THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

It is necessary to explain that the communists cannot give a solution in the measure that there is only a short time available and they are not going to become a mass party. On the contrary, one must be based on the considerable force which they have (even if they are small they have an importance) to lead forward this activity. Such is the function which the Communist Party must play and the way to develop themselves is to act to develop the Party Based on the Trade Unions. There, there is the basis for a mass Party. It is very good to see all this going on in the United States.

Faced with this mobilisation, with these movements, imperialism tries to respond by launching Apollo 12 a few days in advance, towards the moon. It tried to contain the mobilisation by showing its technical power. This operation failed. The masses have not paid it any attention and all the bourgeois press has had to recognise this.

The historic basis of this mass mobilisation in the United States is the influence of the world socialist revolution in all its forms. When such an influence begins to make itself felt, is welcomed, and expresses itself in an organised form as this does in the heart of the American masses, it is because a very solid base already exists which is thinking in line with the socialist revolution, which is thinking about combating

Yankee imperialism, and which does not believe any longer in the progress of the United States under the leadership of Yankee Imperialism. There are millions and not just a few who think this way.

Taking into consideration the particular and unique characteristics of the United States, the high living standards, full employment with a 'normal' floating level of 3 or 4 million people unemployed, a permanent rising of productivity, of production of wealth, in spite of all this, the American masses are not attracted by the economic process. They are on the other hand attracted by the world revolution. This is the clearest expression that in the head of the American masses there is a reception for the socialist influences of the revolution and of the struggle of the masses of the world.

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# FREEDOM for Cde. FRANCISCO CUADRADO and for all POLITICAL and T.U. PRISONERS in SPAIN, MEXICO and the WORLD.

Comrade Francisco Cuadrado, of the Spanish Section, who was arrested several months ago has now been condemned (the trial was on the 15th of November) to 8 years imprisonment by the military tribunal of Barcelona. This imprisonment is an attempt by the Spanish bourgeoisie, to repress and to prevent the fusion of the Communist Socialist Anarchist vanguard with the programme, ideas and policy of the IV International. It is a part of the world wide repression by imperialism and the bourgeoisie against the IV International but they can neither halt the development of Trotskyism nor the development of the revolutionary vanguard which seeks a united front with the IV International.

It is necessary to bring the maximum pressure to bear, from the British worker and student movement on the Franco regime to secure the release of FRANCISCO CUADRADO. We make an appeal to the workers movement, to the student movement and to the revolutionary intellectuals to participate in the world campaign for the liberation of all the political and trade union prisoners in Spain, for support to the Spanish masses for the overthrow of Franco and Spanish capitalism. We appeal also for a campaign for the release of the Trotskyists and political and trade union militants imprisoned in Mexico.

For the release of Francisco Cuadrado address all telegrams, letters lists of signatures etc. to:

CAPITAN GENERAL PEREZ VINETA  
Gobierno Militar de Cataluna,  
Barcelona,  
SPAIN.

In Mexico the imprisoned comrades in Lecumberri have organised the sending of a telegram to Barcelona demanding the liberation of comrade F, Cuadrado and of the political militants detained in Spain. We salute this telegram with great revolutionary joy because it shows the indestructible optimism and confidence of the comrades, who are not pre-occupied with their own imprisonment but act in the jail as political organisers to secure the release of Trotskyists and other political and trade union militants in Spain. They do not feel isolated in the prison but feel part of the International, because the International led by comrade J. Posadas has waged a dynamic world campaign to secure their release. The recent taking of positions by ex-president Cardenas demanding the liberation of political prisoners is a very direct product of the development and weight of the world campaign to make world progressive public opinion weigh on the Mexican authorities. This campaign together with the development of the world and Mexican revolutions will soon lead to the liberation of our Mexican comrades and all the other political prisoners in Mexico.

THE TEXT OF THE TELEGRAM SIGNED BY THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN LECUMBERRI FOR THE RELEASE OF COMRADE F. CUADRADO APPEARS ON PAGE 14.

TEXT OF THE TELEGRAM SENT BY THE POLITICAL  
PRISONERS IN LECUMBERRI JAIL, MEXICO

To.

Capitan General Perez Vineta  
Palace of Justice,  
Barcelona,  
SPAIN.

The political prisoners of Lecumberri prison, Mexico D.F., who have signed this telegram, belonging to different tendencies and organisations, protest energetically against the summary judgement of the Trotskyist comrade Francisco Cuadrado, imprisoned in the 'Model' prison of Barcelona.

We condemn this sentence which is part of the repression against the Spanish workers, peasants and student movement. We condemn the political trial and the sentences against the communist, socialist, anarchist and Basque nationalist (ETA) comrades, against the workers commissions and all the democratic and revolutionary tendencies who are submitted to special trials as those of the Military tribunal and the Tribunal of Public Order and to whom they have applied the fascist repressive laws such as the law on banditry and terrorism.

We demand unconditional freedom for comrade Francisco Cuadrado, who has suffered this summary trial, and for all the political and trade union prisoners in Spain. We unconditionally support the struggle of the Spanish people for their democratic and revolutionary rights, for the right of organisation, of speech, of press, and of the struggle for revolutionary ideas and for socialism.

Lecumberri Prison Mexico. D.F. 19.11.69

List of signatures. Political prisoners of Cell blocks, N.M. C. Among the signatories are 9 communists some of which are leading members of the C.P. 4 Trotskyists, 2 electricians, railway workers and numerous intellectuals and university lecturers.

(58 signatures in all)

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Telegram of salute to the imprisoned comrades in Mexico for their dignified and resolute behaviour during the trial. Sent by the Italian Section of the IV International.

"Adolfo Gilly,  
Administracion de Correos n 9 Letra N,  
Mexico 9, D.F.

Warmest fraternal greetings of solidarity to all of you from all of us all over the world for resolute and dignified behaviour during trial, example of historic morale and security defending and making interventions in the name of our ideas and social objectives as a public good for humanity. We will win whatever the difficulties.

Pietro Leone"

The T.U.C. must be made more democratic, starting with the demand that all TU leaders must be elected at mass meetings and subject to instant recall if they do not carry out the wishes of their membership, and they should be paid only the average workers wage. Any expenses which they may need for travelling etc. should be discussed by the membership and voted on. These demands will facilitate the advance of the revolutionary tendencies within the unions. To facilitate this and to impel the left MPs we appeal to the journals of the unions and to 'Tribune', not to be mere recorders of facts and commentators, but to carry articles which orientate the class struggle, and to open their pages to the revolutionary vanguard in the LP and the unions and the Cp, promoting a discussion on the way forward. These journals must become organisers of the class at the disposal of the rank and file, promoting in the unions, the workers parties, the factories and the workers areas, a discussion on all the questions preoccupying the masses.

We repeat our appeals to the Communist vanguard, to the Labour intellectuals, to the student movement, to use their influence and their publications to encourage the current in the Labour Party which wants impose an anti-capitalist policy, to aid the process whereby the action of the masses, their activity devoted to extending the forms of dual power, weigh more and more upon the structure of the LP and the unions.

All the world process is advancing rapidly towards the final settlement of accounts. The trial of Bernadette Devlin and the six month sentence which she received (which we denounce and appeal for mass actions of the working class in Britain and Ireland to **get this sentence annulled**), the integration of the B specials into the army of Imperialism are all part of the preparation to intimidate the vanguard to try to prevent the actions that are coming. All the talk about conciliation in N Ireland has disappeared -and this in itself is an expression that the bases of conciliation in Britain have disappeared. The process of the organisation of the organisms of the base in the factories and the workers areas and the development of the revolutionary current in the unions and the LP will develop and mutually influence each other, effectively transforming the workers organisations, eliminating the pro-capitalist element -as Garaudy has been isolated in the French Communist Party -in the very process of taking power itself.

It is necessary to press forward with this task of organisation on the basis of a programme which leads from the everyday struggles of the masses for higher wages, shorter hours etc. to the perspectives of a Workers Government.

With demands like:

A BASIC MINIMUM WAGE TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING !

A 35 HOUR WEEK IN ALL INDUSTRIES !

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN AND YOUTHS, IMMEDIATELY!

FOR PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE UNIONS, ALL DELEGATES ELECTED AT MASS MEETINGS, AND SUBJECT TO INSTANT RECALL. ALL DELEGATES TO RECEIVE THE AVERAGE WORKERS WAGE!

ALL PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS IN THE FORM OF HIGHER WAGES AND SHORTER HOURS!

FORMATION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES ON EACH JOB AND WORKERS COUNCILS IN EACH LOCALITY ON AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME!

FOR ALL RENTS TO BE DECIDED BY COMMITTEES OF WORKERS AND TENANTS, ALL LUXURY DWELLINGS AND UNOCCUPIED PROPERTIES TO BE TAKEN OVER TO HOUSE THE HOMELESS!

FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL KEY INDUSTRIES, THE BANKS INSURANCE ETC. WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

FOR A EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE!

FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT!

## ON THE IMPORTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF MORATORIUM DAY .....

This is the best situation for the organisation of the mass workers party with a rapid development towards revolutionary ideas, a rapid development. The energy and the combativity of the American people is going to express itself with a great vitality. The workers aristocracy is one of the bases on which American Imperialism bases itself. It is the richest aristocracy in the world. They are gangsters but they are in process of being beaten. The trade unions have still not been able to conquer this aristocracy and these gangsters. They are doing it by these mobilisations. The echo has already made itself felt in the car workers trade union, the teamsters who have come out of the AFL/CIO and have organised themselves in an independent way. Twice they supported the mobilisations for Vietnam.

There one sees another expression of the echo of the world revolution in the U.S.A. All those who believed that the American masses were passive, quiet, did not mobilise themselves, living, as they imagined it, with a high standard of living, have been shown that it is not like this. 40 million in October, more than 3 or 4 million in November. All the United States are going to stop for the next moratorium. All the United States.

It is necessary to underline that soldiers and officers also have demonstrated in Vietnam itself, putting on black armbands. It is necessary to appeal to them to continue this action, to form soviets, to realise demonstrations and meetings.

These mobilisations of the American masses signify a very great blow to imperialism. It is a question of a whole new force which destroys and tends to destroy, to disintegrate the strategic apparatus of Yankee Imperialism, to weaken the bourgeoisie, making it lose confidence. They increase the insecurity of the bourgeoisie which feels unstable for the future, which it sees blocked. It has atomic arms, but it does not know what it is going to do tomorrow.

These mass mobilisations, in addition to those of the negroes makes the bourgeoisie feel that it has no future. They take its strength away from it, showing to it that the revolution is advancing, new Workers States forming, nationalist revolutions which are transforming themselves into socialist revolutions.

The bourgeoisie sees also the big strikes of the European masses, of the Argentine (comparable to the actions of the French and Italian masses), all this occurring at the same time as the mobilisations in the United States are developing. It sees actions in Peru, in Bolivia, in Uruguay, Chile the constant mobilisation of the masses of the entire world, the rise of the struggles of the masses of Vietnam, and now the millions and millions of Americans who are mobilising within the country itself.

This is a blow which tends to destroy what little optimism remains to the American bourgeoisie and makes it bury itself more and more in a uniquely military solution, to the exclusion of any other alternative. It shuts itself up with an atomic perspective, without being able to consider what is going to happen and where it is going to lead. In other wars imperialism counted on the possibility of its own development. In this war on the other hand, it must confront the world revolution and in the interior of its own country, half the population hurls itself against imperialism. Thus it is destroying internally while in other wars it could count on the support of the population. Today the attitude of the American population is the index of the attitude it is going to have in the atomic war; a class attitude. The proof is given over Vietnam. It is a powerful blow to destroy and tends to disintegrate the internal structure of the Yankee apparatus within the United States itself and which is going to have immediate effects.

One of the effects is the triumph of Lindsay who has been re-elected mayor of New York. He said it himself "I triumphed because I am for the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam". It can draw profit from time to time. It is quite clear that a part of his triumph is due to this position. People have voted from him not as a candidate who represents them, but as a means of expressing their opposition to the war in Vietnam. It is important that this candidate has won against the Democrats and the Republicans, showing in this way that a third party is possible, a party which is not the agent of capital. The American masses, and this triumph of Lindsay have shown it.

# 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.

## ON THE IMPORTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF MORITORIUM DAY..

Lindsay thinks that the masses have voted for him because he is opposed to the apparatuses of the democratic and republican parties, or because he associated with the protest on Vietnam.

The masses have no other choice. They had three candidates in front of them. By electing him without illusion that he would do what he said, they showed that they wanted to show that they were against the others, against the war in Vietnam, against the republican and democratic apparatus. This is why Lindsay won.

This victory also shows that the ways exist for a development independent of the big political apparatuses. Lindsey is trying to make a big alternative movement, substitute movement for the bourgeoisie, but without perspective and possibility. There does not exist any possibility for such a substitute policy, among other reasons because 4 million people mobilised themselves in the Moritorium.

All this indicates on the other hand all the possibilities for a mass party within a short time. Even if it doesn't arrive and form itself and function, it is going to be a centre of anti-imperialist organisation, of preparation to intervene against it in the atomic war. It is necessary to be prepared for this war against Yankee imperialism by being based among other things on this formidable mobilisation of the North American masses.

## 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).

*De Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet BP. 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.

**CREFFCE:** *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).

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ORDER  
STUDENTS RED FLAG

CAR WORKERS RED FLAG

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

## Strikes, demonstrations, occupations in support of the masses of Ulster

LINK THE STRUGGLE IN ULSTER TO THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DEMANDS OF ALL THE BRITISH EXPLOITED MASSES

The rising pressure of the socialist revolution is clearly seen all over the world, but particularly at this time in the Middle East. The declaration of Iraq to call itself a Popular Democratic Republic, the constant battles over the Jordanian-Israeli borders and the actions of the Palestinian guerrillas organised in El Fatah, constantly force U.S. Imperialism and its ally in the Middle East, Israel, to increase its acts of war against the Arab masses. And thus we see the latest expression of this in the bombing of the airport at Beirut. This like the sending of the two destroyers into the Black Sea a couple of weeks ago is an act of provocation by U.S. Imperialism to see just how far they can go without provoking a reaction by the Soviet bureaucracy. The stages leading to the atomic war, and with it the world socialist revolution are daily shortening. This is illustrated by the fact that the U.S. sixth fleet, which is in the mediterranean, is on a minor alert and at the same time the U.S.S.R. declares that its fleet, which is also in the Mediterranean, is there to protect the Arab states.

This is the clearest example of the daily confrontation between the forces of the revolution and world capitalism and imperialism. But the process is worldwide, from the war in Vietnam, the Indian peasants who organise and take the land from the landowners, the strikes of the longshoremen on the east coast of the U.S., the recent strikes and demonstrations in Italy against the killing of 2 farm workers by the police, to the violent civil rights demonstrations in Northern Ireland.

Daily the Civil Rights movement in Ulster grows with more and more workers and poor petit bourgeois joining its ranks, and the division is becoming not between catholic and protestant, but between exploited and exploiter. It is clear that the exploited masses of N. Ireland have seen and absorbed the lessons of the Revolutionary General Strike in France, and the actions of the students there, and also the demonstrations of the Mexican masses immediately preceding the Olympic games. There is a glaring contradiction between the leadership programme of the civil rights movement and the force and actions with which the Ulster masses demonstrate. The latest de-

monstration has gone completely outside the leadership of the movement, who have tried to control the demonstrators, attempting to contain the actions of the masses keeping the marches 'peaceful' and keeping their stewards between the marchers and the police. This latest demonstration has completely bypassed this leadership, and even Gerry Fitt, the M.P. is appealing for the marchers to forget their truce and revert to carrying weapons. It is not a 'Civil Rights' movement which marches through Ulster armed with sticks, iron bars, bottles, bricks, petrol bombs and wearing tin helmets; which decide to fight with the police in order to march on its intended route, who set fire to the cars of the right wing extremists and who break windows in the Guild-hall, have running battles with the police and build barricades in the centre of Londonderry. No! These are the actions of the exploited masses who use the civil rights movement to show their hatred for capitalism and imperialism, who for many years have suffered one of the highest rates of unemployment in Great Britain, and who have a history of violent revolution against British capitalism for over 50 years. The masses feel that the

division between Eire and Ulster is completely false and they show their approval for the very limited gains of the expulsion of direct imperialist rule from Eire by carrying the flag of the Republic in their demonstrations.

The struggle in Ulster is the same as that in France or Italy, the form is different, but the content, the violent struggle of the exploited masses against capitalism, for a better standard of living, the right to work, better housing, education, a better health service, higher wages, shorter hours and an end to capitalist repression is the same. And we the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International appeal to the workers, poor petit bourgeois, the students, school children, of Ulster and Eire to organise and give full support to strikes and demonstrations on this basis, culminating in a general strike on the demands of all the masses.

In this country the masses have not yet demonstrated so violently against capitalism. But everything shows that the lessons of France, Italy, Mexico and now Ulster are being received and absorbed. The complete contempt, which the workers have for capitalism, was shown by the massive absenteeism on New Year's Day. This is a small example of dual power in this period, when the workers go directly against the orders of capitalism, ignoring the pleas for more exports, finishing jobs on time etc., and decide for themselves which days they want as holidays. The workers in this country are in no way held back by the calling off by the bureaucratic union leaders of the national engineering strike, strikes are constantly occurring, over who controls inside the factories. And now despite the sellout of the women workers

in the settlement of the engineering strike, the London Area N.U.V.B. is being forced by the women members at its base to organise a national campaign for equal pay for women. This is a demand which capitalism is incapable of settling. But with the militancy of the women workers—the Ford strikers for example—the sheer numerical weight of the women workers and their increasing activity in other fields, for instance the tenants committees, and with the sympathy, which the women workers receive from the men workers, with the correct programme and organisation, this campaign could win concessions from capitalism and could act as a centre for the whole working class.

The pressure of the women car workers is making itself felt through the apparatus of the Union. The fact that the middle layers of the leadership, those in contact with the base, are forced to organise this campaign (it is a similar process to what happened in the car factories in France in May, when as Cde. Posadas analysed, the middle cadres of the C.G.T. were forced to respond to the masses to some degree and go forward to the organisation of the General Strike) will be a tremendous stimulus to the rank and file to go forward. It is not a question that the middle leadership of the N.U.V.B. will organise a national campaign with strikes and occupations to impose equal pay, but that the rank and file will be encouraged to use it to go beyond the leadership, organising revolutionary class actions. And it is up to all workers particularly the women to see that this campaign is carried out with a programme and organisational methods which respond to the militant spirit of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

## FREEDOM FOR THE SPANISH TROTSKYISTS

CONTINUE THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF ALL THE TROTSKYIST PRISONERS IN THE WORLD

We thank our regular readers, sympathisers of the party, labour and communist militants, revolutionary students etc., who have passed resolutions, written letters, sent telegrams, signed petitions etc., demanding the release of the comrades of the IV International, who were imprisoned in Uruguay. Due to the great response, which the campaign has had both in this country and in the rest of the world, there is now only one comrade remaining in gaol in Uruguay, Carlos Sato Sato. We urge everyone who has supported the campaign up to now, to write again to the Uruguayan Government and to the Embassy in this country, to demand the immediate release of

this comrade, and for him to be allowed to remain in Uruguay.

Due to the ever increasing activity and authority of all the sections of the International, intervening in the vital centres of the world revolution and the influence of cde Posadas theoretical and organising leader, imperialism is constantly attempting to halt its growth and authority. After the arrests in Mexico, Guatemala and Uruguay, now in Spain there are ten members of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista) the Spanish Section of the IV International, in prison. They were arrested because of their wide and growing influence amongst the workers vanguard and

amongst the revolutionary student vanguard, and FUDE, the Spanish Students revolutionary organisation. The names of the comrades are: Tomas Cruz Martinez, Agustin Figueras Castillo, Blasa Campos Berlango, Maria Cinta Gonzalvo Franco, Maria Luisa Perulero Corona, and a sympathiser Expedito Segura Diaz who have yet to be tried, and Dionisio Gomen Sainz, Rafael Marquez Caballero and Francisco Lopez who have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

We appeal to all those who took part in the campaign for the release of the Uruguayan comrades to join

in this new campaign by sending telegrams, letters, resolutions, petitions, etc. to the Franco Government and to the Spanish Embassy in this country, demanding the immediate release of all the comrades.

We appeal also for action for our Mexican comrades, who have been in jail awaiting trial, for over two years.

We appeal finally for support for the campaign for the liberation of one Cuban comrade, who has been in prison for more than 3 years. The campaign for the release of the Cuban comrade must be linked to the unconditional support of the Cuban Revolution.

# From the revolutionary general strike

THE EXPERIENCES OF THIS PROCESS AND THE NEXT

We were not able to publish this highly important document before, but we publish extracts from it at a particularly apposite moment, when all the analysis and predictions of Posadas show themselves to be entirely correct.

The electoral victory of de Gaulle is not social, it does not reinforce the social stability of capitalism. It is a transitory victory, it is not based on the progress of capitalism, but on the obstacle formed by the leadership of the Communist Party which has facilitated the victory of capitalism. The leadership of the PCF, the socialist leaders, the CGT have contained the wave of the mass movement. This is not a victory which occurs after a defeat of the masses but after a check given by the workers leaders.

The general revolutionary strike in France has not failed. There exists simply an impasse. The electoral victory of de Gaulle has not allowed him to attain the object which the bourgeoisie seeks, that is to say, to intimidate the masses, to force them to retire, to reduce their will to combat, thus allowing resolutions to be taken in Parliament. In full course of the electoral campaign, the railway workers stopped completely the traffic for six hours in reprisal against a fascist attack. That shows that the spirit of struggle is still alive in the working class. Today two faculties are still occupied in Paris; the faculty of medicine and the faculty of sciences. The police have not yet evacuated these places. The prudent attitude of the government shows that the latter feel well that the masses have not abandoned their combat, that they have not renounced their unity of national struggle. It is not because de Gaulle has won the elections that the masses are going to abandon the combat.

The leadership of the FCP has renounced the struggle, not the masses. They give no importance to the elections. They have participated there because that is part of their activity to try to impel the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. But they do not orientate themselves to submit to the electoral results.

Neither in Europe or in the world are the conditions favourable to capitalism. French imperialism is going to meet again great economic difficulties. The triumph of the masses means accumulated expenses for French imperialism. If the latter had a certain social force, it would not have allowed itself to get into such a situation. The social defeat of French imperialism, in spite of the electoral victory of the Gaulle, has been shown in the fact that it has been obliged to take a series of economic measures which go against the stability of the capitalist system, which provoke recession and which go against the stability of the Franc, that is to say against the financial representation of French capitalism. It is to hinder the triumph of the masses that capitalism has been forced to arrive at this position and to seek a solution in the elections.

The triumph of the masses has obliged French imperialism to make economic concessions, which are going to have repercussions, which have already commenced throughout the system. The apparent stability of French capitalism is based on the delay, in the course of the previous period of the struggles of the masses, for their wages, for a reduction in the hours of work etc. This is what has allowed it to face world competition. The masses have just satisfied a series of demands; increase of salaries, of pensions, reduction in hours of work, increase of paid leave, which involve enormous expense for capitalism.

To meet these costs and remain competitive on the world markets, French capitalism is going to have to augment productivity, improving its technical level and for the masses this is going to mean, increase in unemployment, increased exploitation. At the same time, it is going to eliminate a series of capitalist sectors internally. In place of reinforcing capitalist stability, to increase the social base of the bourgeoisie, these measures are going then to reduce the social base of capitalism (bourgeois and petit bourgeois) and increase social instability. To resume, there is a very great social and economic weakness of French imperialism in face of world competition.

This is why the issue for which Imperialism is preparing is military and not economic. It feels that it will not be able to support a new assault of the masses, and it prepares to respond not by economic concessions but by taking military measures. The bourgeoisie is going to seek to utilise the electoral victory to put a whole series of laws, of repression, destined to stop the movement of the masses, to hinder the functioning of the proletarian organisms, in order to try

to pass to the offensive, increasing exploitation, recovering from the masses the conquests already realised, increasing unemployment and demanding an increased production from the workers who will continue to work. Such is the only perspective of French imperialism. It is necessary then to expect new great struggles of the masses; very soon there are going to be produced situations similar to the revolutionary general strike of May 1968.

Such is the perspective on which it is necessary to lean and to prepare in consequence for the next stage, a worker, student, peasant, united front. That is not to say to wait for this front to be constituted but to work now to prepare it. It is necessary to discuss throughout France the unrolling of the revolutionary general strike, how the process passed from this strike to the elections and to the victory of de Gaulle showing well, the fraud that this means, that it is not a question of the defeat of the masses, still less a victory of capitalism, but only a service rendered by the workers leadership to imperialism, which has allowed the latter to gain a little time.

This stage is not that of a retreat, of a defeat, nor even of a delay. The masses are not conquered. They are full of life. It is certain that de Gaulle is going to seek to retake the offensive. He is going to seek to support himself on his electoral victory in order to strike back. And it is no less certain that this victory is going to weigh on certain sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. In this sense from the point of view of the elections there exists a certain similarity with the situation in Germany in 1929-1933. But the step in which we are living is completely different. Then the revolution was in full retreat. Now it is everywhere on the offensive. Finally it is de Gaulle who has lost the most, for he must make anti-capitalist manoeuvres. The masses see this. They have realised that they were capable of conquering in the general strike. The next strike will be more complete and the masses will react quickly and fully. Furthermore, there exists by their side Italy, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany; everywhere the masses exert a pressure to struggle for power.

Hitler was able to triumph in launching the petit bourgeoisie against the proletariat, in accusing the Jews and the workers of being responsible for the economic disaster of Germany. De Gaulle was not able to do the same thing. He had to say, it is necessary to make changes, to appeal to the workers. It is necessary to allow them to participate, to give them a larger trade union representation, to increase their salary. Hitler conquered thanks to the retreat of the revolution, whilst de Gaulle achieved his electoral victory at the moment when in the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy has to make appeals for the mobilisation of the trade unions. The triumph of Hitler had been rendered possible by the paralysis of the German communist base by Stalin, the German Communist Party and the

Soviet Communist Party.

In France the electoral victory of de Gaulle is apparently immense; 70% of his candidates have been elected. Then some say; fascism comes. De Gaulle is not fascist. In fact he searches for the same objectives as fascism; to create a strong government. But he feels that he does not have the strength. However, the elections are going to have a very great effect on the petit bourgeoisie and are going to encourage the bourgeoisie to launch themselves forward to seek to extract advantage from this victory. The immediate impression is then; a retreat of the proletariat, a defeat because electorally it is capitalism which has won. But in fact it is not thus. The right wing and fascism are seeking to support themselves on de Gaulle to go further.

It is a purely electoral victory and not social, for it is not the product of a defeat of the proletariat. It is not because the proletariat has withdrawn, nor because it is passive that de Gaulle has won. As a consequence, he will not be able, as he would like, to extract profit from this situation to be able to launch important blows against the proletariat. He will try this but already in the past he has tried this and has failed. The reaction of the proletariat is not yet made precise because it is a question only of an electoral victory. The votes which de Gaulle has won, allowing him to triumph, are the votes of the right, of the bourgeoisie essentially. It is necessary to take into account that 600,000 to 700,000 votes have been gained by de Gaulle, which represents very little of 28 millions of the electorate, 700,000 more or less is negligible; it changes nothing in relation to the previous force. It allows at the most the headline; I have won.

Of the one million two hundred thousand and additional votes, which de Gaulle obtained more, 500,000 are the votes of the right who until then voted against him and who have decided this time to support him. The 700,000 others represent a petit bourgeois sector, which supported the great strikes, but which when it saw that the Communist Party was not resolved to take power, was not calling for the taking of power, but placed the struggle on the electoral terrain, voted for the Gaulle because the latter appeared more decided and because he had the apparatus of power in his hands. There exists no change in the previous relation of forces. One only speaks of a change when millions of people abandon an action of the proletariat and stop the movement. Six to seven hundred thousand votes is nothing. Of 1,200,000 votes lost by the communists, 600,000 went to the PSU; these are the votes which did not abandon the workers camp. There is then no progress among the petit bourgeois fascist elements. One cannot even say that certain sectors of the petit bourgeoisie have been won by de Gaulle. There are no important changes. However, de Gaulle is going to seek to utilise his electoral victory to make great blows against the left, against the Communist Party, against the trade unions, against the masses. But he is going to try also to block the right, to lead his own policy. He is not able, however, to apply the same policy vis a vis the right as vis a vis the left. To the right he is going to make concessions; that is the reason why he recalled Salan. They have made a united front against communism. The fascist sectors have sought to draw advantage from this situation to apply the conscious policy, which finance capital needs at this stage. The fascists are seeking to impose themselves and de Gaulle is going to remain their prisoner.

But the reaction of the masses is going to be immediate, for they see that there is not going to be an electoral solution. For them the electoral result will be a stimulus, illuminating the situation. It is clear that this is the least advantageous way to illuminate the situation for them—for it is a retreat—but such an illumination is necessary. It is now shown that the leadership is corrupt, incapable, that there is no electoral solution, that the only solution lies in the ten mil-

lion workers on strike. Such will be the centre of the next strike. It is of that, that the most important papers of Europe speak. "Le Figaro" itself says now; "what is going to happen". It does not say; it is finished, we have won, now let us smash the masses. The minister of the interior has declared"; the victory of de Gaulle shows that the communist subversion, the strike, the factory occupations and disorders have no sense". On whom does he wish to exercise a pressure in saying that? On the petit bourgeoisie, on the 600,000 votes won by de Gaulle, that is to say on a small sector without importance. The change is only apparent. Evidently it is a disadvantageous situation for the proletariat, for the latter in its offensive has hurled itself against an obstacle and found itself momentarily blocked. De Gaulle on his side has regrouped around him all the bourgeoisie and is going to seek to retake the initiative in the course of the next stages.

But this process has posed clearly to the proletarian vanguard a question, which the latter is seeking to answer; how to eliminate the present leadership of the Communist Party? It is now clear that that it is necessary to eliminate, liquidate this leadership and replace it by another which fights for power.

Here is why the electoral victory of de Gaulle prepares the final settlement in a short stage in France. In this first stage, de Gaulle was seeking to strike to impose limits on the trade union movement. There is no profound change in the relation of forces.

It is a new phase of the proletarian revolution. In this march forward, the proletariat has stopped by this blow, which is not due to the diminution of its will to struggle, but to the treason of the leadership. It is that which has won and not the masses. But as this leadership is part of the proletariat, every blow sustained by the latter is felt by the whole because an important sector of the proletariat continues to follow the leadership, to have confidence. In effect the proletariat follows the vanguard, but as it does not see itself as determining from now the course of events, it continues to lean on the leadership of the FCP, which means a very great obstacle.

The elections proposed by de Gaulle and accepted by the communist leadership are a strategy destined to put an end to the strikes, to divert the struggle from the strikes, and to place the struggle on to the natural plane of the bourgeoisie, where the latter can manoeuvre and win. The duty of the conscious revolutionary leaderships was to refuse the elections and to say "we continue the revolutionary general strike. We reject the elections." It is necessary to appeal to the masses to continue the revolutionary general strike, because it is under this form that they have expressed their verdict. No leadership—communist, socialist, CGT—has accepted this position. All have manoeuvred to seek to draw advantage from these elections; even the PSU, where at the base there is an important sector which had an interest in advancing the revolution. This is not a firm and solid sector, but it has shown itself sensible to the impelling of the masses. Other sectors, the communist, socialist base, independent currents also wish to impel the revolution.

One has to count the student among the abstentions. Among the abstentions 300,000 votes, which had previously been given to the communists or the socialists, there are the students and those sectors who the students have pushed into not voting. De Gaulle counted on this. It is one of the conditions which made him decide to call the elections. All the sector which abstained is disposed to support the revolutionary programme. It is necessary to appeal to the base of the unified Socialist Party (and equally to that of the CFDT) to fight for the programme which we lay out below.

The leadership of the PSU is in complete panic at present. It is going to seek refuge in a democratic policy. But the base of this party does not correspond to what its leadership would like, for it has participated in a concrete united front

# to the electoral triumph of de Gaulle

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

(EXTRACTS)

J. POSADAS 4 JULY 1968

of all the exploited masses of France, only 18 days ago. The construction of the new leadership passes by this stage of a transitory blow made against the proletariat, which the bourgeoisie is going to seek to exploit, to go further in its repression. But neither locally nor historically are the conditions to be found to crush the masses, and impose a fascist regime. Nowhere in Europe, nor in the world, are the conditions present to crush the will of the masses. On the contrary, on the economic plane, French Imperialism has just received a very serious blow, which is going to plunge it into a series of crises, of internal fights. As we had analysed before in relation to Hitler, in a period of capitalist stability, an electoral victory can have decisive importance. But one cannot compare 1929 and now. In spite of the great economic crisis, capitalism was stable then. But what stability can it count on today? 16 Workers States exist, all Europe is boiling. Above all the proletariat is mobilising. Capitalism in spite of its power hasn't any stability. Constantly it is exposed to blows, to buffets, to the struggles of the masses. It is necessary to prepare within a short time, for great events in France.

The electoral victory of de Gaulle does not reinforce in any way capitalist stability. It is only an attempt to assure itself of the support of a radicalised sector of the petit bourgeoisie, who supported de Gaulle only because of his declaration in which he said that it was possible to construct a society which is neither communist nor capitalist. This petit bourgeoisie has voted for de Gaulle hoping to obtain in this way what they had sought to obtain in the strike; greater economic advantages, security of employment, democratic rights, increased trade union rights. In order to attract this small amount of votes—6 to 700,000—de Gaulle has had to promise an anti-capitalist policy. To this petit bourgeoisie de Gaulle has had to say "What you wanted to do in the strike, I am going to do it with my reforms." But if he does not do it now, this entire sector is definitely going to be gained by the proletariat. De Gaulle cannot make a programme of the Hitler type, in saying, the Jews are guilty, the proletariat is guilty of the economic disaster, which the country is living through. De Gaulle and French Fascism have not any possibility of canalising a sector of the petit bourgeoisie in order to hurl it against the proletariat. Neither the situation in France, nor the historic circumstances al-

low it. On the contrary. Moreover the French proletariat is going to receive immediately the help of the workers not only in Italy, but also in Yugoslavia.

This is the first time that in Yugoslavia the trade unions have had to agree to the raising of the wages of one of the worst paid sectors. Obviously, they seek to avoid that the pressure of the masses is exerted in depth, but for this, they must take this measure. Up to the present all the Congress of the Trade Unions, as of the Communist Party, of all the Workers States were directed against the masses, against, against. It was a victory of position in favour of economic liberalisation, of autonomy of enterprises of the extension of the rights of the bosses and administrators, and of competition between enterprises. Now, in this congress of the trade unions, they must take a position against unemployment, promising increases of salaries and a development of self management. In all ways, self management goes against the liberalisation of enterprises; it is a form of the defence of nationalised property.

Algeria and Mali find themselves in a similar situation to that of Yugoslavia, even if the weights of the respective proletariats be different. Algeria is going towards a Workers State. It is this which is winning and not the counter-revolution. The influence of the revolutionary General Strike in France is going to encourage, make those tendencies who are for the development of socialist measures in Algeria, advance.

The worker and student mobilisations in Germany are equally very important for they are step towards the Workers State. The German proletariat is the most concentrated, the most capable, the most elevated politically of all the proletariats of Europe. The German proletariat, under a capitalist and bourgeois dictatorship, the direct agent of Yankee Imperialism, which is preparing military coups of a fascist type, has already begun to mobilise.

When in Germany capitalism must allow the mobilisations of 20,000 to 30,000 students with some thousands of workers marching behind the portraits of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Guevara, it is because there is already a vanguard which seeks to organise itself. The difficulty for all these movements, is their lack of a programme. But if such demonstrations are produced in capitalist Germany, it is because the other Germany, the Workers State, exerts a powerful influence. In the course of all these de-

monstrations, there has not been a single attack against the German Workers State; while the Social Democratic Party bases all its campaign on the attack against the dictatorship, the lack of freedom in East Germany, the Berlin Wall. But in their demonstration neither students nor the workers have spoken of this wall, because it doesn't interest them. Certainly, they are against its existence, but they are still more against the capitalist system. This is why they have not made any criticism of East Germany and why they have marched carrying the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Guevara, Mao Tse Tung and Rosa Luxemburg; that is to say, the figures who are, for the masses of the entire world, the base of the revolution. It is on the teachers of socialism and of the revolution who

have devoted their life to the revolution, that the German workers and students base themselves, and not on the leaders of the Socialist Party. They have not made any attack against the Soviet bureaucracy, nor against the German Workers State, without understanding exactly how to combat it, they are against the bureaucracy, but they understand that the centre of their struggle is not to attack the bureaucracy but to attack first of all the imperialist and capitalist systems. It is by the photographs which they brandish that they express what they want. They have never marched behind the portraits of Ulbricht, of Bresnev, of any leaders of the Socialist Party, nor even of Fidel Castro. Between Fidel Castro and Guevara, they choose Guevara.

## Organise the unofficial . . . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

National Bus Company which will centralise the regional bus services and the other is the Passenger Transport Authorities, which will merge public transport in the regional conurbations. These moves are a bureaucratic response to the need to create an integrated transport system, and will attempt to centralise negotiations in a bureaucratic way by eliminating separate negotiating bodies. But by developing their own committees, the workers can centralise themselves.

The busmen are faced with the problem of overcoming the paternalist alliance in the depots of the state bureaucracy and the conservative lower union functionaries, most of whom are unsuited for the ferocity of the class struggle in this phase. This was seen by the rejection of the national strike call by two national delegate conferences earlier this year despite lobbying by striking busmen from Newcastle and Liverpool. The municipal bus strikes which developed empirically after this showed a great confidence and solidarity especially in Liverpool. These strikes were a partial victory but nothing is resolved in passenger transport and great new mobilisations are being prepared. The form and content of the busmen's struggle has elevated itself from the strikes for a simple wage increase to acts which challenge the whole bureaucratic structure and authority of the management. We see the revolutionary form and content deepening in response to the one-man bus policy and worsening schedules. The partial fares strikes in 5 provincial centres are of enormous importance in the strug-

gle for workers control. A fares strike deepens the bond between the travelling public and the bus crews. It is a form of struggle which must be extended. In Newcastle the busmen have rejected the new schedules which had been introduced in an underhand way by the management which caused hardship and reduced the basic wage of the busmen. This was done against fierce union opposition. And this spirit of intransigence is accumulating in every depot and on the railways. 1969 will see the whole process again at a higher level. Nothing has or can be resolved for the bourgeoisie in passenger transport, which demands massive capital investment and workers control.

### PROGRAMME

Complete nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of the transport system, for the development of a national plan for transport in co-operation with other workers in industry. Equal pay and opportunity regardless of sex, race, nationality or colour.

All profits of automation to the workers etc.

No redundancies. For a free passenger transport system. Right of opportunity for further education without loss of pay.

No more Rail closures. Democratic functioning of the Trade Unions.

Development of organisms — depot committees.

Ending of all compulsory overtime, for a guaranteed £20 for 40 hours, 3 weeks holiday leading to 4 weeks.

## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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Note of presentation to English and French editions. From August to October (Addition to Editorial)

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#### ACTIVITY OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

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# Organise the unofficial committees throughout the public transport and road haulage services. Unify the committees to impose workers control of the conditions of work

1968 has been a year of enormous mergers in Britain as a result of the deepening economic crisis. As a result of the preparation for the war against the masses and the Workers States, the Government has striven to depress the living standards of the British masses and has given all its weight to the struggle of the monopolists to impose and increase their super-exploitation of the British workers with productivity deals. This super concentration of capital and the intensification of the policy of super

exploitation through productivity deals, i.e. shorter breaks, redundancies, mobility of labour, time & motion study, down grading etc. has naturally made itself felt in the transport system which is the life-blood of the economy. The fact that transport is almost all state controlled does not exempt it from bourgeois "Rationalisation" when the Government is functioning, as yet, entirely as an agent of the ruling capitalists. The state industries are rather the first target for the axe; the best illustration being the decimation of the coal industry. It is in this context that we understand the new Transport Bill. The bill will create larger units in the public transport to come in line with the whole tendency of monopoly and the concentration of power. This has already created great animosity between the Government and the layers of municipal bureaucracy who are to be merged. The main object of the bill is to facilitate a steady increase in the exploitation of the transport workers.

The transport workers, influenced by the whole world revolution and especially the French revolutionary general strike, have responded with a massive wave of strikes. Between January and August of this year there were 383,000 days lost in disputes in transport, which is an increase over the same period last year of more than 400%; and behind this figure, which is dramatic enough in itself, we see a deepening of both the revolutionary form and content of the struggle. This is seen in Hull, which is to the British transport workers what Nanterre is to the French students. It was a centre for the seamen's strike, the trawler wives' mobilisation and the municipal bus strike, and at the end of September the Hull haulage drivers gave a display of revolutionary tenacity and organisation which has elevated the whole process towards towards revolution in Britain. An unofficial drivers committee was formed by members of both drivers unions, to fight for a £16 basic for a 40 hr week. The committee had over 2,000 members which is almost the city's entire haulage force. Despite the timidity of the leadership, the form of the struggle far out-stripped the initial cause, the drivers acted in a spirit of dual power and civil war. Managers were forced to drive their own lorries, leaving the city in a convoy and under heavy police protection. Scab drivers had their windscreens smashed and tyres were deflated; 600 men were on picket duty and essential services, such as hospital supplies, were operated on permits issued by the committee. Within a few days, 500 lorry drivers on Teeside struck against the Tachograph—the spying device which will be fitted to all vehicles of 30 cwt and over under the new Transport Bill. The Teeside drivers action committee was formed which distributed leaflets on trunk roads day and night, to extend the strike and made unofficial contacts all over the country. They also gained the support of the dockers to picket the docks. This strike spread immediately to Newcastle and Manchester and later to Birmingham. The second mobilization showed a deepening of consciousness, the attempt to unify on a national level. The Transport Bill will reduce the number of hours a driver can work, hence the growing need to secure a living basic wage, which incidentally should be nearer £26 than £16. On October 9th the head of the Confed. Brit. Ind. (CBI) warned Marsh, the Transport Minister, that any reduction in hours would have to be offset by increased productivity for which the tachograph was vital.

The state is by far the biggest employer in road freight; it controls Pickfords, Tartan Arrow etc., and Brit. Rail has just give £5m for its new National Freight Corporation to purchase 6,000 new lorries. Private haulage is mainly in small family firms which are dominated by the banks on whom they rely for credit. Most of these firms are against the Tachograph. So we see the CBI speaks for the financiers.

We salute the struggle of the road haulage men on this fundamental issue of workers control over the rhythm of production against the attempts of finance capital to use the whip. The level of activity must be sustained and the committees, the potential organs of dual power, must be kept functioning with a constant political life based on the programme of workers control, leading to nationalisation without compensation under workers control of the whole transport system and the banks, to build a national network of transport workers committees to develop a workers' national plan for transport, committees to carry out the decisions of mass meetings, all committee members to be subject to immediate recall. We appeal to the middle cadres of the TGWU to assist in this construction and to adopt the principle of democratic functioning in the unions, right of immediate recall in the unions, average workers wage for ALL functionaries etc. We give critical support to the middle cadre Alan Law of the Midlands TGWU who, according to our information, is waging a militant struggle against the hauliers and their lackies in Parliament. However, we criticise his individualism and administrative attitude to the struggle. We appeal to him and others in his position to give weight to the development of the new committees of mass assembly which in no way contradicts work in the unions. We appeal to the committees to stimulate the organisation of similar committees in other industries and workers areas to discuss all the problems of all sectors of workers on the anti capitalist programme.

The docks are at the end of the line

of the transport system, and here the bourgeoisie have greater opportunities to reduce the number of workers through improvements in machinery and technique. The main method of increasing exploitation of the dockers is the method of containerisation. This technique is further advanced in the USA and on the 1st Oct. there was a massive US dock strike against containerisation and for increases in guaranteed pay, and pensions, and earlier retirement. That is, for the Trotskyist demand of all benefits of automation to the workers. The struggle will take the same direction here. On Nov. 2nd there was a strike of 300 London quayside dockers for the rate of pay as per the mechanised sheds i.e. £5.15.0 for a 10 hr day. The mergers in the docks, as in the shipyards, have been pushed through by the Government. The dockers must improve and develop their organisms united with the drivers and other transport sector for a national strike against productivity deals and for all benefits of automation to the workers. The committees must include all the exploited sectors including the tally clerks and the engineers who have recently been on strike in London and Bristol.

All forms of passenger transport are in crisis. Capitalism is incapable of developing services to anything like the necessary level. While chaos and slaughter on the roads increases with the increase in the number of individual motorists, capitalism is hacking away at the totally inadequate public transport system.

Two new bodies of passenger transport are coming into being. One is the New

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## 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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

## EDITORIAL

CONTD. FROM PAGE 1

the women. The women workers must demand full proletarian democracy within the union, all officials subject to instant recall, all officials to receive the average workers pay, all tendencies to be allowed full expression within the unions. If the N.U.V.B. fails to organise in this way, linking factory to factory, area to area, the workers must organise the campaign independently of the union leadership through the factory committees on the anti-capitalist programme.

Capitalism and its agent in this country the Labour Government is becoming more and more afraid of the independent actions of the workers, unofficial strikes etc. And for this reason Barbara Castle proposes to bring in a new law which brings in legislation to ban any strike for a period of 60 days, a so-called 'cooling off and discussion period', and insists on a 'secret ballot' before any strike can take place.

This measure is rightly described by the C.B.I. as a "Nutcracker to smash a cannonball". It shows all the social weakness of capitalism, which needs to introduce a hard policy of repression and can only come up with these feeble proposals. But at the same time it will accelerate the galloping crisis within the apparatus of the Labour Party, particularly amongst the Trade Union M.P.'s.

More and more sectors are daily coming into conflict with capitalism, and the bureaucracies. With the organisation by the Secondary School Pupils of a meeting in London, which passed a programme, demanding the abolition of exams, the end of corporal punishment and the prefect system, a free comprehensive educational system, and for the school to be run by elected representatives of students and teachers, all subject to instant recall, and the fact that at this meeting there were representatives of the C.A.L. the French pupils organisation, which took part in the Revolutionary General Strike and are still organised in the 'action committees', shows again the influence of the world revolution on all sectors of the population in this country.

All sectors of society are intervening disputing the power with capitalism, it

is a dual power, which is advancing everywhere and which reaches its highest level in Ulster, where in Londonderry police are keeping out of certain areas of the city which are being guarded by workers patrols. It is necessary for the working class to throw all their weight in support of the struggle in Ulster. Strikes and demonstrations all over the country in support of the Irish masses fighting against capitalist repression. Unite the defence of the Irish masses to the rest of the programme of demands of the working class. Organise the General Strike with occupations throughout the 6 countries and the Republic, on the anti-capitalist programme:

- A 35 hour week in all industries.
- An all round 30 per cent increase in wages.
- Equal pay for men, women and youths employed on the same job.
- All the profits of automation to the workers in the form of shorter hours and higher pay.
- 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.
- Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation under workers control.

OUT WITH IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM FROM IRELAND.

FORWARD TO THE ORGANISATION OF A WORKERS MILITIA IN ULSTER AND TO THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST IRELAND, AS PART OF A UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE!

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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 all, all, all  
— Trotsky

## Organise the factory committees and the workers area committees to impel the anti-capitalist struggle

STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE MASSES OF ULSTER

Imperialism is desperately organising itself under the leadership of American imperialism for the final encounter with the Workers States and the world masses. This is the fundamental reason for the dispatch of Apollo 8 into space, the perspectives of further increases in military expenditures in the USA, and the hectic preparations for the final encounter between the imperialist base of Israel and the Arab states advancing towards socialism. The necessity for the Workers States to prepare for this encounter and to take the initiative against the forces of the world counter-revolution, has shown itself in the debate now proceeding in the Red Army about the possibility of winning the nuclear war and the necessity to make the first strike. This of course is not the position of the IV International, which regards the preventive war as not simply the launching of the nuclear blow, but the previous preparation of the masses with slogans, organisation and programme, for their revolutionary intervention and insurrection against the remaining forces of capitalism and imperialism. The military bureaucrats in the Red Army would like to conduct the nuclear war simply on a military basis, without recourse to the intervention of the masses. Nevertheless the appearance of this discussion in the army, is related to the necessity of the Workers States to defend themselves against the impending attack of imperialism, and confirms the process of the crises of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, and the destruction of the policy of peaceful co-existence. The complicated course of the political revolution in the Workers State continues. In Czechoslovakia demands are being expressed for the independence of the Trade Unions (at this stage apparently by the TU bureaucrats), a fundamental demand in the struggle to smash bureaucracy.

On a world scale only the forces of the socialist revolution advance. Imperialism and capitalism retreat in hopeless disorder. The right wing military coup takes place in Brazil, quite openly to try to intimidate the revolutionary situation, which develops there, and capitalism has no programme to meet the demands of the masses. Only repression is possible, and today capitalism cannot rely even on its professional armies, so great is the level of decomposition. The tremendous disorientation within the imperialist alliance has been demonstrated in the withdrawal of French military support from Israel, and the offer of support to the Lebanon if attacked by Israel. All this is part of de Gaulles attempt to utilise the policy of peaceful co-existence of the Soviet bureaucracy to save French capitalism, even at the edge of the final encounter. But it also demonstrates the total lack of perspective of capitalism, in general the living from one day to the next, blind and insecure. It is Yankee imperialism that has the leadership in the war alliance, and no capitalist power has trust in it, although they inevitably try to unify themselves under the direction of American imperialism in NATO.

Capitalism in Europe continues to weaken. The masses in Sicily go forward in general strike against the incapacity of the government to solve the problems caused by the earthquake disaster. The Centre Left government has no reply to this or indeed any other problem of the Italian masses. The policy of the Gaulle in France lacks clarity and conviction. The concentration of industry in ever fewer hands—as in this country—erodes constantly the social support for French capitalism, and with the weakness of the competitive position of French industry, the inability to satisfy the basic needs of the masses, the fact that the vanguard has benefited from the experiences of May 68 means, as Posadas has analysed, that the process in France will be one of leaps; leaps to

the revolution and civil war. The crisis in Ulster and Sicily show in a concentrated form, the spirit of combat of the revolutionary vanguard in Europe, and at the same time the decrepit nature of capitalism itself. The masses grope for the organs of dual power, their own organisms of local administration, committees of defence, substituting themselves for the authority of the bourgeoisie. In both cases the bourgeoisie oscillates between violence and transient attempts at conciliation—(two agricultural workers were killed in Sicily). The establishment of the Free Radio in Derry (supplied by the Workers States), and the semi soviet functioning in Sicily to control the distribution of food supplies and discuss all day to day problems of the masses are vivid, if incomplete attempts of the masses to go beyond all bourgeois forms of administration.

It is vitally necessary for the vanguard in Great Britain to assimilate all the experiences of this vigorous world process of the socialist revolution, to take into account that whatever apparent delays exist in Great Britain, whatever the problems of the British workers in finding a centre for their class expression—the abandonment of the general engineering strike is a case in point—the identical processes of the accumulation of historic experience gather force, accumulating all the processes in Vietnam, the Middle East, the revolutionary general strike in France, the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia, besides the realisation of the total weakness of capitalism in Great Britain. The revolutionary vanguard in Great Britain has acquired a great self confidence, and shortly this will show itself in the next stage of the encounters with capitalism. Although the British workers have not been able to deliver direct massive blows against capitalism as happened in France in May 68, nevertheless they have impeded the functioning of capitalism, attracted the support of large petit bourgeois sectors

of the population, defied their trade union and LP leaderships without breaking their class centralisation. The British proletariat is well placed with all this development to deliver mortal blows to British imperialism and capitalism in the next stages. The repressed desire for an organic united front with the masses of the world is shown by the dockers of Teeside, who refused to load arms for Nigeria.

### CAPITALISM FEEBLY ATTEMPTS TO REPRESS

Faced with the intransigence of the the British workers and the weak social position of capitalism, the LP apparatus, although divided and uncertain on the issue, is going forward on an attempted repressive trade union policy. The attempts to impose balloting before strikes, cooling off periods etc., means a serious conflict between sectors of the LP apparatus and the Trade Union apparatus, because the latter is in no position to disregard the will of its members. As Jones of the TGWU said, the course of events could well mean that more unofficial strikes would be declared official. As Posadas has analysed, in confrontation with capitalism, the masses will

make maximum use of the unions to centralise their forces—centralising themselves around the unions, although defying the conciliatory policy of the union leadership. But not only will the problems of daily living and resistance to the attempted repression of the government accelerate the concentration of the masses around the unions, but it will accelerate the fundamental search for the mass organisms whereby to impose the will of the masses. An indirect dual power already exists in Great Britain and has existed for some years, it is necessary to go forward to establish these basic class organisms, factory committees, price committees, workers area committees, under the regime of proletarian democracy, to discuss the problems of the factory and the problems in the workers areas, housing, fares, prices etc., to invite all sections of the population to participate, from the young to the old. This is fundamentally the only way to advance the class struggle in this country and to aid the masses of Vietnam and the Middle East. This is fundamentally the best way to help the masses of Ulster to throw out capitalism and end partition, the fundamental issues in the

CONT. ON PAGE 3

## Carlos Sato Sato has been released in Uruguay. The Trotskyists arrested in Barcelona have been released!

As a result of the dynamic and aggressive campaign of the International and the response which this has found in the world worker, student and intellectual vanguard, Cde Sato Sato has been released from jail in Montevideo and all the Spanish trotskysts arrested 6 weeks ago in Barcelona have been released on bail. It is a vivid example of the weakening of the Uruguayan and Franco regimes before the struggle of the masses, and their inability to repress in the way they need to in order to try to terrorise the working class and its vanguard. In addition to releasing our comrades, the Franco regime has released dozens of worker militants, retreating under the pressure of the strikes in the Asturias, the student mobilisations in Barcelona, the occupation of churches and the growing struggle of the lower clergy linked to the exploited masses.

We appeal to the British working class movement, to the students and intellectuals, to the Labour Party masses and the readers of Red Flag, to continue to give their support to the campaign for the imprisoned trotskysts. The Spanish comrades were released on bail, which amounted to some £2000, and now we are launching a campaign for the collection of this money. We appeal for money to be sent to us so that the Spanish comrades can pay their bail, and retake their militant responsibilities in the factories and universities of Spain. It is necessary to continue the campaign for the 3 trotskysts already imprisoned and serving sentences.

FORWARD WITH THE FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN! FORWARD TO THE COLLECTION OF £500 AS THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH SECTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL'S FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN!

LONG LIVE THE URUGUAYAN AND SPANISH SECTIONS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN INTIMIDATED, BUT WHO HAVE KEPT UP A VIGOROUS AND DYNAMIC CAMPAIGN!

LONG LIVE CDE POSADAS AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL!

# THE PRESENT CRISIS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKERS STATES, AND THE DECIDED ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNIST RANK AND FILE, THE VANGUARD AND THE MASSES OF THE WORLD TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM AND BUREAUCRACY

1st PART

J. POSADAS

30th SEPTEMBER 1968

The function of the bureaucracy is to expropriate, to make use of the proletariat. It exercises the function of expropriator. It is not a class, it is a sector, a sect says Trotsky. It is a new phenomenon in history, of which the most precise definition is, that it is a caste, because like the caste of the Brahmins it lives immured in itself and transmits within itself, power, privileges, usufruct. For this reason it is a caste. This is the most approximate sociological definition, but what it does not include, does not express, is the social, political function of the bureaucracy; it is the most approximate, but it is correct.

As a caste, it has an interest in preventing its own expropriation, its abandonment or any competition in privileges. In order to exist, to the extent that the Workers State develops, the bureaucracy has to incorporate more people, to have links of support. This incorporation is dual: it incorporates bureaucrats like themselves and competitors, but also it has to incorporate other people who do not have the same interest as themselves, although they also have the usufruct of the Workers State. Thus factories for private cars are put up, which are not determined by the interest of communism. It would be more important to install electrical installations in houses throughout the country rather than build car factories. More important than a factory—for which there is no necessity—is increasing the level of consumption of the population, abolishing taxes on the population, increasing wages, reducing the hours of work. Then the masses of the world can say "look at the Soviet Union, they are working 36 hours". Today a small number are working 36 hours, some six or eight millions, and in the Soviet Union there are 110 million people at work at least. And the proletariat make up 80-85 millions of the population, a very great number. The lessening of the hours of work is not for the proletariat; the bureaucracy never says in what branch of industry there has been a diminution of the hours of work. Almost all who benefit are bureaucrats, administrators, and a privileged sector of the proletariat.

As the interest of the bureaucracy in expropriating the proletariat, is to maintain its privileges, it cannot make a revolutionary policy, it cannot extend the revolution. It cannot receive the impulses of the revolution, because it has no interests. But as it depends on the Workers State and is not a class, it supports itself on the Workers State. The population identifies itself with the Workers State, and the masses have a more direct function than with the state under capitalism, because it is a Workers State, it is nationalised property and the state

## THE BUREAUCRACY DOES NOT HAVE THE MEANS TO TRANSMIT INHERITANCE AS IT CANNOT MAKE THE TRANSMISSION THROUGH THE USE OF STATE PROPERTY

The bureaucracy cannot have, as classes have, the means to communicate, to transmit inheritance, property. As it cannot do it, it transmits it through the use of nationalised property, through decrees; in which they are accustomed to give each other presents and gratuities. The bureaucracy under Stalin had one type of behaviour, after Stalin another. Before, under Stalin, they killed bureaucrats who were disgraced; now, no, they pension them off. This change of attitude is to give security to the bureaucracy in itself, and also to make use of the state. It does not have the strength of the stage of Stalin and now it resorts to this. If it does not work in this way, it loses its social base. If it condemns and repels the bureaucrats who are overthrown, it separates them and launches them against itself. As it is afraid, as it does not feel itself secure nor has the strength, it tries to conserve to the maximum the points of support. Khrushchev to advance the revolution, to advance the Workers State, is no point of support, but he is a point of support in relation to other bureaucrats. Thus, as under capitalism, he is given a sinecure, which is his ostentatious pension and a country house to keep

functionaries depend on nationalised property and the imagination, the consciousness, the understanding, the social capacity depends on nationalised property. This is the base of the population, it does not admit private usufruct. There is a resistance, there is no attraction so that they can develop layers of society, as capitalism does with the petit bourgeoisie, which corrupts, attracts, stimulates, tries to open the way to the petit bourgeoisie. For example, in the countries of Latin America, the bourgeoisie has an interest in stimulating the agrarian petit bourgeoisie, the small proprietor in order to have a more solid social base. But as at the same time capitalism is in crisis, it has the necessity to concentrate capital and liquidate this base. And in this contradiction, it has to resolve in favour of what determines the existence of capitalism in this stage: the concentration of capital, liquidation increasingly of petit bourgeois sectors.

The bureaucracy is not a class, consequently it cannot transmit hereditary rights, property, transmit privileges. Then it transmits the usufruct by decree, by command of the state apparatus, in the factories, in the police, in the army. For this reason one reads that almost all the sons of the bureaucrats are in key posts, because it is the way in which they transmit power, are going to transmit, making themselves secure. And as in the bourgeois families, the big bureaucrats intermarry. There is a photograph of the wives of the bureaucrats, of Kosygin, Breznev, Khrushchev. The wife of Khrushchev looked like a cow without horns, that of Eisenhower, a walking idiot, the same as he is. The wife of de Gaulle, by the side of the wife of Khrushchev, appeared modest, because she had no need for the ostentation of Khrushchev's wife, but she was luxurious and had all the attitude of the aristocratic type. They appeared to be pleased, had a joyful expression to be by the side of such aristocrats. They were glad to be side by side with de Gaulles wife; supporting the man who was collapsing.

him with them, so that it does not go over to the other side. The bureaucracy works like a class, but it does not have the powers of a class. And it cannot have them and cannot change, because it is based on this condition, on the usufruct of property and is already structured in this way. It is not a team, no; it is wholly a sect, which makes use of the state apparatus and has roots in the economy; the technocrats, the workers aristocracy. We, as Trotsky says, the bureaucracy bases itself among other things on the aristocracy of labour in the Soviet Union. And the workers aristocracy in the Soviet Union has power. Already in the period of Stalin the workers aristocracy existed and was called stakhanovism. It is a privileged sector, which through the brutality of the bureaucracy, through its lack of imagination and capacity to programme, to plan, plans bureaucratically, that is, it does not take into account, the possibilities of development, the objective necessity for the development of the Workers State, but first of all, it thinks of itself and afterwards of the Workers State, it puts on one side what is necessary for the Workers State,

to subject it to the necessities of the bureaucracy. For this reason its plans are stupid. As it is not necessary, the bureaucracy is repelled by the Workers State. As it is not a necessary instrument of the Workers State, it cannot have the logical imagination, cannot have logical thoughts, which arise from the Workers State. Thus it thinks for itself, for this reason, the bureaucracy cannot think logically.

It does not think as it desires, but as it can. When thought is organised through the ideas and these dominate, then yes it is possible, because thought is related to what is wanted, because we have the idea, which the notion of the world, security of the world gives to us. Then we think everything that is necessary for our historic function, for our historic object-

## THE HISTORIC NATURE OF THE BUREAUCRACY IS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY

When we analyse the Soviet bureaucracy, we must consider that it is impelled to be counter revolutionary through its place in history. For this reason we say; the historic nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, determined by its function in society is counter revolutionary. Its function is to prevent the masses taking power; that is its function. To sustain itself, it has to prevent the masses taking power. But as to sustain itself, it has to extend the Workers State on which it depends, it defends it, for its counter revolutionary interest. Thus its function is not always counter revolutionary; in each case it can be: counter revolutionary, reactionary or conservative.

Thus it is necessary to interpret in each case. But each case is not done abruptly, does not happen unexpectedly. History does not happen suddenly from one day to the other and then war is declared in the Middle East. And the bureaucracy does not invade Czechoslovakia, because one morning it said "what's this? shall we invade? let us invade" and they go to invade. There are facts, which preceded and announced, determined the action of the bureaucracy, which is the interest which it has, the internal fights, the fact of the internal struggles. Thus we foresaw the general revolutionary strike in France, we were the only ones who

ive. That is to say, the struggle against capitalism, to construct the Workers State, to construct Socialism.

For this reason, the bureaucracy cannot change. It is not that it does not want to change, it cannot, it is obliged to make this function. But as it is not a class, it creates strata within itself, which have more roots in the Workers State. Then these sectors most connected, most dependant on relations with the masses are the most direct megaphones of the needs of the Workers State. And every important struggle in this stage of the bureaucracy is going to show itself within these sectors, is going to reflect itself there, because it is the instrument where the masses can exert an influence; tomorrow they will liquidate it. But for a whole stage, this is what it is going to do.

for us. In our texts a month before, we foresaw it. And in the letter to the Cubans and to the Italians we posed it. In the World Congress we posed it. For this we said, that we foresaw it a long time previously. But concretely, we announced it as very close in the letter to the Italian comrades of the 11. The proletariat is accumulating decisions—we said these strikes, which they are making which persist, which persist, against the leaderships are announcing great decisions. On the other hand, all the leaders of the communist, socialist parties and in part all the other leaderships who call themselves Trotskyists, saw a disappointment; the proletariat had made great strikes, they did not have great success and it was a disappointment. We said; no, it is accumulating and the proletariat is going to deliver a blow. And the proletariat came out to deliver a blow. For this reason we have said; the students are a detonator. The detonator only has value when it can be used, if not, it does not play this role.

We must consider as the indispensable base for the development of the revolution in this stage, the understanding of the forms, which the political revolution acquire. Undoubtedly this does not mean that the revolution in Italy and France must await the political revolution. But

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there are 16 Workers States; is there anything more powerful than this? 16 Workers States. The advance of the political revolution in a single Workers State is significant for all the Workers States. As there is no conscious leadership, as there is no leadership, representative of the historic interests of the Workers State, the process is multiform, with diverse levels, with combinations and mixtures of tendencies and forms. And it advances in the same condition; diverse forms, combined, confused as in China, Cuba and Yugoslavia.

We foresaw the process in Yugoslavia; criticising the Chinese and even the Cubans, we have said, Yugoslavia is a Workers State, even before these demonstrations. And in the criticism of the Chinese we said; in spite of the galloping decomposition of the bureaucracy of the Yugoslav Workers State, it continues being a Workers State. Its nature is that of a Workers State. The relation of forces are still favourable to the Workers State. This has a concrete significance; that it was a point of support for the world revolution, that the masses felt themselves able to prevent the return of capitalism. And when the case of Czechoslovakia occurred we said; the stage of history changes, now it is not the stage of the offensive of the bureaucracy, but of the political revolution. And what the bureaucracy is doing in Czechoslovakia is a necessity of the political revolution, which the bureaucracy did not represent, but it was necessary to contain this capitalist wing. The proletariat was not able to do this and the bureaucracy saw itself obliged to do so to defend itself. It was the same way, but with a different historic importance, when the Soviet bureaucracy invaded Poland and Finland. They are methods which the Workers State is obliged to resort to, because the leadership of the Workers State is incapable, and has no interest in impelling the world revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy smashed the Spanish revolution and allowed Hitler to invade the Soviet Union. We, instead of saying "it's your fault, you are getting it because it's your fault", do not say this. We supported the invasion of Finland and Poland, because taking into account the historic conditions such as they had developed, it was necessary to do this. Although there could have been superior measures, such a step was not against the Workers State; it favoured the Workers State. The same in Czechoslovakia.

The nature of the Soviet bureaucracy cannot change or be modified. The internal fights of the bureaucracy are going to continue to change the relation of forces within the bureaucracy, and it is going to allow access by the proletariat and the liquidation of the bureaucracy. But it will not be the Soviet bureaucracy which changes; when the interior struggle imposes itself, the bureaucracy is going to respond with the armed counter revolution. Whatever might be the forms, the levels and the time, it is going to respond with the armed counter revolution. Hungary is the expression of this.

It is not possible to change the historic interpretation of the phenomenon, and the historic analysis, because the historic bases do not change. The historic basis of the Soviet bureaucracy is determined by its function in society. And this cannot change, because it does not abandon the scene by itself. It does not transform itself, it does not correct itself, but it improves its internal relations the better to defend itself, this it has done and is doing, because in each stage, it takes the means which are most convenient to it. In the epoch of Stalin, it assassinated 6 million peasants, and betrayed the

Spanish revolution. Then to defend itself, this sector of the bureaucracy had to prevent the capitalist sector winning the political leadership in Czechoslovakia, because they cannot allow this, because the world development of the revolution does not now allow the bureaucracy to betray a Workers State or a revolution. It wants to arrange negotiation with imperialism, but it cannot do so. From its nature, it is disposed to do so as when it betrayed Spain. But at the same time without changing its nature, exercising the same function, historic revolutionary function, it is forced to take into account the internal conditions resulting from the development of the Soviet Union and the world revolution. And their points of support for their counter revolutionary policy decline. Hence they are forced to have attitudes like those in relation to Czechoslovakia, but to defend themselves. But it left alone the whole programme, policy, objectives of the entire right, of all the sectors, which would organise and programme the Czechoslovakian economy, this market economy, the economy which leads to capitalism.

Neither the technocrat nor the administrator determines life, it is the result of circumstances of life. The technocracy has not determined the economy in Czechoslovakia, the technocracy used it, supported itself on the previous planning, which led to capitalist norms, the economy of the market. Thus the technocracy arises. The technocrat may be suppressed, but the conditions remain the same. In the capitalist state the whole cabinet can die, or be assassinated, a whole sector of the bourgeoisie, but it is the capitalist system, which creates the other capitalists. The historic nature of the Soviet bureaucracy does not change, is not modified, as a consequence its counter revolutionary intentions and necessities are not modified, although it may be obliged to adopt positions of greater combativity, to defend itself in relation to capitalism. Nothing more. Without the understanding of the continuity of thought, the action and the functioning of the party, based on these stable conquests of the International, it is not possible to have a correct policy, because it ignores the course of history, then arise leaderships, currents, tendencies in agreement with magic conceptions, and personal desires, which stem always from part of the leading sectors, who abandon the camp of the revolution. Always it is like this, because there is a dialectical unity in this process. The capacity of reaction of the Soviet bureaucracy to sustain itself has reached the end. Capacity means points of support, which history lends and allows. The essential condition was the stagnation, of the world revolution or the progress of the revolution empirically. Now Syria, Cuba, Algeria, Mali, China are acquiring conscious forms in the development of the revolution, elevating themselves in the programme of the revolution. Yugoslavia, no, but the demonstration of 300,000 people—among them students—show that they are seeking the programme. To the extent that this action develops, seeking the conscious programme of the revolution, the logical nature of this process, advances towards confrontation with the forces which are opposed to this logical necessity; the Soviet bureaucracy. The capitalist system is the enemy, it is directly in the way, the Soviet bureaucracy is the internal enemy. And now the Soviet bureaucracy loses points of support and the possibility of sustaining itself.

But between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, 12 years have passed. And 12 years means that within the Soviet Union, the

masses have succeeded in impelling sectors of the bureaucracy, most linked to them, to make them feel the force of the masses. The world revolution has advanced and has given more confidence to the masses; to impose themselves on the bureaucracy, which has to respect the revolution. They have imposed themselves on the bureaucracy. And the bureaucracy in order to exist has to respect this, but seeking to evade the process, as in Czechoslovakia, seeking to block the process.

The observation of this process, the understanding of the development of the relations, changes, modification of forces, is the key to this stage, in order to intervene. For this reason, it is necessary to realise that the bureaucracy is not changing because it cannot. It cannot change. On the other hand the interior relation of forces can be changed, which then facilitates the access of the masses to overthrow the bureaucracy.

In capitalism this cannot happen, because from the smallest link of the capitalist sector to the most elevated sectors of high finance, they are united through the common interest of defending private property, there is no change. The struggles among them, which happen

nevertheless, are not of the same nature as those of the Soviet bureaucracy, but they happen. The poorest bourgeois conciliates with nationalisation in a backward country. It is necessary to regard the bourgeoisie not in a single country, but on a world scale, backward countries, semi backward countries, very backward, they are all going down hill. Whatever might be the level of development of the capitalist countries, there are struggles between them, but the struggle among them does not place in question the capitalist system. Nevertheless it weakens the social and political forces of capitalism to sustain itself. In the Workers State, this phenomenon of disputation is much better and more favourable to the proletariat. The bourgeoisie does not appeal to the proletariat; the middle and lower bureaucracy has to support itself on the proletariat. It is not merely a quantitative, but a qualitative difference. One cannot expect the bourgeoisie to ally with the proletariat to overthrow high finance. On the other hand the lower bureaucracy can ally itself to the proletariat to try to contain the high bureaucracy.

(Concluded in next issue)

## EDITORIAL

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struggles now taking place there. The vanguard can benefit from the example of the struggles in Ulster, because there sectors of the masses in tentative and not so tentative forms, established committees regulating the movement of traffic and organised their own defence committees. But it is also fundamental if these organisms are going to develop and not stagnate—in Ulster also—to advance towards the anti capitalist programme, workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, expropriation of luxury properties etc.

At the present moment, there is no absolutely central focus for the class struggle in this country, such as a major strike action, but it is necessary to expect large mobilisations within a relatively short stage. The women workers are inevitably going to play a major role in the next round of struggles, as one woman said in the recent strike at Manchester; "we shall not settle for anything less than equality". Capitalism cannot possibly afford to meet this basic minimum economic demand. The middle cadres in the trade unions have shown that they will respond to this pressure of the women workers, the union leaderships cannot defy them, and this will further accelerate the confidence of the masses. The tremendous role played by women workers also means that they will stimulate the struggles of all sectors, particularly in the strategic motor car industry. The decisive lead of the workers vanguard has already stimulated petit bourgeois sectors—such as the bank clerks, whose militancy finds a clear echo in the responsive attitude of the union leadership. That such sectors, traditionally conservative, continue to fight, shows the weight of working class methods of struggle and the readiness of the petit bourgeoisie to participate actively in the anti capitalist struggle and the struggle for socialism. British capitalism, like world capitalism, has fundamentally no perspective save the preparation of the war and a repression against the vanguard as is developing in Ulster. On the economic plane devaluation has failed, the trade figures show that all the old problems of in-

ability to expand production and exports, and satisfy the needs of the masses remain. And over all this there is the extreme uncertainty about the stability of leading currencies, the possibilities of further devaluations etc.

In this total impasse of British capitalism, whose weakness is exposed in its every manoeuvre, we appeal to the workers and students vanguard to impel in every way the anti capitalist struggle with the anti capitalist programme. We appeal for mass factory assemblies to elect their own leaderships, open to immediate recall, to impose workers control in the factories. We appeal for workers area assemblies, where workers of different factories in a region discuss their problems and think in terms of planning production in their areas so that they become schools of workers management as part of the education for socialist planning in a Workers State. We appeal for the university, college and school students to call their own mass assemblies, in which they invite workers to participate, to discuss the best way of advancing the class struggle and impose the anti capitalist programme. Above all, we appeal for the discussion around the anti capitalist programme to be developed in all the factory and student committees throughout the country. For a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, for workers control in all factories to control hiring, firing, the speed of the track, etc., for nationalisations without compensation, for the expropriation of all luxury properties, no worker to be unemployed, for proletarian democracy in the Trade Unions, all the profits of automation to the workers, closing of all Polaroid bases and the liquidation of their means of supply, ending of all imperialist war alliances, for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe, for a workers government.

Organise the united front of the labour masses, the CP militants, the revolutionary students and the IV International, by developing the organisms of dual power, factory committees, mass workers assemblies, committees to decide prices, tenants committees on the basis of proletarian democracy.

Long live the 1st manned docking in the space by the Soviet Union

# The struggle in Northern Ireland demands the anti-capitalist programme

In the absence of a conscious world centre, in the absence of a conscious world leadership, the exploited masses take whatever leadership appears, and utilise it in order to advance the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle. Nowhere has this process been more clear, or more rapid than in six counties of Northern Ireland. The struggle developed on the issue of "civil rights" over the depriving of sectors of the population of voting rights in local elections, and under a leadership which originally limited itself to this issue, but it developed rapidly into an aggressive anti-capitalist struggle, despite the lack of workers organisms and despite the limitation of the original leadership.

In Londonderry the struggle advanced beyond the 'civil rights' leadership in the first days when workers took industrial action, and organised their own demon-

## 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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

strations in defiance of the authorities. The nature of the 'civil rights' leadership was revealed when they went to factories—at the request of the bosses—in order to persuade workers not to strike, but they met with little success. At this time in Londonderry the workers organised the actual physical defence of women factory workers who had previously stopped work to demonstrate and had come under attack from right wing elements. The working class reacted immediately in organising itself and in elevating the whole struggle. It gave the struggle a clear anti capitalist nature from the very beginning, and the issue of 'civil rights' is used as a point for the struggle and nothing more.

Since the early days in Londonderry until the recent demonstrations in Newry the actual relationship of forces in Northern Ireland has been revealed most dramatically. Previously much had been made of the strength of elements like Paisley and of the all powerful authoritarian nature of capitalism in Northern Ireland. In the present struggle the weakness of Paisley has been clear, it is Paisley's supporters who are forced to cower, for example, in Londonderry's Guildhall, or hide behind the protection of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. In many occasions it has only been the action of the RUC, which have stopped the masses of Northern Ireland settling their account with these pro-capitalist sectors. Similarly the attempts by Paisley to present the struggle in terms of a religious clash between protestant and catholic sectors of the population has been a complete failure. It is true that the 'civil rights' movement has not attracted the majority of the protestant workers, but then neither has Paisley. In the main protestant workers have stood aside, because they see nothing to attract them in the programme of 'civil rights', but in Newry they made it clear that they had no objections to the demonstration being held in their quarter of the city.

The weakness of the whole of capitalism in Northern Ireland has also been revealed with a crisis in the Unionist government, which directly resulted from the action of the masses. O'Neil, the Prime Minister, lacking any significant social support—as the capitalist regime lacks social support—was forced to sack Craig, the minister, who represented the most repressive sector of the Unionist Party. O'Neil does not do this because he has any love for the masses, but he does it in order to attempt a conciliation with the leadership of the 'civil rights' movement, and from a position of weakness in front of the masses of Northern Ireland. The same is true of promises to reform the local electoral system, a promise which does not, and cannot, satisfy the demands of the masses on housing, employment and the rest.

The masses of Northern Ireland base themselves, base their confidence on the whole world process of the struggle of the exploited masses. They base themselves on, and are influenced by, the world revolutionary process, which expresses itself in Vietnam, in a direct armed struggle against American imperialism and in the Arab revolution, which confronts the Israeli agents of American imperialism, develops workers militias, and expropriates private property. The masses of Northern Ireland also base themselves on the struggle of the Negro masses in the United States, which itself arose on the basis of a 'civil rights' struggle, and has elevated itself into a clearly anti capitalist, anti imperialist struggle. There can be no doubt that the strongest influence on the Northern Irish masses is that of the French Re-

volutionary General Strike of last summer, and it is no accident that this struggle follows directly after the victory of the French masses at that time. The struggle in Northern Ireland bases itself on this world process and on its own revolutionary tradition, which reached its highest point with the 'Easter Uprising' of 1916. What began in 1916 will shortly be concluded and we see, at this stage, the beginning of the end for capitalism not only in Northern Ireland but in the Irish Republic as well. Already there have been demonstrations in Dublin in support of the struggle in Northern Ireland, and the masses of the Irish Republic will begin in the next period, to react in the same way. It is significant, that during the rather weak attempt by members of the RUC to terrorise a sector of the population in a Catholic area of Londonderry, one of the members of the RUC said; 'we should have done this 50 years ago', it is a remark which shows that this policeman recognises the nature of the struggle, but the bourgeoisie have left it too late. At this time it is they who are weak and the world masses who are strong, it is, as Cde. Posadas has said, the bourgeoisie on a world scale who are forced to be clandestine in front of the revolution.

The recent developments show the anti capitalist nature of the struggle. The very title of the organisation, Peoples Democracy movement, is in itself indicative, but more than this the setting up of 'Radio Free Derry' is an expression of the spirit of dual power which exists in Northern Ireland. In recent broadcasts of Radio Free Derry a ten-point programme was put forward, which included boycotts, industrial strikes, withholding of rates and rents, disruption of public transport, the organisation of the unemployed and the occupation of public buildings. True this is not a full anti capitalist programme, but it does contain many points of the anti capitalist programme and expresses directly the influence of the world revolution. We talk of a spirit of dual power in Northern Ireland, dual power as Cde Posadas analyses in 'Replies to the 26 questions of non-active intellectual' is when the masses organise to take over functions, which in a capitalist state are those of the capitalist class. In Londonderry sector of the masses expelled the police from their area and set-up a 'vigilante committee' which organised patrols in the streets and took what it called 'disciplinary action' against offenders. It also protected the population against the attempts at terrorism on the part of the RUC. This is clearly an example of dual power! When members of Derry City Health Committee arrived at the Guildhall recently, they found the Council Chamber occupied by tenants demanding improved accommodation, eleven families, men, women and children were—and to date are still—in occupation. In common with the world struggle all elements of the masses are engaged in the struggle! The demand for the organisation of the unemployed is only a short step away from the occupation of factories and the imposition by the workers of their control of the means of production. In the sense that, at this stage, the organisation of the unemployed demands a programme of immediate occupation of factories recently closed, or about to be closed, under workers control—to be put into production under workers control. The programme must also include the demand for the nationalisation of these factories under workers management and without compensation to the former owners, and for a programme of public works. Finally, of course, the demand for full pay for all workers remaining unemployed must be included with the understanding that simply demanding full pay, or pleading with the government for more work cannot solve the problems of the unemployed workers, or any other sector of the masses.

The situation in Northern Ireland, which results in a crisis of the existing 'civil rights' leadership demands the pro-

gramme, the full programme of the socialist revolution. The necessity for the programme is obvious and, in part, it has already been adopted by the masses of Northern Ireland, basing themselves on those conquests already made, for example the 'Vigilante Committees' must be developed into workers militias in order to meet the increased repression of the Northern Ireland bourgeoisie. In the next stage the workers militias are essential. The programme must also include the demand for tenants control of all housing, and rents to be decided by committees of tenants, full pay for the unemployed, equal pay for women, the expropriation of all luxury properties, royal palaces etc., to ease the housing shortage, control of all universities, colleges and schools by committees of workers, teachers and students, nationalisation of all factories about to be closed—or recently closed—under workers management and without compensation, the formation of committees of tenants, factory committees, students committees, committees of women and committees in the workers areas with all delegates subject to the right of instant recall, under the complete and sole control of mass meetings of workers; the formation of workers militias, the closure of all military bases in Northern Ireland and the nationalisation under workers control of all industry, banks and insurance companies. This programme will attract—if allied to workers organisms—those sectors of the masses yet to join the struggle, for example the protestant workers.

The call must be made for an indefinite general strike on the programme of the demands of all the exploited masses, not only in the six counties, but in the whole of Ireland. The combativity, the will to struggle exists in the Irish Republic and the masses—workers, farmers and students—constantly develop their struggle. Demonstrations in support, in solidarity have already been organised in Dublin. The workers are in constant militant action, for example, the motor vehicle assembly workers in Dublin recently held a series of strikes over a two week period on various demands and with complete disregard of the problems of the Irish capitalist class. The pressure of the Irish workers at the base of the unions has forced the leadership of twenty unions in engineering to call a national strike, what virtually amounts to a general strike in the Irish Republic. A call from the masses of Northern Ireland would elevate the anti-capitalist struggle in the whole of Ireland and destroy the partition of Ireland. This must be a demand at this stage, a United Socialist Soviet State of Ireland, and partition can only be ended by the action of the masses on the programme of the socialist revolution. None of the traditional leaderships have even raised the question of the partition of Ireland, not even the 'nationalists' who simply conciliate with the Northern Irish bourgeois and British imperialism.

Also the call must be made to the workers and students of Britain to call strikes and demonstrations of solidarity with the masses of Ulster. Already one union branch—No. 5 NUVB (Vauxhalls, Luton) have passed a resolution of solidarity, which calls for strikes of solidarity in this country. The vanguard workers in this country are going to be more and more influenced by the developing struggle in Ulster.

What started as a struggle for 'civil rights' in Ulster has been elevated into a full anti capitalist struggle by the worker and student masses and the way is open for the destruction, in a short stage, of capitalism in Ireland, and for the construction of a Socialist Soviet State of Ireland as part of the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe.

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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 all, all, all  
— Trotsky

## BUILD THE UNITED FRONT of the factory, student, tenants committees with the RWP(T) on the ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The occupation of the University of London Union building in support of the struggle at LSE marks a new step forward in the class struggle in this country, and at the same time a step forward in the fusion of the IV International with the student vanguard. The formulation of a programme of demands for the struggle of all sectors of the exploited masses by the ULU Workers—Student Liaison Committee (an organism set up by the general assembly of occupying students and in which comrades of the RWP(T) the British Section of the IV International participated), the overwhelming endorsement of this programme by the general assembly of students and the attempt to contact the striking telegraphists on the basis of this programme, are indication of the maturity of the student vanguard, which is looking for the way forward to organise the struggle against capitalism. And this maturity of the student vanguard is a product of a whole climate of enormous social pressure, which the students receive and express, but which does not come from them alone, as Cde. Posadas analysed in his document on the world student mobilisation in 1966. It is not only the effects of the world revolution but all the anti-capitalist feeling accumulated in the exploited masses, and in the proletariat especially, which, because of the sabotage of the Union and Labour Party leadership, has been contained and repressed, which is expressed in the student struggle. The students are not carrying on a struggle for student demands, it is the revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle carried out in the student field.

For the first time in this country, students occupying a building have made an appeal to the working class to take the same revolutionary measures for the same programme. For the first time the student vanguard has sought to base its struggle on all the international and national situation. There are still limitations in the programme, limitations which must be overcome in the next stage, demands for expropriation and nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of all key industries, must be included, but nevertheless an important first step has been made. The effects of the occupation were immediate; militants in Warwick, Essex, Cambridge, Kent, Sussex, Hull occupied university buildings in support of the struggle, the Indian Workers Assoc. sent a message of support as did some other workers organisations, the Times printers for example. The movement could have extended and strengthened itself if the leadership has wanted to do it. But the leadership, particularly I.S. frightened by

the development of the action, threw their weight into liquidating the occupation, seeking, in the general assembly by speaker after speaker to separate the struggle at LSE from the struggle of the masses against capitalism. The calling off of the occupation has been an important experience for the student vanguard who saw the capitulation of a leadership, which was not prepared to take on the responsibilities which the development of the occupation had thrust upon it; it does not mean a retreat in the student movement, on the contrary the influence of the world revolution and the struggle of the British working class more than compensates for the limitations of the present leadership, while at the same time a new revolutionary leadership is preparing itself. In this period the bourgeoisie cannot stop this process; all their threats and intimidation, the appeals like those expressed by the Minister of Education, Short, to reactionary elements among the students, are doomed to failure.

### THE WORKER'S STRUGGLE HAS ENCOURAGED THE STUDENTS

The occupation of ULU came in a week of constantly increasing class struggle. The strike of the Overseas Telegraphists, the overtime ban and one day strike in support of them by other members of the Post Office Workers Union (this was the first time for years that the Trade Unions bureaucracy has been forced to spread a strike in support of a small sector); the half day strike of the bank workers with their 'unprecedented' demonstration, the continuing strike in Perkins Diesels and Rootes and British Leyland, the formulation of a nine point programme by the N.U.V.B.

shop stewards at Fords produced the social climate which gave the student vanguard its confidence to go forward. All the interviews with postmen on the radio showed the tremendous spirit of victory and solidarity of the postmen, and the Labour Government have been forced to retreat in front of this spirit. Time after time the Labour Government in spite of the need to repress the workers movement, has retreated before it, to such an extent that in 1968 (the year following devaluation, when the capitalists have said that wage increases must be kept down at all costs) the workers

have gained 6.9%, the highest for 12 years. Also the government has given in to the claim of the agricultural workers which is well over the norm, and in putting forward the plan for the nationalisation of the docks with some form of workers participation, encourages still more the exploited masses to advance. Even if the nationalisation of the docks responds to the economic needs of capitalism, as in the past nationalisation of the railways, mines and steel has done, at this stage of history it is very dangerous socially for the bourgeoisie, because the masses see it as an anti-capitalist measure and want to go further with the process of nationalisation.

The British and world bourgeoisie is politically, socially, and economically weak and nowhere is this shown more

clearly than in N. Ireland. In spite of the limitation of the leadership of the Civil Rights movement in Ireland, a leadership which has not made any appeals to the protestant workers, which has not put forward any anti-capitalist demands, the development of the struggle, the revolutionary methods employed have brought the Unionist Government of O'Neill into crisis. If O'Neill had the strength to crush the movement he would have already done so, and there would be no governmental crisis, but he feels he cannot crush it and tries to control it with a mixture of conciliation and threats. A wing of the bourgeoisie in N. Ireland who want a harder policy are now opposing O'Neill, but both repression or making concessions to the move-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## Long live the Marxist Review No 5-6 in Italian

In the name of the British Section of the IV International we send a warm fraternal salute to the European Bureau of the I.S. of the IV International and to the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) the Italian Section of the IV International, for the publication of No. 5-6 of the European Marxist Review in Italian, which came out in December 68. The publication in this 260 pages Review, of the organisational report of the VIII World Congress and the seven documents on the French Revolutionary General Strike of last May, by Cde Posadas in addition to other documents by Trotsky, Posadas and the International Secretariat, means that this review is going to be a tremendously important theoretical and political instrument for all the Communist, PSIUP, Worker, Peasant and Student vanguard in Italy. It is a new triumph for the International.

We send our salutes also to Cde Posadas, for all the documents contained within the Review and for his constant stimulus and encouragement to the E:B and the Italian Section to accomplish the publication of this review and to accomplish the plans, which were laid down in the Organisational report to the VIII World Congress.

The publication of the Review in Italian is a great stimulus to the production of the EMR in French and in English. In English the preparation of the second number of the review is already under way, but we still urgently need money. We appeal to all the readers of Red Flag, to all the sympathisers of the Party to send us, now, a contribution for the EMR no 2 in English.

LONG LIVE No 5-6 OF THE EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW  
LONG LIVE THE ITALIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
LONG LIVE THE EUROPEAN BUREAU  
LONG LIVE CDE POSADAS AND THE I.S.

### SUMMARY OF CONTENTS OF THE REVIEW:

- Editorial
- Addition to the Editorial
- "The French Revolution has begun" by Leon Trotsky
- Organisational Report of the VIII World Congress—J. Posadas
- Documents on the Revolutionary General Strike in France—J. Posadas
- Revolutionary purity in the construction of the revolutionary militant and leader, as a part of the construction of socialist society—J. Posadas
- Letter to the Cuban Section—J. Posadas
- Appeal of the I.S. of the IV International to the Syrian Government
- The life and development of the IV International

The EMR No. 5-6 in Italian can be obtained from us, price 15/- P&P.

# THE PRESENT CRISIS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKERS STATES, AND THE DECIDED ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNIST RANK AND FILE, THE VANGUARD AND THE MASSES OF THE WORLD TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM AND BUREAUCRACY

2nd PART

J. POSADAS

30th SEPTEMBER 1968

## CAPITALISM CANNOT WATCH, ALLOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION, BECAUSE IT REALISES THAT THIS PREPARES ALSO ITS OWN DOWNFALL

But when this moment arrives the course of events will be very short and straightforward, and this sector of the bureaucracy will be rapidly overcome. It will be a very short period. Now it is necessary to unite all this with the preparation of the world war. Capitalism cannot observe, allow the development of the political revolution, because it realises that with the political revolution it is destroyed also immediately with it. And the masses of the Soviet Union are conscious of this, for this reason their slowness to mobilise. And the historic sense, the historic comprehension, the historic instinct of the working class of the Soviet Union understands that it is not a question only of throwing out Brezhnev, it is a question of the world war. But the working class has not been able to receive yet the incentive, the impulse, so that it can decide to intervene in a direct way. Soon it will do so.

It was very simple to see that in Czechoslovakia, it was a question of an inter-bureaucratic dispute, because the struggle is not determined by military action. This is the instrument which serves their aims. These aims are programme, objectives, interests. And the aims for which this army intervened, is the programme of the market economy, the autonomy of enterprises, the functioning of quite a few plots of land, the private functioning of agricultural and industrial organisms. As at the beginning, this is still the same. The Soviet Army has not gone to destroy this. It has gone to eliminate a sector of the bureaucracy which because of its role in the economy and in society cannot any longer remain within itself and seeks to stimulate, to develop its interests as a group of the bureaucratic caste. That is all. For this reason it eliminates the representatives who are the most capable, the most powerful of this current but not the current itself, because to eliminate the current is to eliminate the planners, all the technologists and to say farewell to the bureaucracy. And the bureaucracy cannot do this. The technocrats exist because the Workers State needs planning, even when it is bureaucratically run. Thus the bureaucracy has only two ways of planning: for example the Soviet, but it is afraid to do this, and does not do so, because it goes against itself, because the Soviet means to plan to the advantage of the masses against the bureaucracy. There would be car factories, for example, nor administrators; then an immense

social base of the bureaucracy would be eliminated. As it cannot do so, is afraid of making the soviet and must plan, then it resolves the organisation of planning through "specialists". It must return to the capitalist form because there is no half way. And the specialist group who functions thus, seeks to adapt the economy to itself, because the interests which stimulate it are not the interests of the Workers State but the interests of private usufruct, of its function in society, because it does not have communist interests. This is the question. It is not a special category, a parasite which eats every day "on the backs of the masses". It is a question simply of a sector of the bureaucracy, which through its function in society and in the economy, feels itself to have the capacity and the possibility to dispute with the other sectors of the bureaucracy, the use of the state. Since it must dispute not only with the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy, but with all the other bureaucracies and among them the Soviet bureaucracy, this sector still associates itself with the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy to confront the Soviet bureaucracy. It is simple a question of this. It is very simple. With the elimination of this sector, the germ is eliminated, which the infected body produced. It is possible to dispose of the germ, but if the source is not touched, the infection returns. And the bureaucracy has not touched the source of the infection, which is the bureaucracy.

The essential source of the development of the revolution will be in the Workers States, but this does not mean that it is necessary to wait for the development of the political revolution in the Workers States. To influence the struggle in the Workers States, the struggle of the masses, the revolutionary struggle in Italy, France, in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa is necessary as is the crisis of capitalism.

As we have said in the texts, which have already been published, the bureaucracy has fewer points of support than before. It is more surrounded and controlled than before by the masses of the world. The crisis of capitalism makes it more isolated, and it has less possibility of conciliation, of peaceful co-existence, because more and more capitalism feels itself to be surrounded. The capacity and the initiative are not in the hands either of the bureaucracy of the Workers States and of the communist parties or of capitalism. The

initiative comes from the exploited masses of the world. The students and the catholics have as much initiative as the rest of the masses. The peasants have as much initiative as the Catholics and the students, and with as much importance as the proletariat. All the decisive sectors, all the exploited sectors who decide the course of history escape the control of capitalism and act outside the control of the Soviet bureaucracy. For this reason the Soviet bureaucracy in order to trade, to discuss, to negotiate, to blackmail and conciliate with capitalism, has no more points of support, nor the possibility of doing what it wants. It has to take account of the world situation, which expresses itself in the USSR and also in the disputes and contradictions within each country, and also between country and country, the USSR with Czechoslovakia, Poland etc. The historic bases and margins of the bureaucracy are reduced. For this reason it is obliged to confront capitalism more aggressively, more aggressively, in relation to everything. And the thief who is discovered by the proprietor of the house and resists arrest is not the character who robs openly as the bureaucracy was doing before.

## IF THE INTERVENTION OF THE BUREAUCRACY WAS TO DEFEND SOCIALISM AND THE WORKERS STATE, TOGETHER WITH THE MEASURE THAT IT TAKES, IT WOULD ALLOW PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY

If the intention of the bureaucracy was to defend socialism and the Workers State, together with these measures, it would establish proletarian democracy in the USSR, independence of the trade unions, it would call for demonstrations and committees, it would eliminate the technocrats, it would allow the soviets and would make an appeal to the masses of the world to take power. The external policy is a continuation of the internal politics. The internal intentions of the bureaucracy are the same as those which express themselves externally. There is no dualism. The conditions are not favourable for the bureaucracies, but there is the same intention. And it will react furiously against the proletariat and will make the counter revolution. The bureaucracy has an interest in eliminating capitalism but not to overthrow it by force. To eliminate it! Hence the parliamentary policy. They are interested in a policy of conciliation, of adaptation, awaiting the decomposition of capitalism. They hope to advance, winning positions in society and through a greater dominion of the capitalist apparatus, they hope to suppress capitalism. Parliament is one of these instru-

ments. The bureaucracy has an interest in suppressing capitalism. As it cannot do so, then it arranges a peace with capitalism. And this peace which it longs for, it cannot obtain, because capitalism is in crisis and to be able to exist, has to confront the world revolution, to seek to regain territory, defend itself, thus the bureaucracy is obliged to defend itself. But it defends itself in a passive and conservative way. And it showed that it was defending itself in a passive and conservative way, because when it had a similar ally in the revolutionary general strike in France, which was a magnificent opportunity to weaken the capitalist system, the enemy of the Workers States, the bureaucracy was against it, condemned it. It condemns the natural ally of the Workers State. The external policy continues to be the continuation of internal policy. If the bureaucrat had had revolutionary intentions and was able to act on this basis—but it is not able to do so through its counter revolutionary historic nature—it would support the revolutionary general strike in France. The bureaucracy has not supported it, but the workers trade unions yes. The bureaucracy has had

to admit this help to demonstrate that it is not reactionary, but that it is cautious and diplomatic, that it does not intervene because it is still not convenient. It must allow this decision of the masses of the Soviet Union. The revolutionary policy has advanced. The very fact that the bureaucracy behaves in this way indicates that the masses of the Workers States are ready, are awaiting the moment of deciding to intervene, to participate openly, to overthrow the capitalist system and the bureaucracy. Hence the concessions which the bureaucracy sees itself obliged to make. It is necessary to expect new phases in this inter bureaucratic struggle, much more acute and profound, in which the bureaucracy will see itself obliged to confront attempts by other sectors of the bureaucracy to go beyond the revolutionary confines of nationalised property. It will be obliged to, but the influences in the USSR will be superior to those now. The crisis of the Communist Party expresses itself in the USSR as in France and Italy, in the fact that there is a discussion on the future of the communist parties. The communist base is against its leadership almost entirely. The base of the communist parties supports the intervention of the Soviet Army while not approving its attitude. They thus demand that power should be given to the Czechoslovakian masses. This is the crisis of the communist parties. And it is not simply crises through an election, but for the fundamental problems of the revolution. And this crisis of the communist parties arises on

the basis of the problems, which decide the course of the revolution and will express itself in Italy in the first general important strike. And the greatest effect and result will be the decision of the proletarian vanguard to act, freeing itself from the leadership of the Communist Party, on the road to action seeking the new leadership. In so far as it has not been constituted, in the next stage, it has decided to organise it. The leadership of the PCI feels that this is the intention of the proletarian vanguard. Thus it makes a sounding to measure the level of opposition and resistance or rejection of the policy of the PCI, against the intervention of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia. This sounding is to liquidate the opposition. It is the attitude of spies. It makes this sounding, this consultation to see who is against, to prepare to liquidate it and to have the party free to conciliate with Italian capitalism. It is seeking a new way. It wishes to eliminate the internal pressure on the Communist Party to be able to decide freely tomorrow; not to decide to submit itself to the pressure of the Italian masses who are for the unconditional support, for the struggle, for the proletarian revolution, but to separate itself from the vanguard, which is the force which attracts the masses. But it is an important vanguard, which will have decisive consequences in a short stage, of great importance, and will allow the development of the revolutionary current. We have now entered into this phase.

socialist moral stimulus, where everyone fixes his own wages in relation to what he needs, and it is going very well. Already they have done it in small factories. It is still necessary to co-ordinate and correct this, because it is not the best way to draw the conclusions, but it shows that they already feel the need for these measures, and they feel that they have the ability and the possibility of functioning, eliminating the material incentive, which the salary is. Various times Fidel Castro has announced the elimination of money, of the salary. We have said all this, these are our principles of the IV International. This attitude of Fidel Castro is going to have a tremendous influence in the Workers States. While salaries cannot be suppressed it is necessary to equalise them, not lowering the wages of those who earn well, but bringing up the wages of the lower paid. And in this way to give a limit to wages, an upper limit which cannot be exceeded. Increase production and not wages. I proposed this in 1960. It is in our article on Cuba. This decision of the government of Cuba influences within the communist parties, and in the Workers States to animate the communist vanguard to intervene against its bourgeois leadership, which has a bourgeois policy. And the failure of the plans of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy in seeking conciliation with imperialism over Vietnam, has consequences of very great importance. Not only, simply a defeat of imperialism, but a demonstration that the bureaucracy can no longer decide any more that the bureaucracy of Indo-China should conciliate with imperialism, because it was disposed to do it, it went to discuss in order to conciliate. Otherwise, it would not have gone there, because it plays the game of imperialism, which serves its electoral ends, but it cannot conciliate. They have been there for three and a half months and thus there was time to conciliate. It is no more than a month and a bit to the elections. What imperialism wants to do is to show internally that it is for peace. And it is interested, fundamentally in that there should be no important abstentions in the United States. Because the abstention is going to be immense. It is a form of protest. To prevent the abstentions which will show a very great pressure on the petit bourgeoisie layers, and which is going to attract layers of the proletariat to later struggles, in order to attract people to vote and to make them decide to intervene and vote and maintain them under the parliamentary, electoral, policy of yankee imperialism, they make all this parody, but it is not going to lead to what they want; to sham a peace, even if it is partial. They will not succeed in it. And all this is against, against all the policy of stability, of equilibrium of the bureaucracy and of the interbureaucratic struggle, and of the Soviet bureaucracy with Yankee imperialism, which is gradually going to accentuate, accentuate, accentuate. Not to understand this process, and on the other hand to judge that the Soviet bureaucracy submits itself to the will of the Soviet proletariat is to prepare oneself to be attracted to worse capitulations. Not to worse, but to capitulation. Whatever be the form in which it presents itself.

programme which satisfies the combative revolutionary capacity and decision of the masses who are no longer Peronist. They are the masses of the country, with a very great Peronist percentage, a very very great percentage, but no longer as with Peronism before. The proof is that there are three sectors of peronism) and the 17th October is going to be the fourth, which is becoming the largest. They are going to try to give a much greater significance to this 17th October movement, they are going to organise, they are going to make meetings with electoral ends of democratic unity. They are going to try to do it, but as in the previous year there are only going to be two thousand who are going to go. The Peronist masses are not going to go. On the contrary they are feeling sensitive to what is going on in the world. Because of this the concern of the Peronist masses about Czechoslovakia. This is educating them. The vanguard, which was Peronist and which based itself on the Peronist movement in order to maintain its integration with the class, now feels itself unaffiliated with the world revolution. And it has access to us. Access to us. And it is necessary to underline this, designating firm, sure comrades whose preoccupation is in basing themselves, in preparing and developing the party, not in giving blows, not in being underhand, but fighting for the truth so that the party can intervene and prepare itself and develop itself for this process. And this is your perspective. In a very short time! It is the world revolution which is educating the peronist vanguard! The ideas, the positions, the policy, the programme do not come from nowhere; but from the world revolution and us, who are the conscious expression of the world revolution. Policy, programme, objectives, methods of struggle, they are what correspond to the needs of the masses of Argentine and the world.

It is necessary to be prepared for this. The process is short. The Argentine bourgeoisie has been impotent to overthrow Onganía. Impotent! It has not been able to mobilise either the masses, nor the army, nor the petit bourgeoisie. Not because Onganía prevents it. Onganía does not have any force to impede. The bourgeoisie are the ones who do not have the capacity nor the force to attract and organise. They are more divided then ever. Because each time they lack more and more the concentration of productive capital, and there is an internal fight among them. Because in each circle, each group of them there are different interests, through the crisis of capitalism, sharpened by the world development of the revolution, and the struggle of the Latin American masses, and accentuated by the crisis of the church, and by the growth, development of the peasant struggle, and by the crisis of the army in all of Latin America. Capitalism does not have a solid and firm base, it has to base itself on instruments in politics, which do not represent directly the solidity of its structure. The army supports capitalism, but corrodes it, because it exerts a function which is not necessary for the development of capitalism. The army serves to detain the downfall of the capitalist system, but not to develop it, because the civil leadership of society is not the function of the army. And when the army has to replace the bourgeoisie it is because the bourgeoisie doesn't have the ability to be the civil leadership. Consequently it is a blow at the functioning and structure of the capitalist system, because it removes one of the essential factors of the stability, of the equilibrium of the capitalist system.

J. POSADAS

13th September 1968

## EDITORIAL

### BUILD THE UNITED FRONT...

CONTD. FROM PAGE 1

ment is only going to stimulate the exploited masses of N. Ireland to continue their struggle and raise it to a higher programmatic level. The crisis of O'Neill is a part of the world crisis of capitalism, which shows itself on all sides. This constant rise of the workers and student struggle in this country takes place in the framework of the constant advance of the revolution in all its forms throughout the world. In the Middle East where a tendency within El Fatah adopts the programme of the socialist revolution, in Pakistan where the masses fight against the police and burn buses and government offices, in Latin America where even the high clergy have to attack and put the blame for the ills of society on the shoulders of a privileged rich minority acting in complicity with an imperialist international economic system, and in Europe where the work-

ers and students struggles continue, and the process of the organisation of a new revolutionary leadership advances constantly, imperialism and capitalism are forced to retreat. The fact that Franco has to reimpose what is virtually martial law throughout Spain for the first time since the civil war, is an indication that the Spanish masses are advancing towards the Socialist Revolution, that the repression of the fascist state cannot stop the process, and it is Fascism and Franco, not the masses who enter into crisis. It is on this situation that the worker and student vanguard must base its confidence.

The student struggle advances not in isolation, but as a component part of the united front of the masses. At the moment this united front is not organically or concretely constructed, but objectively it exists. The workers, the tenants, the housewives, students and school-children, the teachers and white collar

workers, are all engaged in the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, better housing, schools, hospitals etc., demands which capitalism cannot fulfill, and all these sectors are imposing their own control and their own power against the power of capitalism. Dual power is advancing throughout the country and the occupation of ULU was a very elevated example of this.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International makes an appeal to the student vanguard, which showed its maturity at ULU, to the student vanguard in general and to the workers vanguard in the factories, the unions, the Labour Party and the Communist Party to begin to give organisational forms to this united front of the exploited masses. A programme of demands for all the exploited masses must be put forward; a programme which includes demands for the 35 hour week, a 30% increase in wages,

all profits of automation to the workers, equal pay for women, no sackings, nationalisations of key industries, without compensation and under workers control etc., and to organise the struggle for this programme and with the perspective of a workers government, and to construct the organisms to carry the struggle forward. It is necessary to construct factory committees, tenants committees, workers area committees, student committees, with all the members subject to instant recall, with the committees under the control of mass meetings, so that the meetings decide everything. We appeal for the formation of these committees on the anti-capitalist programme and call for these committees to construct the United Front of all the exploited masses, and to include within this United Front, the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International.

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## WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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**European Marxist Review** (In English), organ of the European Bureau of the International Secretariat of the IV International. Fourth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St., London, W.C.2, England.

# Down with the repression in Spain

Freedom for all the political and trade union prisoners.  
Contribute to the financial campaign for the release of the  
Spanish Trotskyists

As we reported in the last issue of Red Flag the 7 comrades of the Spanish Section imprisoned in Barcelona on the 2nd of December have been released under caution.

- (1) Tomas Cruz Martínez
- (2) Agustin Castillo
- (3) Blasa Berlanga
- (4) Maria Franco

- (5) Maria Corona
- (6) Carmen Burgos
- (7) Expedito Diaz

But still it is necessary to pay the Franco authorities a sum of nearly two thousand pounds in fines, so that all the comrades can be completely released. At this moment the Franco regime is showing all its weakness before the mounting

struggle of the workers, student and peasants by imposing a type of martial law throughout Spain for the first time since the Civil War. The fascist authorities close the universities of Madrid, Barcelona, Saragossa and of Deusto, Granada and Malaga universities are on strike, and the police have entered the faculty of economic science of the University of Bilbao. On the orders of the government the steel works have been closed in Bilbao, in a lockout taken as a reprisal against six thousand steel workers, who a few days ago went on strike to protest against the state of emergency.

The workers of the shipyards of Sestao struck in solidarity with the locked out steel workers. Some thirty five thousand workers from Bilbao and five thousand others from Eibar took part last Friday in a "Day of Protest".

In Madrid stoppages have taken place in several factories and leaflets against the regime have been distributed in various points of the capital.

The arrests of workers, students and intellectuals continues, but the regime does not have the force to smash the mounting process of class struggle. In this situation it is of the greatest urgency that all the Trotskyist militants who have the possibility of being released once the fines are paid, should

take up once more their responsibilities in the struggle of all the exploited masses of Spain against Franco, and against Spanish capitalism.

We appeal for money to be sent to us as a contribution to the International campaign to pay the fines. We also appeal to all the worker, student, intellectual vanguard to demonstrate their opposition to the measures taken by the Franco regime, and demand the immediate and unconditional release of all the political and trade union militants held in Spain.

## BOLIVIA

### RESOLUTION OF THE VANGUARD OF THE MINERS OF SAN JOSE

This resolution of the vanguard of the Bolivian Miners, is historic. It expresses that the anti-capitalist decision and will of the Bolivian working class remains intact and linked to the world revolution. It expresses that the murderous government of Barrientos has not been able to smash the miners and in a short time it will be overthrown by the Bolivian masses.

We salute the Revolutionary Workers Bloc of San José, and we salute the 16th anniversary of the nationalisation and the activity and the struggle of all the Bolivian masses and its conscious vanguard the POR(T) the Bolivian Section of the IV International.

The revolutionary workers bloc of San José salutes the nationalisation of the mines on its 16 anniversary.

THE REVOLUTIONARY BLOC of San José salutes the measure of the nationalisation of the mines decreed 16 years ago. This transcendental step in the life of Bolivia, was the direct result of the revolutionary struggle of the miner proletariat and of all the exploited masses of the country. For this reason, on this day, we the miners of Bolivia with our banners of combat unfurled salute with great revolutionary emotion, our class brothers, all the exploited people of Bolivia and the revolutionary masses of the world.

The nationalisation of the mines was the beginning of a long anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle. And it is our revolutionary duty to defend it by all measures, against all who seek their denationalisation. We denounce openly that the principal enemy of the nationalisation of the mines is the present military government, because it does not govern in favour of the people nor of the political and economic independence of the country, but is in the direct service of imperialism and capitalism. The proof is in the constant massacres of the mining proletariat, the cutting of wages by 50%, the destruction of the Miners Union, the persecution, detention, imprisonment of the revolutionary militants and trade union leaders.

The constant struggle of the workers and the students has been the decisive factor in preventing the policy of denationalisation, which began with the surrender of the Matilda Mine, and would have continued and spread to the other mines. This policy has failed totally and for this reason the present government will quickly fall.

Comrade miners, peasants, and students:

THE NATIONALISATION OF THE MINES HAS NOT FAILED. WHAT HAS FAILED IS THE CAPITALIST ADMINISTRATION OF COMIBOL AND THE WHOLE ECONOMY. It is our task to see that the fruits of the nationalisation of the mines do not go to enrich the new bourgeois sector as happens today, but that they go to benefit directly the proletariat and all the popular masses and to develop the national economy. To continue this, the REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS BLOC of San José appeals for the struggle for the following programme.

- 1) Immediate reorganisation of all the miners unions in agreement with the will of the people, of the workers and not under the yoke of the "Trade Union Decree" nor of the despotic "Law of State Security".
- 2) Reorganisation of Trade Union Federation of the Mining Workers of the departmental workers centres and the Bolivian workers centre with the direct intervention of the workers, with delegates of the base and with the workers programme.
- 3) Reorganisation and functioning of the miners union, workers militias and expulsion of the army of assassins from all the miners camps.
- 4) Reorganisation and functioning of all the miners radios with control by the base.
- 5) New scales of wages, general increase of wages for all the miners and the masses of the whole country.
- 6) Reorganisation of workers control with the right of veto on all miners enterprises and in COMIBOL.
- 7) Installation of furnaces for smelting in Bolivia and the placing of their functioning and the commercialisation of metals, under workers control with the right of veto. Abandonment of the international mineral market controlled by imperialism. Diversification of the world mineral market. Trade with the Workers States.
- 8) Expulsion from COMIBOL and from all the enterprises of the so called "BID assessors" and all the agents of imperialism who sabotage production, struggle for the imposing of the workers administration in COMIBOL.
- 9) All the profits arising from the exploitation and sale of minerals must be placed at the service of the economic development of the country and for the improvement of the level of life of the workers and the people in agreement with a workers plan of social and economic development of Bolivia.
- 10) FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT of the proletariat, peasantry and poor petit bourgeoisie.

LONG LIVE THE NEXT TRIUMPH OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE EXPLOITED MASSES!

ORURO—SAN JOSE, 31 OCTOBER 1968

FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS BLOC OF SAN JOSE: 35 signatures of workers.

EUROPEAN  
MARXIST  
REVIEW NO. 1.

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Editorials by J. Posadas

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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 Polis and rocket bases and their means of supply.

19. For the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.

20. For a workers government.

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# Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



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

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

NO. 84

25th February 1969

6d.

EXTEND THE FORD NATIONAL STRIKE INTO A NATIONAL STRIKE  
THROUGHOUT THE CAR INDUSTRY ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

ORGANISE THE FACTORY COMMITTEES, AND IMPOSE WORKERS  
DEMOCRACY IN THE TRADE UNIONS!

We salute, with revolutionary fervour, the national strike of the Ford workers against the repressive proposals of the Ford management and for higher pay. We salute this militant action and pledge our full support for this struggle. The national strike at Fords comes after a whole period of accumulation of the militant spirit of the workers at Fords and of the whole working class, it is an action which follows the strike of women - for equal pay - and the series of strikes for 'guaranteed wage' after the lay-offs in the latter part of last year. It is an expression of the determination of this sector of the working class - a fundamentally important sector - to take its struggle forward despite all the obstacles placed in its way by government and by the trade union bureaucracies. The fact that three major unions have made the strike 'official' - AEF, TGWU and NUVB - results from the pressure of the workers at the base of the unions and when a Ford management representative says that union officials are acting like the most militant and revolutionary shop stewards he is recognising the fact that the bureaucracy is being impelled by the vanguard of the working class. This situation is extremely favourable for the advance of the anti-bureaucratic struggle within the unions for the imposition of the right of instant recall of all officials, for all officials to be subject to the decisions of mass meetings of workers and for no official to receive more than the average workers wage. We salute the actions of the Halewood shop stewards in calling a mass meeting before the strike decision, it was a step towards workers democracy and we call on this vanguard sector to organise factory committees based on the anti-capitalist programme and with all delegates subject to instant recall and the decisions of mass meetings of workers.

It is clear from the development at Fords that the balance of forces favours the workers against the trade union bureaucracy so that it is possible for the workers to impell the struggle through the trade unions and to impose profound demands as the CGT in France has been forced to put forward the demand that wages rise with the cost of living. It is also clear that the Ford national strike can become a centre for the struggle of the workers and, indeed for the whole of the exploited masses. At this time the intensity of the struggle of the workers goes far beyond the actual level of the demands being put forward. The Ford workers are demanding a wage rise 'without strings' but the spirit is one of a struggle for workers control. One can see the same thing in the struggle of the dockers at the 'Royal' group of London docks who are demanding the right to hold meetings in working hours and who are actually imposing this right with an attitude which says that we the workers decide and not the bosses - this is the spirit of the working class which is also seen in the occupation of empty houses by the homeless.

contd. over.

The Ford strike has great importance coming as it does in a period of elevation of the whole world struggle of the masses, the revolutionary world struggle not only in Britain but in France, Italy, Spain, in the Middle East, in the United States and, indeed, in the whole world. The conditions exist, in this country, for the Ford national strike to become a centre, in the first place, for a national strike in the car industry which could lead to a national engineering strike. The struggle of the Rootes workers, for example, has continued for over two years and has included an occupation of the Ryton-in-Dunsmore (Coventry) factory. At Vauxhalls the workers are faced with exactly the same problems and with a management which has consistently, in the recent past, followed the lead of the Ford management. The Ford workers must extend their national strike by calling on - and by making links with - other sectors, Rootes, Vauxhall, BMH etc. on the basis of a programme of anti-capitalist demands which go beyond the purely 'trade union' demands being put forward at this moment. Capitalism is constantly raising the level of exploitation of the workers, constantly raising the rhythm of production by the introduction of new work methods and automated machinery, by a whole process of capitalist rationalisation. In face of this the old 'trade union' demands no longer answer the needs of the workers struggle. The programme of nine demands formulated by the NUVB stewards at Dagenham can be seen as an attempt to find the anti-capitalist programme and this attempt is a significant step forward but it is still a limited programme. The basic demand for workers can be expressed in this way; that all profits of automation go directly to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter working hours. This is a demand which answers the problem of industrial workers at this time and it is a demand which could provide the basis of a programme of anti-capitalist demands which, if adopted by the Ford workers, would attract workers in the whole of the car and car component industry.

The struggle is, demonstrably, not simply a struggle of the industrial workers in this country but a struggle of the whole of the exploited masses. The occupation of empty houses by the homeless in London and in Reading is of fundamental importance because it is the expropriation of capitalism - an attack on private property - and a demand of the transitional programme of Trotsky and the IVth. International. The refusal of tenants - council tenants - to pay rent increases is another part of the struggle of the masses which now develops constantly, in a constantly elevating line. The students also, basing themselves on the struggle of the workers, continue to develop their struggle and it was indicative that the occupation of the University of London Union sparked off a series of occupations all over the country. In the same way the spirit of the students at LSE is revealed by the fact that at a union meeting held when the school was reopened 380 students voted in favour of an immediate occupation. But more important than this is the formation of a Worker-Student Liaison Committee which, for example, has intervened at Fords to take to the workers the anti-capitalist programme and to support the Ford workers in the strike. The favourable situation exists for the organisation of a concrete worker and student alliance on the anti-capitalist programme. This is a process which began with the very courageous action by students on the picket line at Roberts Arundel - some of these students have just received compensation for injuries received as a result of the brutal treatment they received from the police during this struggle.

The conditions exist, obviously, in which the Ford national strike can become a centre and a leadership for not only the motor industry but for all the exploited masses in this country. The condition which will enable the Ford workers to play this role is the adoption of the anti-capitalist programme which answers the needs of the exploited masses. The immediate adoption of a programme of demands which include all profits of automation to go directly to the workers in the form of higher pay and shorter working hours, that all wages rise with the cost of living, a guaranteed minimum wage of £30 per week, for all workers to be paid when sick, or laid-off; equal pay for men and women, the expropriation of all luxury and unoccupied dwellings, royal palaces etc. to ease the housing shortage, for rents to be decided by committees of tenants, for all schools, colleges and universities to be controlled by committees of workers, students and teachers, the nationalisation of all major industry under workers control and without compensation to the former owners. This

## COMMUNES

## AND SOVIETS

J. Posadas. December. 1965

Once property is nationalised, the Workers State needs, for its development, thinking to be socially organised, it needs thought which leads to social progress. Social thought means to say that it is the whole of the population who intervenes, because property is nationalised and it is a question of a social common interest. Nationalised property impels and raises the social interest. Between the social interest and the needs of nationalised property there is no contradiction, there is no struggle no conflicts. On the contrary. There is no contradiction between the social interest of the proletariat, which is the base of soviet property, and the form of property. The interest which emerges from the form of the property is not an individual private interest; it is a collective interest! The interest of each one, to be correct, licit and acceptable, must tend to develop the Workers State: Communes and Soviets.

### 1. THE COMMUNE RESOLVES THE PROBLEM OF THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE IN RELATION TO THE CITY.

The commune is the form of organisation which allows the resolution of the most difficult problems historically; the backwardness of the countryside in relation to the city. It is a question of resolving this. The way to resolve it, the classical way, including for the Soviet Union, was the development of industry, incorporating the peasant, developing agricultural production, giving machinery to the countryside. And then it was the question of a slow development to eliminate the 'scissors'. (1) It was a slow process which kept the scissors constantly open and which permitted international factors to separate them still more. The bureaucracy, the policy of the bureaucracy instead of tending to close the scissors, contributed to opening them still more. Why? Because it did not permit the massive intervention of the peasant masses in society, and their inclusion in society consequently developed only slowly. And the delays in history are decisive. The proof is; if the city-country, country-city assimilation had been realised, narrowing the gap - instead of widening the difference - we would already be in a Workers State in all the world already.

### TO ASSIMILATE THE PEASANT INTO INDUSTRY

One of the consequences of this backwardness of the countryside is the peasant mentality, the egotistical, isolated, individualist peasant sentiment. But the condition to eliminate, overcome elevate or educate the peasant in the collective, socialist sentiment, in order to elevate the labour of the peasant to industrial labour, that is to say so that the State has sufficient hands to produce, to diminish the cost of production; it needs to incorporate the peasant into industry. If it is done without means, its incorporation is slow and costs a lot. Because before the peasant has learnt to produce he does in an hour today what he will do in ten minutes tomorrow. Not only because of the technical organisation of work, but through his attitude, through his understanding, his intelligence. When it is said in the world; the German worker is the most capable, it is a fact. There is an industrial tradition in Germany in which industrial ability is in the air. Because of this Germany produces the best workers in the world. Not in everything, but it produces the best workers of the world. And because of this, in spite of all the difficulties of Germany; the Socialist Party has always been one of the most powerful, numerically and socially of the world. And because of this the place where Marxism has had its most powerful influence has been Germany. And because of this one of the working classes which has most historical weight in any society is the German, through its weight, the concentration of the proletariat and through the weight of industry in Germany.

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(1) A reference to the problem of the difference in the rhythm of development of industry and agriculture in the first phase of the construction of the Workers State, analysed by Trotsky, particularly in "The New Course."

To assimilate the peasantry into industry requires time. You have seen the industrial colleges. One has to learn to work in the factory for two or three years. This means a loss of time, of material, of money, and a person working who does not produce much. The individualist sentiment of the peasant, as the conservative sentiment of the military man, is a weight on the general policy of the Workers States. They are not simply casual factors. The military man, as we also see for the peasant, through his conservative interests, and his conservative social position, does not have an interest in the revolution. He is opposed. It is an element which tends to brake, to stop, to impede the audacity, the revolutionary policy, preventing that the Workers State develops the role of leader, of revolutionary organiser, because his social interest is against. He is for the Workers State because it gives him a living, but he has a lot of fear of losing his post. He has no security. Because his role in the economy is nil. He cannot have historical confidence. When he is impelled to defend it by the atomic war it is because he feels his conservative military interest threatened. They are forced to intervene.. It is the same thing for the peasant. The isolationist sentiment, the desire for private personal property, makes the peasant inclined to have the tendency, to accept, to support any conservative policy on the internal as well as on the international plane. To incorporate the peasant into the Workers State, to shorten the time interval necessary to incorporate him, to give the peasant the security, the socialist interest, to elevate his consciousness and his industrial capacity and bring the town and country closer together, such is the role of the commune, the great historical role of the commune which in ten years, has done what the Soviet Workers State has still not been able to do. Even if the commune has not completely achieved this task, the bases are already laid. Nevertheless it is obvious that to pose the need for communes now in the USSR would represent a retreat.

#### THE EMERGENCE OF THE COMMUNE

The commune emerged in China, among other historical reasons, for two fundamental causes; the immense industrial backwardness of China and the existence of two hundred million peasants without work. The commune was a necessity from the fact of these historical conditions. If there had been work for all the workless peasants, the communes would not have emerged, they would not have been organised. The communes were necessary because of the economic conditions, the immense industrial backwardness of China. In fact it is not right to talk of backwardness; it was the Chinese capitalist state which was formed in this way with very little industrial development and an enormous mass of peasants without work, which was an enormous burden for society. The commune, in surmounting, in resolving - or at least in beginning to do it, for it is still not achieved - these two historical problems, has allowed the Workers State to demonstrate that, even if it produces at a very expensive cost in relation to the world market, it can compete with the world market socially because at least it pays the cost of consumption of each worker and permits the social maintenance of the Workers State while it passes to another stage. These two hundred million workless peasants, work in the communes to pay for what they

eat, nothing more. But before, they did not do this and the State had to produce to give them something to eat, because it had to maintain them. And it was an immense cost, afterwards the peasant working at the cost of production; that is to say, he worked in order to produce, he produced to eat in order to live, but it was enough to support him, and in a short time the production - consumption relationship was raised. And each peasant was raising the capacity for production, through the commune! Because the commune functioned in the following way; in a specific place in the countryside, what did they need to make the land produce? It needed to be irrigated, the land had to be turned, sown, cultivated and harvested. To do this it needed mechanical means, machines, electricity, petrol, tools, knowledge of the weather, technicians, agronomists. It needed all this. To construct tools, it needed steel, for steel, iron and coal and it needed petrol to transport the minerals there, and it needed coal to fire the furnaces. In relation to the world market the steel the Chinese produced was very dear; for the Chinese made steel worth 10 dollars a ton on the world market for 45 dollars a ton. And the capitalist economists laughed uproariously at the Chinese Workers State saying, "Look at the result of the socialism of the Chinese." During all this period, anti-Chinese literature was based on this; "Look, not only do they

produce steel a hundred times dearer, but they are mechanising the children, putting them all in one place, all eating the same in collective restaurants, they are destroying the family." They presented it as a complete tragedy to humanity. But the Chinese were decided to resolve the problems posed by their industrial backwardness, to resolve the problems posed by the fact that there were two hundred million workless peasants, by the fact that they produced little, that there was not enough produced to feed everyone, by the fact that the Chinese were not in the position to import either steel, or iron, or coal, or machines. They had nothing, but they had two hundred million pairs of hands to use! The Chinese population on their own account had begun to organise communes. In a specific place the peasants decided to make the tools they needed. Tools to do everything they needed to do; build bridges, dig canals, produce electricity. They did it in the worst conditions and often with defects, but the principle was posed; to incorporate an immense quantity of workless peasants so that they should work and simply and solely draw the food they needed to live. It was not that they ate what they themselves produced, but the work time which they gave, society used it to produce the food which they ate, because production was not sufficient and they had to do everything by hand. This was not new. In 1948 in Yugoslavia, they built nearly 500 kilometers of railway entirely by hand. All by hand, because they did not have any other way. When the USSR suspended its economic aid to Yugoslavia, and broke commercial relations with it, they left the Yugoslavs without anything! And the Yugoslavs did not let themselves be intimidated. They showed the enormous power of the communist sentiment when they confronted the powerful state of Stalin. Stalin had said "Ah, Tito is opposed to me! But I have only to move my little finger and everything will fall" Stalin moved his little finger like this and that and it was he who fell. He was not content to move his finger, he used tanks, aircraft, pressure, sabotage, and it was Stalin who came to fall. Because Stalin was not necessary. On the other hand, at that moment Yugoslavia was.

In China there were two hundred million workless peasants. They had nothing to do, nothing to eat. They had neither the consciousness nor the capacity, nor the industrial organisation. They had nothing. The peasants began to intervene pushed by his private interest, because he saw that it was the only way to resolve his problems. In 1936 in Yenen, they already had some communes. There is a report of Mao Tse Tung on this point which dates from 1937, which shows that already in that period, Mao knew of the existence of the communes. In 1937 Mao made a report to the Central Committee, on this region he had been sent to, and in this report he spoke of his astonishment before that capacity of initiative of the peasants who, to surmount the problems posed by their backwardness, organised themselves into communes and built certain objects which they needed. Mao Tse Tung marvelled at it. It is from this that the process started which in 1958 raised the peasants to the construction of communes, but at a level this time which corresponded to the development of the Chinese Workers State. The audacity was not expressed only in small things but in great works. It was this which stimulated the Chinese leadership to base itself on this limited experience, on a small scale of the Chinese peasants, to organise it and plan it, this time on a great scale. It was no longer a question of manufacturing small tools, small industry, of working to survive; it was necessary to plan this production in order to make it the basis of general production. It was necessary in each commune, to fabricate steel, to reach a big production, and to realise the complete cycle of manufacture. Certainly the steel imported from the Soviet Union or from the United States was quite a bit cheaper than that which was made in China - 50% or 60% cheaper - but they could not import it if they wanted to advance. And at a high price of production thanks to a great effort of the entire people, by basing themselves on 200 million unemployed, the Chinese developed the communes. The communes are complete towns today, absolutely complete!

The communes do not suppress central planning, on the contrary the central plan takes this experience of the commune as a starting base. Now the communes can be based on the planned centre and on the local centres of industrial development. Now they are suppressing in the communes the small

factory for tools, but the essential aspect is maintained, that is to say, the regional self sufficiency in all the fundamental sectors. The principle output comes from heavy industry. Not all major tasks, the major activity of heavy industry is eliminated - irrigation and light, the opening of new roads, the diversion of rivers, of water courses. But without waiting for the central power to do this, each commune does it. Thus they drew the conclusion, that to construct canals there was no need for the central power, that it was possible to do very well without it. How was the Egyptian obelisk transported to France, if it was not possible to do so? How was the great Chinese Wall constructed, if not on the basis of the work of millions and millions of slaves, because otherwise it could not have been possible. The commune then demands, to the benefit of humanity, actions performed formerly by multitudes of slaves for the profit of a few exploiters. Humanity does not lose anything.

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VIVA THE 10th. ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION !

VIVA THE APPROACHING UNITED FRONT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CUBAN

WORKERS STATE AND THE 1Vth. INTERNATIONAL !

Ten years ago the Cuban revolution triumphed, the Cuban workers and peasants overthrew the dictatorship of Batista and began the process which led to the formation of the Cuban Workers State, the first Workers State of Latin America. The factors which determined the formation of the Cuban Workers State, were not the ideas of Fidel Castro who wanted a 'democratisation and humanisation' of the capitalist regime, still less were they from the Cuban Communist Party which had collaborated with Batista, but came from the existence and development of the USSR, China, North Korea, North Vietnam and the Workers States of Eastern Europe, the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the colonial countries and of the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries, which profoundly influenced the consciousness of the Cuban masses and at the same time gave a favourable world relationship of forces which permitted the Cuban masses to advance. From the very beginning the 1Vth. International intervened in the process of formation and construction of the Cuban Workers State, both internally with the activity of the Cuban section and externally with the constant orientations in the documents of Cde. Posadas. We have always supported the Cuban Workers State unconditionally even in the worst moments when some 10 of our comrades were in jail there, but we have never submitted ourselves to the hesitations, and conciliation of the leadership. What is necessary for Cuba now, as we have constantly posed is the Soviet form of government, government by workers and peasants councils. In this way the Cuban revolution will base itself on the organised revolutionary sentiments of the Cuban masses and on the world strength of the revolution.

Throughout the ten years since the revolution triumphed there has been a process although not uniform or unbroken, towards the united front of the leadership of the Cuban Revolution with the IV International. First with Guevara, and then after his liquidation with the advance of Fidel Castro himself under the pressure of the Guevarist tendency, this advance has shown itself. The attack on material incentives, on the parliamentary road, the attack on elements of the bureaucracy such as Escalante, all show the influence of the IV International. Now we see the speech of Fidel Castro in relation to the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia which is taken almost word for word from the documents of Posadas.

We salute the 10th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution with all our revolutionary enthusiasm and we salute the advance of the United Front of the Cuban leadership with the IV International. At the same time we demand, as a condition for the advance of the Cuban Revolution, the release of the one remaining Cuban Cde. Idalberta Ferrera, who is still shamefully held in jail. The

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Everything which in that phase was progressive and contributed to progress, humanity collects in one way or another. Whether what remains existed in the form of tradition, or written history, culture diffuses in a concentrated way, the best of humanity. Culture did not reach all, it reached a few. The rest of humanity was not able to have access to culture. Through this, it was not able to assimilate in a convenient way the greatest scientific progress of humanity. But the Chinese people have achieved all this. It has diverted water courses, constructed canals, and when it has not rained naturally, they make it rain! Steps have been taken, which show how for the construction of socialism, all means are good provided the objective can be reached.

As for the elimination of sparrows, the Chinese acted here in a matter about which we laugh but at the time, when it was done, it was no laughing matter: millions of Chinese had to confront trillions of devouring birds, in the fields. This was the period of noise. Above all, this served to eliminate the jumping locusts which has a very limited capacity for jumping. The Chinese deafened these locusts and made them move continuously and millions died in this way. No insecticide was capable of doing this. No insecticide! The best insecticide was the Chinese revolution, socialism, the will to socialism! It is really deplorable, a crime, that the Chinese have still not made a film of this event, it is really a crime. There are moments in which I think; why have not the Chinese done this, demonstrating the immense creative capacity of all the Chinese people? Imagine: millions of Chinese, with tambourines, cymbals, and the locusts deafened. Today the process exists, they locate the centres of procreation, they are fumigated and killed but they are not all liquidated, they spread everywhere. But the Chinese, on the other hand, have liquidated them - and the "Association of United Locusts" declared war against China - the same goes for the flies, fleas, mosquitoes; the five evils. And the Chinese have resolved the problem of hygiene through the system of persuasion, of conviction and of education, of which one of the bases is the commune.

#### THE FEELING OF BACKWARDNESS ON THE PART OF THE PEASANTRY IS DEAD!

One of the fundamental reasons which has led to the elimination of the problem of the development of the Chinese economy, one of the bases which has led to the overcoming of this problem, has been the tradition of the community life of the Chinese but also of the army which has gone everywhere and extended its experiences. Before taking power the Chinese had made a primitive accumulation; in each place that they left, they transmitted experiences, the teachings of the intervention of the population. The people intervened, intervened, intervened! The Chinese leadership did this because they needed to attract the masses to lean on them. And then the masses developed, weighing on society, demonstrating and giving expression to their capacity for initiative and creation.

And the Commune today has brought the country close to the town in a short period of time, of a few years and gains an immense historic time. No peasant country can equal China. China is the greatest peasant country by far, infinitely bigger than India. Of 650-700 million inhabitants, 90% constitute the peasantry. And what backwardness! They died of hunger. In China each year, thousands and thousands of people died of hunger. This has finished. From 1948-1965 in 17 years the Chinese eliminated the greatest plague which existed in China; hunger. They eliminated it!

The Chinese have given the demonstration that the commune brings the country to the town. This is an historic event. It is not possible to go back on this. And the peasant population 17 years after taking power, after having supported the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese state, are demonstrating their socialist consciousness. What other country, what leadership, what other party has undertaken this historic task, to elevate in 17 years a peasant people to the level of socialist consciousness? Thus we reiterate; the backwardness of the peasants is finished. It is dead, comrades. It is stupid to be based still on the prejudice about peasant feeling. The Chinese peasant has accepted such influences not because this is a peculiarity or idiosyncrasy of the Chinese peasantry. The behaviour of the Chinese peasant has already prescribed by historic necessity.

After the Russian revolution to 1948, the revolution opened the gates to

this. For this reason Fidel Castro was able to win. One of the stupidities - and they are stupidities, it is necessary to say this to the revolutionary Fidel Castro - that Castro commits, lies in forgetting that his triumph in Cuba was the product of the world revolution, not of his specific action and, understanding in all this process of the world revolution, that the Chinese gave to the peasantry, the perspective of the future and the vision of the world.

The commune today plays the most important, most progressive role, because on the basis of experience, it constructs in an organised way, and great things are possible. It no longer depends on a small train, on a small aqueduct, on drought. They realise great projects. They are real laboratories. The Chinese have shown that they can centralise and decentralise production. They regroup through regions, a series of activities directed to the study of Technique, engineering, science and research and the studies are realised and applied. They do not await the central power, they develop the activity and then they transmit it. And now already each commune is a source of constant, constant, constant, progress.

Look at the Soviet Union. We are still as though in the capitalist system, all depends on the central power and on the University.

In China capacity develops in any commune. There is diversification of capacity, without the elimination of centralisation. Centralisation comes from the centralised knowledge of the state which diffuses it, extends it. And since there is no fear of anything, consciousness extends itself. And each commune achieves enormous things. For example the Chinese invent a machine to collect cotton, after three years of experience a whole country was involved. There was urgent need of a machine to lower the cost of cotton production. The whole of China intervened, all participated in this campaign, all wrote, transmitted ideas, congresses were made, and then a selection of all the information, notices, facts, ideas were collected. On this basis a new campaign was developed. And this went on for four or five years. In the fifth year, they discovered the machine. Everything here is collective production, collective thought, collective invention and progress. On the other hand in the capitalist system, there are people who put their head between their hands, and think. They give this impression but in reality they collect the collective thought and can do so because they have the technical, scientific, capacity, to read, to dedicate themselves to study. In five years the Chinese

have made discoveries that capitalism has not made in a thousand years.

THE COMMUNE INTRODUCED IN CHINA THE IDEA OF ART IN THE SERVICE OF THE REVOLUTION.

Besides this there is a new fact, the Commune introduces the revolutionary criterion of Marxism; art in the service of the revolution, art, <sup>an</sup> expression and sector of the revolution. And the Chinese produce theatrical and cinematograph works which have as a basis the revolution. In Peking Review, the Chinese say: such and such a co-operative and Commune far from the city centres - have produced theatrical works. Formerly these were for the large cities, for the great ones, and they were works which require a hundred years in order to understand them, which it was necessary to understand with inspired faces; and above all it is necessary for a hundred to work for them or a thousand persons, and they are the ones who know about art and take it for themselves.

The Chinese communes are developing the revolutionary theatre, cinema and poetry. And there is a furious struggle of various artistic tendencies, above all the struggle against the old Chinese art which places man above society, which is the way through which bourgeois thought introduces idealisation. And there is a real struggle and Chen Yi affirms this. When they ask if there still exist in China, literary people, writers of the past, he said "There are many bourgeois but we are fighting against them". And there are three well known types who are carrying forward an enormous struggle which shows the struggle that there is among them. Afterwards we will refer more to this although this is sufficient in relation to the communes. And it is important that at the same time, great leaders emerge from the Communes. And the Chinese militia are constructed on this base.

The Chinese army is constituted on the base of the militia. There is a regular army but they act as a militia. This last revolutionary resolution adopted by the Chinese communist party without breaking the base of the permanent army, gives more importance to the militia. The Americans who have an interest in knowing the organisational situation, maintain that there are 20 million soldiers and the rest are in the form of the militia. There are more than 60 million of them. And the regular

army works and they send everyone to work, army leaders, everyone. Mao worked two days per week in the country. It is important that the Chinese army, the Chinese communist party, the state, send all the leaders to work the land two days per week. And Mao like the others. And they live like soldiers. It is not a pretence. They live like this. The American and French writers showed that they were moved, on seeing that the Chinese spoke of this way of life and applied it. Without inventing stories, they live thus, while the American and French generals direct the war between one meal and another with all comfort, Mao did the same, eating a piece of bread and nuts. His capacity for action did not diminish in any way, neither in feeling, neither in revolutionary confidence, nor will, nor anything

The Chinese have been able to do this because of the origin of their revolution. As the Bolsheviks have done. Originally the Bolsheviks were infinitely superior to Mao Tse Tung, because Mao was a continuation of Bolshevism. This is not a creation of Mao. The Bolsheviks were not able to continue. It is necessary to read the history of Bolshevism, to understand that Mao is the continuation of Bolshevism and that Bolshevism was able to extend itself; which demonstrates, that Bolshevism is a historic necessity and possible to achieve. In the Soviet Union the old Bolshevik party is dead, but not Bolshevism, Bolshevism as a conception of the party and of the human race exists.

To be continued in later editions of Red Flag.

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## Viva the asylum in Uruguay of Cde Sato Sato

Cde Carlos Sato Sato the last of the Trotskyist comrades held in prison in Uruguay, has been released and has been allowed to remain in Uruguay. This is a further triumph of the world campaign of the IV International directed by Cde. Posadas, which has found such a tremendous response among the worker, student and intellectual vanguard, a vanguard which accepts and wants the programme which the Trotskyists defend and fight for.

This last success does not mean however that the Internationals campaign has come to an end. There are still comrades in prison in Mexico, Brazil Spain and Cuba, and it is necessary to continue the campaign until all are free.

But in order to continue the world campaign at the level of intensity which is necessary and in order to pay fines to the Franco regime which will enable some of our comrades there who have been released under caution to take once more their place in the revolutionary struggle, the International needs money.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International launches an appeal to the worker, student and intellectual vanguard to send us money for this campaign as that the International can reach all the objectives which it has set itself.

LONG LIVE THE RELEASE OF COMRADE SATO SATO AND HIS ASYLUM

LONG LIVE CDE POSADAS AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL

FOR THE EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF THE SPANISH MASSES

TO OVERTHROW FRANCO AND SPANISH CAPITALISM !

The wave of repression launched by the Franco regime against the Spanish masses, against the revolutionary students and proletarian vanguard, is an inevitable consequence of the powerful united front of the workers, peasants and students who have over a period defied the fascist government and pushed the historic process immeasurably closer to the launching of the civil war to bring down Spanish capitalism. The masses have been constantly sustained by the objective support of the world revolution, the struggle of the Vietnamese masses, of the Arab masses, struggles of the American proletariat, black and white, the interventions of the European proletariat and the existence of the workers states, bulwarks of the world socialist revolution. Nevertheless, although as Posadas has analysed, the process in Spain is irrevocably on the road to civil war, the revolutionary vanguard in Spain finds it difficult to centralise its forces in view of the lack of workers parties and unions of sufficient authority and weight. Hence the importance of the slogan - A Workers Party Based on the Unions. This allows the Franco regime a breathing space and the possibility of manoeuvre, and as now, the possibility to deliver preventative blows against the masses and for a period, impede the formation and influence of the revolutionary leadership now developing in Spain. For these reasons it would be fatalistic to believe that inevitably the Franco regime will soften its measures. Franco will continue the line of repression unless there is a powerful mass intervention of the Spanish workers, peasants and students.

The Franco regime and Spanish capitalism lacking historic perspective, surrounded by the tremendous advance of the world socialist revolution which deprives it of sustaining forces in world reaction and counter-revolution, is attempting to return to a regime of total repression, to a Spain as in 1939. On the other hand the Spanish proletariat with the massive intervention of the European working class in particular can swiftly precipitate the downfall of the Franco regime.

The combined weight of the massive British, German, Italian, French proletariats can, united in a European general strike in support of the Spanish proletariat, deliver an overwhelming blow at Franco's regime, pull it down and in turn deliver a decisive blow at the whole structure of European and world capitalism. It is criminal that in practice the soviet bureaucracy is in collusion with the Franco regime, gives the handshake to Franco, gives no support to the growing revolutionary forces in Spain. The leading communist and social democratic parties remain silent. The British TUC, the Labour party, the German social democracy and Unions say nothing. The apparatuses, filled with gentlemen professing the highest principles, maintain an ignominious silence.

Nonetheless the workers of Europe become more and more conscious of their world revolutionary obligations particularly through the influence of the world revolutionary communist vanguard and would respond to the appeal for the unlimited European general strike to smash Franco. In Italy forms of dual power multiply from occupations of town halls to inter factory committees, forms of student government in the universities (including wholesale repudiation of syllabuses and the substitution of revolutionary discussion). Every general strike, however limited by the actions of the ICP leadership, poses the question of seizing power from the bourgeoisie and Italian capitalism, weak as it is, hesitates before the tide of the revolutionary vigour of the Italian masses. The consequences of the Revolutionary General Strike in France opened a new chapter in the downfall of European capitalism. As Posadas has argued, the socialist revolution in Europe has begun. The conditions are ideal for the organisation of the European General Strike to precipitate the downfall of European capitalism. We appeal to the Labour Party to the TUC, to join together with all the workers centres and organisations in Europe to appeal for a European General Strike to overthrow Franco. It is necessary to appeal for assemblies, meetings in factories, in the workers areas, in the universities, in the country, explaining the development of the struggles in Spain, the importance of unity of action with all European workers in a General Strike to liquidate Franco.

FORWARD TO THE EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE TO LIQUIDATE FRANCO  
AND SPANISH CAPITALISM !

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programme, the programme of the Socialist Revolution would serve to unite the whole struggle of the exploited masses - workers, students, teachers, bank-clerks, school pupils, telegraphists, tenants and the homeless - all those sectors who have launched themselves into the struggle recently. The Ford national strike has, in other words, the possibility of being the organising centre for a Revolutionary General Strike in this country at this time but if not the Ford national strike then, in a short time, another sector will play this role.

The intensity of the industrial struggle expresses in a very clear way, with the determination and spirit of the workers on one hand and the repressive measures and intransigent attitudes of the bosses and their government on the other, the whole world situation in microcosm. The statements of Denis Healey express clearly the attitude of world imperialism faced with the constantly elevating struggle of the world masses. They are statements which indicate the preparation for the launching of the nuclear war against the Workers States and the world revolutionary masses. In Italy the process has been one of constant, regional general strikes, of occupations of factories by workers, of universities by students and even of a mental hospital by patients and doctors. The struggle continues in France based on the gains, on the organisational gains of the workers, of the Revolutionary General Strike of May/June 1968 and in Spain the struggle of the masses including the lower sectors of the church has precipitated a crisis in the Franco régime. In the Middle East the organisation of the majority of the Arab guerrilla under the leadership of El Fatah provides a centre which will elevate the struggle of the Arab masses against Imperialism. El Fatah can play the role of stimulating the Arab trade union centre - which in the absence of mass workers parties provides a centre for the workers - into increasing its political level and its level of activity. In the Indian sub-continent the struggle, under the influence and encouragement of the world process, has elevated itself in the last weeks dramatically. In West Bengal the pro-Chinese received a majority of the votes and in Pakistan the action of the masses has forced the dictator Ayub Khan to resign. The West Bengal elections and the fact that demonstrators in Pakistan carried slogans of solidarity with the Chinese people and the Peoples Republic express the immense authority of the Chinese Workers State despite a leadership which still has a conciliatory attitude to imperialism and puts forward no revolutionary programme. Despite all this the actual existence of the Workers States is an enormous gain of the world masses which encourages them and gives them confidence.

The minister of defence, Denis Healey, has said that any confrontation, any armed confrontation between the Workers States and Imperialism in Europe would lead immediately to the use of nuclear weapons. At the same time as the Soviet army carries out manoeuvres in Germany and the pressure is being put on West German capitalism over Berlin. Thus in Europe as in the Middle East and Viet Nam imperialism and the Workers States face each other in direct confrontation. It is the pressure of the masses of the Workers States, and the fact that the bureaucracy is based on the Workers State which forces the Soviet bureaucracy to defend the Workers State and to support the world revolution. In the same way as the workers struggle to impose workers democracy within the trade unions in capitalist countries so the masses of the Workers State struggle to impose workers democracy within the Workers State. The statement by leaders of the Czech trade unions that they insist on the independence of the trade unions in the Workers State and the right to strike as a revolutionary right is an expression of the process of political revolution which is impelling the Soviet bureaucracy.

Imperialism prepares to launch the war against the Workers States and the revolutionary masses but it does so in extremely unfavourable conditions. The visit of Nixon to Europe is an attempt to prop-up the crumbling NATO alliance which is now in complete disarray. The recent arguments over the meetings of the Western European Union is indicative of this with French Imperialism attempting to gain whatever advantage it can from inter-imperialist competition by opposing British imperialism which is a particular ally of American imperialism. At the same time De Gaulle proposes to British imperialism a new alliance which seems designed to destroy an already ailing common market. It is a situation which, in another era, would have resulted in an inter-imperialist war but now the threat of the world

revolution serves to unite imperialism. Nixon's visit represents a last desperate attempt to unify the imperialist world alliance before the launching of the nuclear war.

If European and world capitalism is in a crisis, it is nothing compared to the crisis and impotence of Northern Ireland capitalism. The fact that O'Neil has to call a General Election at this time, an election which has simply resulted in the unionist party being returned with a reduced majority and which solved no problems for capitalism, is an indication of the impotence of Northern Ireland capitalism in face of the struggle of the masses. The elections over, the masses of Northern Ireland will 'take the struggle back into the streets'. The elections have effectively revealed the weakness of the right-wing elements, Paisley and co., who made a very poor showing. At the same time the fact that two 'civil rights' candidates were elected is an expression of the determination of the Northern Irish masses to continue their anti-capitalist struggle and an expression of their search for the anti-capitalist programme. This is particularly true in Londonderry where the Peoples Democracy Party - which played such a large role in the earlier militant struggles in the city - defeated the 'republican' candidate who had held the seat for 23 years.

The level of the world revolution and the preparations of imperialism to attempt to combat it with the nuclear war is now evident. In this country the bureaucratic leaderships of the trade unions and the Labour party is no longer able to hold the struggle back, their room for manoeuvre is, to say the least, limited. The leadership of two of the largest unions in the country - and other smaller unions - are forced to make the Ford national strike official and the Labour government is in constant crisis, incapable of voting together on practically any issue. At the same time the level of intensity of the class struggle in this country has not a parallel in either programme or organisation. The level of the struggle and the spirit of dual power of the masses demands the adoption of the anti-capitalist programme and the organisational forms - the factory committees, the student and tenants committees with all delegates subject to instant recall and to the decisions of mass meetings. The level of the struggle demands the development of revolutionary tendencies based on proletarian democracy and the programme of the socialist revolution. It is the united front of these revolutionary tendencies and the workers organisations - the factory committees etc. - with the conscious world revolutionary party, the IVth. International, which will elevate the struggle to a direct struggle for a workers government in this country. We call on the workers, the labour masses, the militants at the base of the communist party, the students, tenants and the homeless to build their own organisations, to adopt the programme of the socialist revolution and to build the revolutionary tendencies in united front with the IVth. International. We also urge the vanguard, in this process, to participate in the building of the British Section of the IVth. International, the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist).

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# OUR PROGRAMME

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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 Polarix 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.

## THE 10th. ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION,

Contd. from Page 6.

Trotskyists must be allowed to take their place in the struggle against imperialism, capitalism and the bureaucracy, for a socialist Cuba. We have never damaged the Workers State, on the contrary we have always fought to develop it, and strengthen its links with the revolutionary masses of the world. It is the Cuban Workers State which is damaged by the continued imprisonment of our comrade. This tenth year of the Cuban revolution must see the complete and free activity of the P.O.R.(T), the Cuban section of the 1Vth. International, the freedom of all its militants and the regular production of 'Voz Proletaria.

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we are nothing.  
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**Workers of the World, Unite!**

# RED FLAG

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



NO. 85

MARCH 10th 1969

SIXPENCE

## For a National Strike throughout the car industry. Occupy the big Plants! Open the books!

**FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION**

The national strike of the workers in the Ford factories marks a qualitative leap in the fight of the working class in this country, and could with the right leadership and programme take the place of the proposed National Engineering Strike, which the union leaders managed to sell out last October, in forming a centre for the struggle of all the exploited masses. The process now advances so quickly that what the bureaucrats were able to do last October they are unable to do 6 months later. The declaring of the strike official by the T.G.W.U. the A.E.U. and the N.U.V.B. is an enormous encouragement to all the other workers both inside and outside the car industry, to push forward their demands independently at the base of the unions, and to impel the middle cadres to support them. There is no doubt that the official strike of the Ford workers will spark off a whole series of further strikes in the very near future. Whilst the Ford strike gives confidence to the working class the bureaucratic leaderships of the T.U. are forced to accede to the pressure from below, and the most "right wing" leaders feel themselves becoming more and more isolated from the process, and there starts a process of selection, bureaucrats such as Kealey and Young, are shown up in their true colours.

Faced with the determined weight of thousands of striking workers, it is the Ford management who have to offer to negotiate again, this in itself shows the weakness and incapacity of capitalism. Having used the courts of capitalism against the unions and failed, they are forced to ask for negotiations again. In this strike the workers are not simply defying the Ford management and their conditions over unofficial strikes, but the state and Labour Government. The Labour Government is devastated by crisis as was shown in the debate and vote on the white paper "In Place of Strife" when almost 100 M.P.'s either voted against the government or abstained. The British working class prepares itself for historic actions against capitalism.

The process which has occurred to bring about the Ford strike, the workers at the base of the unions imposing themselves and pushing their union leaders to take steps, which they themselves do not particularly want, can be seen clearly in France. In France the C.G.T. is forced to call a day of national action, and before it can take place, sectors of the working class came out and declared it a national strike, the students and teachers have declared that they will support it. And this year the C.P. and C.G.T. leaderships will be completely incapable of breaking this alliance. The strike is over a national pay claim to which the T.U. leaders have been forced to add: "to rise with the cost of living", this demand which was a specific Trotskyist demand is now taken up by the exploited masses and fought for with every means possible.

There is now a great inter-influence between the process in capitalist Europe and in the Workers States. In Czechoslovakia, after the attempts by pro-capitalist sectors to take steps which would lead towards the return of capitalism, and after the intervention of the armies

of the Warsaw Pact countries to halt this tendency, and to maintain the status quo of the bureaucracies, the working class is now, through their trade union leaders intervening in this crisis. The leaders of the unions have declared that the trade unions must be independent from the state, must have the right to strike and cannot be dictated to, by the Communist Party. These are the demands which Lenin made in the U.S.S.R. directly after the Revolution. These statements show that the Czechoslovakian working class is not behind the so called liberalising tendency in the leadership. They do not want the economy decentralised, and factories working against each other for profits in an anarchistic way, but they want the centralised state planning of the Workers State to continue. These statements of the T.U. leaders will have an enormous influence on the working class of all the other Workers States and of the capitalist countries.

Throughout the world, the revolution advances at an ever increasing rate, particularly with the continuing war in Vietnam, and the tension in the Middle East. The constant riots in Pakistan, with the very powerful strikes of the working class have precipitated the downfall of Ayub Khan, and in Europe during the recent XII Congress of the CP as is shown more clearly in another article in this paper, a sector of the leadership show its preoccupation with the revolutionary taking of power in Italy.

In all these struggles the students play an important role. And now in this country with the strike at Fords a new stage in the formation of an alliance between the workers and students is being developed. Students from the L.S.E. have gone to the workers at Dagenham, discussing with them, inviting them back to the L.S.E. for discussions, and joining them on the picket lines. Students and workers from the Worker Student Liaison Committee, which was formed during the

occupation of U.L.U. have also joined the workers at Fords for discussion and at the picket lines. We congratulate these actions taken by the L.S.E. students but urge them to increase their activity, and to play the most important role that a student in this stage of the developing revolution can play, to take to the working class the programme and methods of struggle, which the workers are seeking. This has been done in Spain by FUDE a revolutionary student tendency in united front with the IV International. FUDE has a programme of demands which appeals to the working class in Spain, the students there have intervened in the struggles of the working class in the big factories of Barcelona and Madrid and have raised the struggle in the universities from the level of purely educational university demands, to directly political demands. In this country it is necessary for the students to link their struggle for reforms of the university with the demands of the working class and to formulate a programme of anti-capitalist demands which respond to the needs of all the exploited masses. With such a programme, the students can play a fundamentally important role in the process of the class struggle in this country. The very conscious moves made by the police during the demonstrations outside the law courts—when the inquiry into the Ford strike was in process—in separating the students from the workers shows that the bourgeoisie is aware of the role that the students can play.

With all sectors of the population from the school children to old age pensioners using demonstrations and sit ins to back up their demands, with sectors of the petit bourgeoisie constantly mobilising, with more strikes threatened in the steel industry, and with all sectors of the car industry constantly taking strike action, the national strike of the Ford workers could become a centre for the struggle of all the exploited masses of this country.

The Ford workers have managed to push their leadership into taking militant action which in October they refused. In Halewood there was a mass meeting before the strike, this is good, but it is essential not for just one meeting but for a planned series of mass meetings, and not restricted only to the workers but open to the housewives, students and other workers, with everyone having the right to intervene, to discuss and take decisions and to ensure that these decisions are carried out. It is necessary for the Ford workers to push the union leaders into calling these meetings, and, if they do not respond, to organise them themselves, in order that the workers can control the course of the strike.

At the moment the Ford workers have the initiative, it is the management who ask for negotiations. We the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International, appeal to the Ford workers to go into the factories and occupy them, demanding that the negotiations be not only over a new pay structure and the 'strings' attached, but over who controls in the factory, who decides the speed of the track. The Ford factories should be occupied and the books opened, showing to the rest of the working class, the enormous profits made by automation, demanding that all the profits of automation be given to the workers in the form of shorter hours and higher wages. As we have said, at the moment the workers have the initiative and if the factories were occupied, the workers could impose workers control within the factories.

We appeal to the Ford workers to formulate a programme which will appeal to all workers in the car industry, to the workers, of Vauxhall, Austin, Rootes etc., appealing to these workers to support their strike by striking themselves and occupying their factories. This can be done with a programme which responds to the needs of all the car workers. For a basic minimum wage, all wages to rise with the cost of living, for the guaranteed yearly wage, equal pay for women and youths, all profits of automation to the workers in the form of shorter hours and higher pay, for the nationalisation of the car industry and all other major industries without compensation and under workers control, for the opening of the books, no financial secrets. With a programme such as this, and the organisational means to carry it out, mass meetings, open to all the population with the right of everyone to intervene, all elected representatives subject to instant recall, and given only the average wage, the Ford strike could develop into a national strike throughout the car industry, which would impel the development of a revolutionary general strike on the demands of all the exploited masses.

EUROPEAN

MARXIST

REVIEW NO. 1.

Contents:

All the political documents of the VIII World Congress of the IV International.

Editorials by J. Posadas

Activity of the International  
8/6 P.P. or 7/6 Collets or Dillons

# Resolution of the International THE CZECHO-SOVIET CRISIS, THE SUICIDE OF MOSCOW, THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION AND THE

Following the suicide by fire of this student in Czechoslovakia, imperialism and the world bourgeoisie are trying to profit from it, by exploiting and using the Czech national sentiment, trying to show that the Workers State has the same faults and failures as the capitalist state, and that it brings about the same consequences. This is true. It has all the faults of the Capitalist State, because it is led by the bureaucracy. This gives the bases of reaction and creates reactions exactly as in the capitalist state, but different to; in the capitalist state in that the masses are unified against the capitalist system, while in the Workers States there is no such unification of the masses against this Workers State.

This 'self executed' student does not represent the Czechoslovak people. He does not fight for liberty, but for their 'liberty' that is to say the 'liberty' which capitalism demands in the capitalist countries to be able to exploit freely. This is what this 'liberty' means. This student who poured petrol over himself to burn himself did not do it in the name of liberty in the abstract, but liberty useful to those tendencies which want to go back to capitalism, to destroy the structure of the Workers State. This is the 'liberty' which they want.

If on the contrary, this student represented the sentiment, the needs of developing the Workers State, he would say at the same time as 'as out with the Soviet Troops', 'We want to decide'; 'we want to resolve the problems as the Russian masses did it in 1917, as the Soviet masses did it, we want the Soviets!' But they do not want either Soviets, or proletarian democracy, or the proletariat in power. They see themselves forced now to have recourse to the workers, but the workers do not support them. The strike of 5 minutes has been a bureaucratic decision and it has not had any echo in the working class.

This student who burned himself, is not in the slightest, progressive, and does not have any importance. It is a stupid 'heroic' act. 'Heroic' for him, for the bourgeoisie, but not a necessary heroism. He does not express the will of the Czechoslovak people, neither of the workers or the peasants. It is a 'heroic' act used by capitalism, through the sectors of the bureaucracy, of the planners, to put pressure on and make a United Front against the existence of the Workers States. They want in this way to separate it from all the means of unification with the Workers States, even in the superficial form, which the Warsaw pact signifies.

Between the existence of pacts such as the Warsaw pact and the formal independence of each Workers State, the pacts are more important than formal independence. It is not a question of the possibility of each one defending itself against the capitalist system. It is a question of the final settlement of accounts for which capitalism is preparing. A Workers State cannot in an independent way, confront capitalism. They need to be unified. Capitalism has not any force or authority in the Workers States. It is based on sectors of the bureaucracy, which are the closest to it; the administrators, the planners, the statisticians, the "peanut sellers" like Kosygin. It bases itself on these. But all these sectors do not have any authority to address the working class, or the students, so that these make an uprising in their name. Also they have need to resort to a "national" sentiment, and this resort is the "Czechoslovakian Fatherland"! It is not socialism in Czechoslovakia, but the "Czechoslovakian Fatherland". In their intentions, there is already a return to a capitalist starting point.

This student who burned himself did not do it in the name of socialism, as he has not done it saluting the International, or calling for the defence of Vietnam, or even calling on the Czechoslovak masses, the Czechoslovak Army to expel Imperialism from Vietnam, or to lift the blockade of Cuba. Nobody burns himself to make the Yankees leave, the Yankees who are massacring the population of Vietnam and Korea. Nobody burns himself for this. Socialism is not in their head, nor proletarian Internationalism, nor is there a socialist preoccupation, but a sentiment of individual and national property.

What unites these people is the sentiment of "national Czechoslovakian Unity", "patriotism" and not socialism. That is the reason why they use the national flag to unite them and not the red flag. Not a single red flag has been seen in any of these centres, no shouts of "Death to Imperialism" or "Death to Capitalism" or "Long Live Vietnam" have been heard. The shouts, the songs, the flag, all this defines the movement. There is their programme; songs and flag, all are capitalist. If they could announce a programme of return to capitalism they would

do it. They do not do it because they feel that it would not be accepted. Also to find the way to unite the population, they try to exploit the sentiment of rejection of the Soviet intervention in the measure that it has never brought about anything better than before. But the proletariat feels that its situation is no worse, that the Soviet intervention is not a usurpation, but it doesn't support it. That is why it has not moved.

This "immolation" as capitalism calls it seeks to exalt the national patriotic sentiment of the Czechoslovak petit bourgeoisie. It is a bridge which gives access to the aristocratic sectors, to the planners to make a united front with the goal of making a retreat from the objectives already attained by the Czechoslovak Workers States. Ota Sik expresses this in a programmatic form in the book which he is going to publish. There, he poses to maintain the structure of nationalised property, but with private usufruct. He wishes to transpose to the factory the property relationship which exists in the kolkhoses in the Soviet Union. This would be the beginning of the disintegration of the Workers State. This is what Ota Sik has at the back of his mind. In a short while, the proletariat of Czechoslovakia is going to expel him from the country. And this book which is on the point of being published is the programme of all of them.

People who burn themselves in this period, are not making (as in the case of this student in Prague) acts of heroism. On the contrary, it is an expression of atrocious individualism. The masses of Vietnam are heroic, who do not kill themselves but confront capitalism. That's heroism! The proletariat is heroic, who with nothing in his hands, goes on strike, suffers hunger for himself and his children and confronts death by fighting. On the other hand when these people burn themselves it is because they feel important, but without being able to defend any just cause.

We are in the period where the masses of the world show what are the measures of struggle which unify them; Vietnam, Cuba, Korea. In this stage where such a capacity for struggle is manifest and public, to drench oneself in petrol and set fire to oneself is an expression of intellectual prostration. This does not show that they are right in history, it is to defend their interests of merchants and not those of the population. If it were otherwise they would find the means—which exist—for putting themselves in contact with the population, of communicating with it. It is a question of inter-bureaucratic struggles and not of a struggle which tends to push forward the soviets and make them function.

This student said that he had studied Lenin, Marx, Engels. But this act is the reverse to what he studied. In none of the works of Marx, Engels or Lenin, does it say that such means of struggle, which are only a renunciation should be employed. It is enough to see the method

of struggle which is chosen to understand what they are defending. If the masses of Saigon chose a similar method, they would have all burned themselves. But it is only the bonzes (Buddhist priests) who burn themselves. The masses of Saigon have a logical sentiment of history. Instead of burning themselves they kill the Yanks, with a sentiment, not only logical but dialectical and unitarian. The bonzes burn themselves because they have no reason, because it is a question of an inter-bureaucratic, inter-bourgeois struggle.

This student burned himself because it was a question of an inter-bureaucratic struggle, in defense of bureaucratic interests of returning to capitalism. Those who burn themselves cannot in effect attract any support. Those who shout, make a campaign, can receive support, because these are addressed to peoples consciousness, but those who burn themselves, wish, to call for commiseration, for pity, for a person who kills himself. This does not raise the spirit of struggle. The masses never make an uprising for a guy who burns himself, but to struggle for some necessary objectives in history. And the campaign made around this guy indicates that it is a question of an inter-bureaucratic struggle.

But it expresses at the same time the exasperation of the bureaucracy which cannot call on the proletariat. Why doesn't it call on the proletariat? In burning himself, this guy shows that he wanted to go to the proletariat, but the latter did not reply. The proletariat has not supported him and this is logical.

We repeat that, if there was a minimum of correctness in this movement, there would have already been demonstrations, a taking of positions in Czechoslovakia, provoked by this burning. Burning, whether it be of a man or of a house, does not move the masses. On the contrary, class and revolutionary appeals do have an echo, for they are the historic and concrete communication between the masses.

The burning of this student has sought to move, to shake the Czechoslovak people. It has not shaken anybody. And not solely has it not shaken anyone but it has made them see that if the agitation continues, this would provoke the intervention of the masses and there would be an uprising. This is why they cannot provoke a particular agitation, they must provoke a national situation directed by them. But it is only a concealed agitation, for it only puts forward the slogans of the fatherland, of Czechoslovakia, of "our independence" of "our past". It resorts to the capitalist past and not to the past of the Workers State. This is what they seek in order to unite themselves. And for this reason, this agitation is concealed and without perspective.

What has this person who burned himself produced? He burned himself because he felt the force to do it, for he has seen the social paralysis, the political, cultural, revolutionary paralysis of society. He felt this and had the courage to commit the act. It is a plot which has stimulated, organised, and orientated him to intervene, which has made the patriotic sentiments for which he acted, weigh in a thousand ways. All this is true, but it is not the reason for his action, the reason is that he has not felt the development of socialist relations, and thus he felt stimulated to act in this way. And it is from this that capitalism seeks to profit.

Faced with this situation, and at the same time as we condemn it, we demand Soviets. We make this analysis; soviets and socialist relations, then there would not be people who burn themselves any more. And also capitalism would be finished. This is what it would mean, return to Lenin. It is necessary to return to Lenin.

The shooting in Moscow is a consequence of the burning in Prague, an extension of it. But this indicates at the same time the existence of a centre

which is directing, which is encouraging actions of provocation, of enemy action, attempts to provoke difficulties, to justify a later intervention, be it the intervention of the capitalist army, be it by the political forces of capitalism. It is necessary to oppose with all force and vigour the intervention of capitalist forces in the Workers States. We demand that the capitalist forces in the Workers States be crushed. Crushed without discussion.

Faced with the intervention of the Soviet forces, we ask for a discussion with them to gain them, to form soviets. We take two different attitudes, for they have different objectives; the two have an opposed and antagonistic historic nature; Workers State and capitalist system. This shooting in Moscow is the prolongation of the burning in Prague of the youth. The objective is the same. But it also indicates the degree which has already been attained in the preparation, pressure and intervention, in relation to a solution a lot more important than the simple fact of firing a rifle. One does not shoot, one does not burn oneself, as a result of a discussion, nor because of 5 months of occupation.

All this shows that there is a rising process, of preparation of inter-bureaucratic struggles and in which capitalism seeks to intervene. It already is intervening to organise actions which allow it to justify its alliance with sectors of Czechoslovak workers aristocratic sectors. It seeks an agreement.

The shooting in Moscow is not the product of an accidental action, but is part of a whole process of internal and external preparation. It is the fruit of a preparation by circles who are discussing, who are making plans, who are stimulating action, who are developing the possibilities of success and stimulating an intervention by supporting the "heroic" sentiment. It is the question of a whole campaign of the capitalist system with this objective.

In the measure where the capitalist system, be it the Yankees or French Imperialism has not of itself sufficient authority to attain similar objectives, it does it through the aristocracy, the planners, the self managers, linked to the world capitalist apparatus. Thus capitalism acts through these sectors, to attain its ends in Czechoslovakia. It creates this climate. The students represent the social movement having certain social bases which allow the creation of this situation.

The shooting in Moscow is the result of all this, of this climate. After the intervention of Soviet troops, capitalism has seen the possibility to use this intervention to prepare a front. It prepares this front in an accelerated way to use it later in the war. But Imperialism has not, for the moment, its own forces. Neither the workers aristocracy, nor the planners have the force to impel a youth to burn himself, or for someone to fire rifle shots in the Soviet Union. They have not, themselves, the force. They profit from historic circumstances in which the Soviet bureaucracy is the principal collaborator of the Yanks.

The absence of Soviets, of proletarian democracy, of the independent functioning of the trade unions, of political and revolutionary life in the Workers States, allows a climate to be created which disconcerts; a climate of deception, of confusion, of lack of satisfaction, of restraint, of the struggles of the masses in the Workers States. A climate is created in which all the population has its reasons for opposition to the leaders, against the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. But this opposition has different reasons and objectives; the planners, workers aristocracy, the aristocracy of the Communist Party or of the planners who are not members of the Communist Party, all of them have an interest in the usufruct of nationalised property for themselves. Capitalism consents to this for it is its means of finding a point of support of alliance with them. Ota

# Secretariat of the IV International THE PRAGUE STUDENT, THE SHOTS FIRED IN WORLD COURSE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

24-1-69

Sik is this.

The shooting in Moscow is an extension of the burning in Prague. They are some of the facts which express and announce a much more profound process. The person who fired the shot in Moscow is not isolated. Perhaps he acted alone, and he expressed a movement and a sentiment, which is not that of the proletariat. They are the sectors of the bureaucracy more linked to capitalism which is trying to pass now to another level of action, in competition with the bureaucracy of the party. They are not accidental facts, even if the bureaucracy wants to hide them and give them no importance. They are acts of a different tendency to those which some years ago placed a bomb in front of the mausoleum of Lenin, and on the Red Square. They are attenuated forms of protest, without significance save that of protest. But to fire these four shots is another thing. It shows an aggressivity and a decision to go further.

Like the sectors who have impelled and armed those who shot, they have no strength, they in their turn have to be impelled by world imperialism. In one way or another, there is a relation between capitalism and the sectors of the right of the bureaucracy, the planners, those who shot, those who burned themselves. They are indices which announce that the process is very profound and that the bureaucracy has no other solution than, when it sees itself restrained, to resort in one way or another to the masses. It is not certain that they will do it, because they are frightened. But there would be internal pressures tending to this.

It will be necessary to give an explanation to the masses, for the latter are going to say: how can that happen? And for this reason, the bureaucracy tries to keep quiet on this. The same in Czechoslovakia: the masses have forced the bureaucracy to intervene, to contain the capitalist forces and the bureaucracy has done this, although in a bureaucratic manner. The masses say "how can that happen"? And the bureaucracy has no other way out than to have to give an explanation and to resort to the masses.

At the same time when this person was burning himself in Prague for capitalist liberty, at the moment when the shots ran out in Moscow—shots of capitalist origin which did not seek to

impel the revolution in France, in Italy, in Japan, in Mexico, the student masses elevate their struggles for the socialist revolution. Even if in a confused manner, it is a question certainly of the programme of the socialist revolution. And the proletarian masses in France, Italy, Belgium and even in Germany, raise their struggle against the capitalist system. This shooting in Moscow and this burning in Prague do not represent this stage of history but turn their back on it. Their strength does not originate nor the historic means from an historic force but arise from the inertia of conservatism, from the incapacity of the bureaucracy and from the existence of the latter.

To eliminate the bureaucracy and hinder its attempts, it is necessary to eliminate the capitalist system, to reestablish the essential conditions for the development of the Workers States, to develop proletarian democracy, the soviets, the independence of the trade unions functioning on the programme of the world development of the socialist revolution and the unconditional defence of the Workers States. It is necessary to defend unconditionally the world socialist revolution, to give unconditional support to the revolution whatever might be its forms and the level attained. It is necessary for the world united front with the catholic, nationalist, socialist masses on the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme. This is the discussion which it is necessary to have. These acts are only the consequence of the existence of the bureaucracy and of its leadership and not that of the Workers State.

The Soviet bureaucracy has not launched a single appeal. It has said only: these are reactionaries, do not let them carry on." Whereas its duty was to make an agitation and say: "no, no; they are not simply reactionary, but it is a question of a whole attempt to reorganise capitalism and to prepare counter revolutionary blows." This is a coup, an attempt to give a centre, to seek profit from inter-bureaucratic struggles, to use students who without having an anti-communist objective have no communist idea. They take for communism what Dubcek and Novotny have taught them.

The Soviet bureaucracy has launched no appeal. It is necessary to demand an appeal to the masses, to the Czechoslovakian masses in particular, so that they

mobilise, demand soviets, workers control, factory committees, so that they intervene on all problems of society. It is necessary for them to discuss problems of wages, political problems, economic planning in a soviet form, faced with the retreat of the Czechoslovakian economy. The retreat must be measured as a function of the possibilities and of the reality which exists. These possibilities make for an increase in production, a hundred times superior to that which exists to day. The bureaucracy has only permitted a growth rate of 6%. The masses can do more and it is thus that it is necessary to measure.

If one judges the Czechoslovakian Workers State in relation to capitalism, it is logical to find that it is better, because property is nationalised, but everything is not achieved which could be achieved. There is no reason for the masses not intervening. It is true that they say "we live better than before" because it is a Workers State and not because the leadership is bureaucratic. The latter on the contrary represses and hinders the Workers State from developing. It is necessary in consequence to demand soviet relations to develop the economy under all these aspects.

The events of Czechoslovakia, the shots in Moscow have as a basis the powerlessness of the bureaucracy, its internal struggles from which capitalism benefits. This is the reason why the Soviet bureaucracy cannot draw any benefit from all this, cannot make any appeal, any declaration. They utilise in an erroneous manner declarations on "an international conspiracy of the enemies of socialism". That is certain, but it is the bureaucracy itself which facilitates such a conspiracy, for the capitalist enemy has no force or capacity in itself. It has no strength. It profits from bureaucratic management, from the existence of the bureaucracy, from the asphyxiation which it imposes on proletarian democracy. This is what it is necessary to impose. The way to confront this situation is to impose proletarian democracy throughout the Workers States. The planning in all the Workers States, the mass communist international, demonstrations, meetings to equalise wages! workers control on the factories!

The absence of proletarian democracy, of soviets, allows the organisation of these forces against socialism. That is what it is necessary to pose. The other way is to give capitalism and the planners a strength which they do not have, a social historic capacity which they do not have, capable of putting in question the Workers State. It is not a question of a deficit, of an incapacity or limitation or of a weakness of the Workers State but yes of the bureaucratic leadership of this state. The Workers State has of itself the strength to maintain itself. These events are not the result of the existence of the Workers State, of an oppression consequent upon its own nature, but from the oppression, the incapacity and the powerlessness of the bureaucracy to organise in a soviet form.

There is no event in Czechoslovakia, only one person has committed suicide. Nothing else. It is the bourgeois press which has tried to give the character of a sensation to this fact. This suicide and the shot in Moscow are the product of the function of the bureaucracy, of the non participation of the masses, of the absence of soviets. It is necessary to establish the soviets, workers control, the revolutionary life of the masses in the Workers States. Then nobody will shoot, for he will not have the climate to do so. There will not be students who commit suicide by fire. This is to say that the Workers State does not cause such acts but the absence of its functioning which leads to these conclusions. There is not a necessary functioning. For example, why do they not discuss "State and Revolution" by Lenin? We invite the socialist, communist parties, we invite the Workers States to discuss it. We invite them to discuss the first seven

years of the Russian Revolution and all the texts, all the texts of Lenin.

The absence of soviets, the lack of soviet functioning of soviet society allows capitalism to utilise, to profit from the advantage of this absence with the object of developing a whole centralised campaign on the demand for "liberty". But we repeat; the masses have already a conception, a conscious capacity of what liberty is. They know that liberty which is not accompanied by anti-capitalist measures, is not "liberty" and they do not have confidence in it. This is the steps in which the masses mobilise themselves. In France they have just occupied the Sorbonne and thrown stones at the police.

If we were in another stage of history, this shot in Moscow could come from the middle sectors of the bureaucracy who feel themselves to be asphyxiated, contained and would seek in this way to express their dissatisfaction. But we are not in such a stage. It is from the right that such a shot would come. The middle sectors do not find themselves in a situation of agony, of asphyxia. They express themselves by other means than by shots. They can weigh and intervene in the apparatus of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. New sectors raise themselves on the bureaucracy and chase the others out.

The present illness of Kosygin is a political illness and not a liver complaint. For even being ill, he could speak, give his opinion, send greetings. He can show himself on television. Now he does nothing on this. More, when the "great personalities" are ill, they are shown on television as being heroes. Now they say about Kosygin "he is ill and cannot go out". It is a political illness.

The absence of Kosygin is political and is not the result of a liver complaint or of any other excuse. The burning in Prague, the shot in Moscow, the absence of Kosygin indicate a great exacerbation of internal struggles in the bureaucracy, a very great exacerbation. It expresses itself superficially but the struggle is very acute. The lower and middle sectors are in process of exerting pressure. The relation of peaceful co-existence are reduced. They are not yet exhausted but they are reduced. All the means are in process of being exhausted. From the necessity of both these forces, there is still a margin of manoeuvre, as much from the side of the Soviet bureaucracy as from capitalism. They need peaceful coexistence and they are going to find the means, although in a reduced fashion. The possibility for the intervention of the masses is going on the contrary to extend itself, whether directly whether in an indirect way, whether under the pressure of the intervention of the masses of the capitalist countries or directly by the masses of the Workers States.

The interior restructuring of the bureaucracy is in process of modifying itself, as all its interior structure and its lower and middle sectors are in process of advancing. The bureaucracy does not change its nature, or its historic function, or its social composition, but yes its possibilities of social and political action. There the change can be found. These modifications allow then an advance in the pressure and the activity of the soviet masses and a weakening of the structure of the bureaucratic apparatus. This weakening exists already.

The absence of Kosygin is a weakening of the structure of the bureaucracy for it is the axis, a bridge towards capitalism. Even in the moment of Israel, it has played the role of the bridge. That all this ceases here, is possible in the measure that this sector of the bureaucracy does not decide to go forward but all the events indicate that these bases of support in peaceful coexistence are in process of disintegrating.

If capitalism had the strength to take the offensive, it would have already done so. It does not have the strength and in

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

# With the XIIth Congress the Italian C.P. has entered the stage of the discussion of the struggle for power

(Extracts from Editorial of Lotta Operaia weekly of Italian Section of IV International)

From its beginning the XII Congress of the ICP has revealed itself as an international Congress through its echo, composition and the themes which were discussed. Dozens and dozens of the most important journals and television stations of the world bourgeoisie were represented. There were foreign delegations, there were interventions of 13 representatives of the Workers States, and greetings were sent by dozens and dozens of communist and workers parties; all this is a concrete expression of the fact that the revolutionary world vanguard, the bureaucratic leadership and the world bourgeoisie fix their eyes on the Communist Congress. Such a concentration of means of information, of delegations, of political attention would not occur if there did not exist among all these sectors the consciousness that the XII Congress of the PCI would have world effects and repercussions.

This resonance is an expression of the concentration of the world revolution. World imperialism cannot allow the establishment of a Workers State in Italy. The Soviet bureaucracy cannot allow an imperialist coup in Italy. And in the destinies of the struggles of the masses in Italy the ICP plays a fundamental role. Hence the interest of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy of the whole world toward the XII Congress of the PCI.

The applause which the interventions of the left received and the coldness with which the interventions of the right received are an indirect and distant reflection of the positions of the communist masses which guide and direct the struggles in the country. In these last three years these masses have seen, discussed and drawn conclusions from the fundamental experiences of the world and national process of the world revolution.

The cultural revolution in China, the social defeat of imperialism in the Middle East, the revolt of the negroes in the United States, the victorious offensive of the Vietnamese masses, the revolutionary general strike in France, the Czecho-

slovakian-Soviet crisis; in Italy the struggles of all categories, the general strikes, the dozens and dozens of factory occupations, the student mobilisations, the occupations of town halls, the workers control which has appeared in Pirelli, the worker-student alliance, which reached the level of the right to speak and vote for the students in the workers assemblies in Lancia, the local power which seeks to make itself a road, with the occupation of townhalls and the struggle in Orgosola (Sardinia), are a series of events which mark phases in the general maturation of the masses; each event has meant discussion and organisational and programmatic con-

clusions by the masses. This process in Italy, in relation to the communist masses has meant a greater security and decision of the communist masses, a greater authority over the rest of the exploited masses, a greater concentration of the masses in the Communist Party. The votes for and the number of militants in the ICP have increased, its sections have acquired a new life, vast sectors of the youth have incorporated themselves into the party. The strength of the CP has increased and the consciousness of this strength on the part of its base; hence its decision to impel its own party into power has increased. The communist vanguard has understood that it can act as a leadership, without waiting for its leadership, and in doing so it does not weaken its party, does not damage centralisation, or favour capitalism. It has understood that the more it launches itself into decisive actions, so much more the concentration of the masses increases in the PCI and thus its strength; for example in the struggle of Pirelli, hundreds of new militants were incorporated into the party. This decision of the vanguard which is always more conscious, this objective movement of the masses—which cde. Posadas has characterised scientifically as "interior entrisim"—has shown itself clearly in all the pro Congress preparation and in all the last important struggles.

For this reason this Congress for the first time, for many years, has discussed the struggle for power. The XII Congress of the ICP has entered with these interventions of the left, into the area of the discussion on the struggle for power. From Possanda to Pintor, from Ingraio to Occhetto, from Natoli to Petruccioli, from Caprara to Gullo, to all the interventions of the worker and student revolutionaries, all affirm the failure of reformism and seek at diverse levels, anti-capitalist solutions to the Italian social crisis.

Logically more important are all the interventions which seek to draw programmatic conclusions from this discussion—as the worker comrade who declared that the PCI must appeal for the establishment of a PCI-PSIUP trade union united front for the anti-capitalist struggle—and those who sought to respond to the tasks felt to be necessary by the communist masses—as the comrade student of Pisa who posed that the ICP must open itself to the United Front with the Maoists and the Trotskyists. But also important were the interventions of those leaders—Pintor, Natoli, Caprara—who on the basis of the necessity to struggle for an "alternative to the system" have suggested creating a "vast net" a "mosaic" of organisms of workers power. It is an important conclusion.

For this reason we consider the important steps made by the XII Congress of the ICP as a victory of the exploited masses and also as our victory and for this reason we launch a fraternal communist appeal to all the left of the PCI, to the vanguard, to the middle cadres, to the communist leaders to unify the immense force of the communist masses with the world theoretical, political and organisational experience of the IV International, to make of Italy another socialist country to be added to the 16 we have already.

## I.S. Resolution....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

every way it will launch the nuclear war. If it had the strength, this crisis would be for it, an unexpected opportunity to intervene before it is too late. Capitalism loses without ceasing bases of support and historic conditions to be able to give a coup. Among these bases there is a Soviet bureaucracy, and now the latter is in crisis and the disintegration is great in the communist parties. The French and Italian communist parties base their solidarity on the Czechoslovakian trade unions and not on the government.

Capitalism must intervene with these shots. There is no force of decision to intervene, which shows its enormous weakness on the one hand and on the other the immense possibilities for the development of revolutionary tendencies. It is necessary to intervene in this process to stimulate, to show that all is the consequence of the lack of socialist structure, of socialist functioning, of the lack of soviets. It is this which has led to this suicide in Czechoslovakia and these shots in Moscow.

It is necessary to condemn these shots in Moscow. They are not the fruit of a protest to develop socialism. We condemn them and say that it is a reactionary blow which is going to the profit of reaction. It is an aggressive attempt of forces allied in one way or another to capitalism. We condemn it openly and publicly. We call upon the Soviet Government to launch an appeal for an offensive, on the programme which we have proposed. Such is our response to this situation.

This discussion does not concern only burning of the incident, but implies all the rest and among other things the problems of the structure and the functioning of the Workers States. All the analyses, all the ideas and conclusion of this resolution are to be found in the document "On the historic balance of 50 years of the Soviet Workers State" by J. Posadas. It is very important that all our comrades, all the teams and sectors discuss the structure of the Workers State. How do they function? Which states are they? In what way do they lead to socialism? How is that shown? What measures the advance to socialism? It is possible to measure it socially in relation to the progress of soviets and not of the economy, as can be seen in the texts on

Czechoslovakia of March, April 1968 and other texts of Cde. Posadas.

It is necessary to show that even where there is economic progress, inequality maintains itself.

When the worker progresses by 10%, the bureaucracy is advancing by 1000%. Inequality is maintained. Now the condition of socialism is to diminish this inequality and the basis to attain this condition by means of the soviet.

The Workers States can develop themselves a hundred times more quickly than at present. Now, they speak always of delays in agriculture in relation to industry as a consequence of the non-existence of collective forms of production. There do not exist such forms because there are no soviets. Now, there can exist collective forms in the country in all the Workers States and now without any harmful consequences. But for this, it is necessary to establish soviets in the towns so that the peasant might then have a solid base to realise collectively the exploitation of the land, with the collectivisation of all the land.

It is necessary to discuss all that. Experience shows that all the present difficulties are not the product of the existence of the proletariat of the dictatorship of the proletariat but the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. Dictatorship of the proletariat means full liberty for all the masses and no freedom for those who are against nationalised property, collective functioning and soviets. This is the dictatorship of the proletariat. And in this case, there is full democracy for those who struggle for socialism and its progress, but none for those who are against the objectives. This is the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is a simple formula!

The bureaucracy has not launched a single appeal no more has elsewhere the communist parties. They are afraid to do so. They do not feel themselves to have assurance and confidence, in the measure that the objective is not to smash down the capitalist system. Then capitalism profits from it and approves it, for the whole Czechoslovakian affair and the shots in Moscow are the initiatives of capitalism. It takes the initiative in incidents. Therein its attempt to profit from this phase to pass to the offensive. If it is contained, it is because it does not find the terrain favourable. This does not hinder it from passing to the offensive, when all the strength is on the side of the workers and revolutionary movement.

It is necessary for the communist parties to appeal, to discuss within themselves this situation and to pass to the offensive. It is necessary in consequence to make appeals for the taking of anti-capitalist measures, to make concentrated general strikes on the anti-capitalist programme, on the basis of the anti-capitalist measures. And immediately, now. 24 January 1969.

International Secretariat  
of the IV International

## 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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.

20. For a workers government.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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

# RED FLAG



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

No. 86

25th March 1969

price 6d.

THE CONCLUSION FROM THE STRUGGLE AT  
FORDS IS THE NECESSITY TO FIGHT FOR  
THE CONSTRUCTION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES  
ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME!

The struggle at Fords is testimony to a qualitative leap in the development of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard in this country. It is impossible to underestimate its historic significance. The British proletariat has persistently tried to concentrate its forces and express its wishes in a variety of ways over the past five years. It imposed the electoral victory of the Labour Party, it impelled the seamen's strike against the Labour government and the capitalist state, it attempted to force a nation wide engineering strike to impel a confrontation with the capitalist state. The British proletariat assimilating the experience of the world socialist revolution, Vietnam, the Middle East, the struggles of the European proletariat in the last period, has shown the weight of its social power, its ability to bypass the reformist trade union leaders and win the middle cadres in the trade unions to its support. The struggle at Fords was superior to all the preceding struggles. In the first place, the most decisive sectors of the working class, the car workers were involved. Not for a long time has there been such a massive intervention by the most concentrated sectors of the proletariat. The base of the unions imposed themselves in a most decisive manner, as against the leadership. The leadership were enabled to restrain the extent of the struggle and prevent the use of revolutionary methods i.e. occupations, but more than on any other occasion, the revolutionary vanguard could really feel its own enormous strength and returns to work with the feeling of achievement, the feeling that battle will recommence with the advantages on their side. This spirit is reflected in the words of the AEF union secretary at Dagenham who has spoken about the first round being a victory but the second round being a knock out. The actions of the vanguard cadres imposing the Ford strike shows the new leadership is maturing in the working class!

contd. page 11.

MORE TROTSKYISTS ARRESTED IN URUGUAY!  
(see page 2.)

## CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF IMPRISONED TROTSKYISTS:

Down with the attempt to ban the Party in Uruguay!

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the British Section of the IV International denounces with all its force, the recent acts of terrorism by the Uruguayan government linked with imperialism, against the Trotskyist movement in Uruguay. Two weeks ago 12 comrades were arrested and although 9 have since been released, three (of Argentinian nationality) are still being held in jail. Also in its campaign to dissolve the POR(T) the Uruguayan Section of the IV International, a campaign against the ideas, programme and policy of the International and Cde. Posadas, the houses of party comrades have been entered and equipment, typewriters, duplicators etc. have been stolen by the police. Also the authorities have tried to present the Trotskyists as Terrorists, and have tried to make a confusion between our party and the petit bourgeois "Tuparamos" terrorist group.

We denounce this repression and appeal to the worker, student and intellectual vanguard to organise petitions, resolutions and letters of protest, delegations to the Embassy to denounce their crime. If copies of resolutions are sent to us we will publish them.

Send resolutions directly to Pacheco Areco,  
Government House, Independence Sq.,  
Montevideo, Uruguay.  
and the Embassy here, 48 Lennox Gardens, London. S.W.1.

We also appeal for financial help so as to be able to maintain the dynamism, of the Internationals world campaign for the liberation of the Trotskyists in Uruguay, Spain, Brazil, Cuba and Mexico.

## FINANCIAL APPEAL

To all our readers:

Due to financial difficulties Red Flag will have to appear alternately printed and duplicated every fortnight. The Party regrets this but our small material resources are being more and more strained by the expansion of the activity, the publication of Students and Carworkers Red Flags, bulletins of major documents of Cde. Posadas, and preparations for the publication of the second number of the European Marxist Review in English.

We make an appeal to our regular readers to send us donations and to guarantee us regular sums of money so that we can rapidly return to produce the paper in printed form each fortnight. The revolutionary process demands the regular printed appearance of the paper; the better and more frequent the editions of Red Flag, the quicker will be the maturation of the vanguard and the construction of the new leadership.

J. Posadas. December 1965.

Part 2.

Continued from Part 1 which appeared in Red Flag  
No. 84 dated 25th February, 1969.

2. THE HISTORIC SENSE AND FUNCTION OF THE COMMUNES; TO ELEVATE THE PEASANT TO SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

The historic function of the communes, that of narrowing the difference between town and country has as an objective that of elevating the peasants to socialist consciousness. It reduces historic stages, develops the power of the revolution and places the essential and fundamental bases for the development of socialism; to win the peasant to the consciousness of the possibility and the necessity of socialism. The task of making the country closer to the town is not economic, it is economic in form. The economy is the means through which the consciousness of the peasant masses is constructed and won for the authority, the programme, the socialist objective of history, the unconscious objective whose leadership is the proletariat. It is necessary to win the peasant and then to bring the country to the city. This is the most important historic function. And this is realised through two essential modes: the usual way, the normal way - now it is no longer such - as taught in the USSR is that of increasing production, elevating the productive capacity, showing the historic power of the proletariat through this greater capacity for producing more, of increasing production and productivity. And thus it makes the peasant feel the moral, spiritual, intellectual, cultural superiority of the regime. It is necessary to make them feel this. The economic base, the superstructure is the morality, the consciousness, the cultural, scientific and technical capacity.

THE PROLETARIAT HAS ALREADY THE BASES OF SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

The proletariat develops itself with this consciousness, hence its historic security. The peasant, no. The peasant must overcome his individualist mentality, feeling himself individually - or even together with a small group of other peasants - capable of resolving problems. The peasant because of his role in the economy cannot have the socialist consciousness. The consciousness of the proletariat elevates itself because of its role in the economy. Socialist society has developed itself and develops itself still on the basis of two essential sectors; industry and the land. Industry has concentrated the proletariat, and production. It has concentrated consequently the social organisation of production; the proletariat. It is this which gives social consciousness to the proletariat. Remember the difference which exists between the Utopians, the idealists and Marx. The socialist Utopians base themselves on moral understanding, on persuasion, on the elevation of the moral consciousness of the necessity for socialism, showing that it is a just, good necessary system which responds to the aspirations of humanity. Goodwill is a capitalist term, a term which arises from the division of class society. The socialism of Marx, scientific socialism, bases itself on the objective historic conclusion that the development of capitalism leads to concentration. Concentration, through capitalist accumulation, to uninterrupted constant world development, the concentration of production and of the mutual interdependence of production and consequently of society, of the social relations. And the necessary instrument of this process is the proletariat. For this reason the proletariat has already the bases of the socialist consciousness before learning it theoretically and culturally. Through its role in society, the proletariat feels its strength, its capacity. It feels that the world depends on it, not individually but collectively on a national and world scale. In the same way that it constitutes the basis of communism, it is the basis also of proletarian internationalism, of the permanent revolution, that is of the interdependence, of the necessary reciprocal relations to advance. The most elevated form is communism, the socialist society.

The peasant cannot acquire this consciousness because his role in the economy even if he works in a co-operative does not make him feel his importance, his role, does not feel himself to be participating in history because

in the last instance whether it is a question of levels of production or of a more elevated life, he sees that it depends on the city, through electric light, mechanisation, culture which is produced in the city not in the country and this does not give the peasantry the socialist consciousness. Hence its resistance to the struggle for socialism, in all this historic phase. For this reason is posed the necessity of winning it to incorporate it in the socialist consciousness because as it is a fundamental part of society it constitutes a base to construct socialism.

And in the last instance each retreat, every historic delay in the construction of socialism does not depend on economic, juridical, industrial slowness - it expresses itself it is true fundamentally in an insufficiency of production - but the base of this insufficiency of production, of technique, of culture is the backwardness of the country which expresses itself in a concentrated way and historically in the social backwardness of the peasantry. And this is why the Commune, incorporating massively the peasants in production, in the organised and collective life, fulfills its historic function, its powerful and indispensable historic function to elevate the peasantry to the collective consciousness of the city, that is to the progressive, socialist mentality. This is the indispensable role of the Commune. It performs the role which has had to be undertaken in the USSR and which is still undertaken - after 47 years - despite the soviet bureaucracy. The Chinese have abbreviated the historic stages. To reduce the time, does not mean to gain time to live better. The stages in history have a fundamental importance. If at a precise and determined stage such a task is not performed life continues but the tasks remain and in a certain way must be resolved to the profit of the right, the left or the centre tendencies. As the proletariat has not been able to take power in time, imperialism has armed itself with atomic weapons; this is a simple example of the importance of stages. If in 1946 the European proletariat had been able to take power as it wished - as it could have taken it in France and Italy - where it was the communist and socialist parties who blocked it; if the proletariat in Europe has taken power the solution of the nuclear war would have been only a problem of putting out a match! Because capitalism did

not have the time to prepare itself as it has done now to seek a solution for itself. Hence the importance of the historic phase. Those who say we are adventurers or that we are mad because we speak of the preventive war ignore the truth of history. We are not impatient nor are we concerned with ourselves. We are in a hurry because history is in a hurry. The more time passes, the more time capitalism will have to possess nuclear arms to harm humanity. It is all here, simply this. With the preventative war, the evil is infinitely less, much less. This is the significance of historic stages. When Marx formulated his conception of socialism, of the necessity of socialism, he placed as a fundamental condition the historic stages. Trotsky developed very well this problem of the historic stages. The triumph of the Russian revolution showed the importance of the historic stages; without Lenin, without the Bolshevik party, the Russian revolution would not have triumphed. These are the historic stages. They were the objective historic conditions but the necessary instrument to realise the tasks could have been lacking. Without the party of Lenin, capitalism would have continued to survive. There is nothing fatalistic about history; there are historic necessities to fulfill for which the objective and the instrument constructed in time is necessary.

#### THE COMMUNE PREPARES CULTURE AND MORALITY

In the Russian revolution as we will see after, the role of Lenin, as Trotsky said was indispensable, it was one of the elements which led to the triumph of the revolution. But Lenin is not only Lenin in the moment of the revolution. Lenin means the Bolshevik Party. Bolshevik Party means programme, political spirit of the party, party moral. Morality in history plays in the construction of human society a most important role, but morality itself is not to be considered independently from all the rest of society.

The economy constructs itself, develops economic relations. Now the intellectuals who dedicate themselves to the "cultivation of the mind" say "morality is lacking" and place morality so to speak from outside onto social relations. The idealist thought believes that thus it is so; there are certain relations and then it is necessary "to regulate them" with a certain type of morality. This is the juridical basis of capitalism. Thus from its regime there develops an appalling morality, killing, assassination, so it must regulate it and from this emerge the philosophers, the jurists, the moralists who seek through culture to regulate moral behaviour.

Culture apparently is a vehicle of progress. Indirectly yes. But when culture does not express the objective necessity of history, it is no longer an instrument of progress. It is not culture. It can give a more advanced scientific knowledge but culture is not only determined by scientific knowledge. Thus a pistol is good according to who uses it. It serves to kill assassins and police but in the hands of the police it kills the workers. The problem is to appropriate the revolver to make of it a useful instrument. For this reason we are not against atomic arms but we are against the fact that they may be used against the revolution. We oppose ourselves to the soviet thesis of "the elimination of atomic arms" because it is a deception of humanity. It is necessary to make an appeal to all the colonial peoples and to arm them with everything with which it is possible, because the solution is military. The same thing can be verified during a strike in which the owner makes the police intervene and the army to massacre the workers, but the party leaders and trade union leaders say "no arms, no arms" and the workers see and say "if this is so, why not go home". "Why should we confront the police unarmed?" The criterion of the workers whom the bureaucrats call "simple minded" is expressing the cultural necessity in that moment. And culture consists of knowing to understand for example the use of the revolver; even of a 22 calibre, because the 22 calibre in the hands of strikers and of the revolutionaries becomes calibre 45 because the revolutionary tries not to fire 7 or 8 shots in the leg, something which allows the enemy to continue to walk but fires correctly with a mortal shot. And so the 22 calibre is useful.

Morality is part of a regime and arises from the structure of the regime which serves. In an analogous way the struggle for power, the struggle for socialism, demands its morality. Socialist morality is the form through which the human relation is expressed, the necessity for socialism and the future of socialism, socialist morality. And the Chinese commune is preparing in general also if not in a conscious way, a socialist morality through the collective life in Communes etc. One of the fundamental essentials, one of the essential bases of human progress is to unite the scientific comprehension with the decision to realise what is understood, to unite and organise the dispersed forces through the necessary instrument. What is the necessary instrument which allows this progress? Cultural, scientific and economic truth. There is a functioning, a necessity in reciprocal realisation which springs from this necessity; what is the feeling which guides it? Egoism, private property, individual satisfaction, thought in itself, or the objective thought of progress? The latter is socialist morality; the objective thought of progress. Only socialism will be able to provide such a morality, being the nature of its society, of its organisation. It has the objectivity which seeks to develop all the opportunities to make human progress advance, its morality is objective. The internal relations are determined by this morality, the objective necessity to develop human progress. The objective necessity independent of us.

"With the Party we are everything, without the Party we are nothing". What does this mean? that the Party is the centre which develops, organises and transforms with an infinitely greater power than all the united atoms, the will to progress and change through the necessity of consciousness expressed in socialist moral relations. Lenin prepared the most complete party in history. And after Lenin we, the IV International has constructed itself on the basis of socialist morality.

To draw the peasant closer to the proletariat means to carry the peasant to the understanding of the objective necessity of the collective moral consciousness of the development of history. What is the way to do this.

Persuasion, discussion, meetings have a very great importance because they tend to awaken the conscious understanding. But the conscious understanding is slow to act on the economy because the necessity of living is economic; afterwards consciousness develops beyond the economic. The impulse, the necessity arises from the necessity of living of eating every day; this imposes on the individual on the human being, determined norms. On this basis, the principles of the socialist morality, the collective sentiment elevates themselves above the necessity to operate on these norms. If the party does not support itself on the existing social reality, it supports itself on the void. That is the peasant must see in collective organisation, the cardinal points of the necessity of socialist morality, it must see them in its daily social relations. It is the daily social relations with people which determines the elevation of the peasants consciousness and it is this which happens if the moral fraternity of the proletariat, solid and indestructible is elevated. It will never abandon this consciousness.

In the world conditions of its life, of the class without the trade union, divided, disorganised, the proletariat seeks to make itself felt in history with its collective revolutionary morality. If it does not succeed in doing so, organisationally, then in the workers areas, in the family, in the home, at the football match, everywhere it communicates its fraternal and collective feeling; for example when the soviet team goes to Spain and the people shout "Viva". When a team goes from a Workers State to another country the masses are very proud, applaud the soviet team and not the local team. When the chauvinist interests of the bourgeoisie has the object of attracting the spectators to their own team, to attract them to the conception of capitalist morality, through the sport<sup>ing</sup> mentality which does not differ in any way from the feeling of antagonism which exists among the Argentinian and Chilian bourgeoisie for a piece of land. It is the same thing. Socialist morality is the indispensable condition for the organisation of socialism. Then we will see the importance of the construction of the Bolshevic party for the taking of power.

The Chinese commune gives the collective base to attract the peasant to the elevation of socialist consciousness. For this reason it is very important that you, when you read on the Commune, study the cultural life of the Commune to see why the Chinese put into relief their feelings of solidarity. Apparently it seems that this serves only to show the fortune of the Chinese. It is not this. It is the elevation of the socialist consciousness. In a historic sense, in the peasantry already there exists the basis of solid fraternal sentiment, because the poor and middle peasant has developed in history on the basis of reciprocal aid.

In peasant life, in the structure of its relations, there is already present the sentiment of enormous solidarity which leads them to support revolutionaries, the fighters wherever they exist. But the feeling of solidarity does not mean to say socialist consciousness, it is necessary to achieve such a consciousness with struggle.

The feeling of fraternity and solidarity constitutes part of the development of the peasant in his struggle against the feudal lords, the church, the estate owners, the lack of money. This feeling is expressed in the fact of reciprocal aid. Socialism does not support itself on the void to attract the peasant; it bases itself on the fact of what exists already, that is the feeling which there is already, but a feeling which is not yet organised in a socialist consciousness. The peasant is fraternal because life forces him to be so, he is not so because he understands the socialist necessity of history. The proletariat in its action gains the peasant to this understanding and develops them in it socialist morality. For this reason the book of Engels on the peasant war in Germany is very important, it shows

very well the solidarity of the peasants. Further in Latin America, there are many examples which show this. In all countries of Latin America whoever has need of refuge is treated as a guest, sleeping facilities are offered, everything. There are a great number of tales in Latin America which speak of this. Also in Africa it is so. I recall having read three stories which refer to the solid fraternal feeling of the peasants of the tribal zone of South Africa which express already the enormous influence on them of the development of the world revolution. Also the petit bourgeois Africans discuss in London the impact of the world revolution and the influence which these events have upon them and they transmit this to the peasants.

THE COMMUNE EMERGED BECAUSE IT WAS  
ALREADY IN THE EXPERIENCE OF THE  
MASSES.

It is important for us to dominate these aspects of the mentality, of the organisation of the peasant sentiment, because our task is developed practically 80% among the peasantry. Nearly all our sections are linked to the peasants in an important form, in some sections they constitute the base of the section. It is not the only one, without doubt, but it is an essential base. This does not annul, does not eliminate the need for the organisation to raise the political understanding of the peasantry, but it shows that this sentiment of solidarity of the peasantry encounters influence, to elevate it to the maximum of socialist consciousness. The commune was a discovery of the Chinese peasant masses, as the soviet was the discovery of the Russian masses, not just peasants, but soldiers, workers and peasants. The discovery was theirs, in the first stage - I am talking about what Mao Tse Tung expressed in 1936. Mao Tse Tung recounted how moved he was with his experience in the Commune of Yen-an, which was a surprise for him, because in his report to the Central Committee, he does not say it was he who

gave a course or a lesson, he was surprised he said by the development of a community spirit, among the peasants. And already before the fact manifesting expressing itself - none of the other delegates showed this - Mao shows how it had had a repercussion in his consciousness, and it afterwards served him to make deductions and conclusions. Joined with this experience of the commune at Yen-an, of the community experience, there was the action of the 8th Army, which in its development was creating the bases of the commune.

We reiterate that it was not simply the experience of the Chinese peasantry which promoted the communes; the action of the 8th Army was one of the bases of the communes, because wherever they went they promoted the intervention of the people, promoted discussion, solution of all problems, the planning of what they had to produce, not on the present scale, not united to the central power, but to construct nuclei of resistance to the feudal lords, to Chiang Kai Shek, to the Japanese, and they had consequently to stimulate the sentiment of creation of social organisation and to unite the problems of the breaking up of the land production, how to use the instruments, how to organise, how to learn and how to resolve socially. That is to say they were creating the conditions for the Commune. The massive acceptance of the commune by the Chinese people has its root there. It was not the commune of Yen-an in particular, which was extended afterwards and all the world saw it. If there had not been a basis of historic experience it would not have been possible to take the path of the commune so rapidly, because such conclusions, experiences and historic organisations cannot advance so rapidly if there did not exist already in the population a base which would allow them to be accepted rapidly. And the population accepted them rapidly because they correspond, unite themselves to a base already of its own experience, of its own understanding and decision. For this reason all the great organisms of history which are elements, bases of progress and for the impelling of progress, have their base not in the political slogan - this reflects it and concentrates it - but already in a tradition. Empirical, superficial tradition but tradition.

Every slogan, even the most complete that of the IV International as is the function and the principle of each slogan, reflects, expresses a slogan which corresponds to a need. The slogan gives the organised consciousness of this necessity, of this possibility. But also for the necessity and the possibility to exist, it is because already they reflect the tendency of people to work in this line. The slogan expresses in the final instance even distantly an experience made by people. Already there is an experience. For example; the slogan of the taking of power, of Karl Marx in 1848. He launched the slogan to take power. It is only possible to take power arms in hands. He launched the slogan and generalised it. What did he generalise? Facts which in one way or another sectors of the exploited masses were feeling. The principle of Karl Marx expressed through the slogan to struggle for power, to take power, arms in hands, arose in Karl Marx, from the fusion of the deduction which is based on the facts that he had seen, of the experience made and then of the concrete action of the masses who struggle for power. The slogan of the IV International; only with arms in hand will the peasantry take power, is the result of the experience which expresses the necessity and the action which now organises itself. The slogan which corresponds, in

consequence to the necessity, to the possibility maintains itself, triumphs whatever might be the delay or slowness in application. But if it expresses the necessity and then the possibility maintains itself it triumphs whatever the delay or slowness in application. But if it expresses a necessity and then the possibility, it triumphs. Necessity and possibility are not synonymous. There is a necessity but not a possibility. In 1848 there was the necessity to combat exploitation but there was not the possibility to take power. In 1965 there was the necessity and the possibility to take power throughout the world. The impediment does not stem from the objective conditions nor the will of the masses, it is the bureaucracy of the Workers States, of the Communist parties who are the impediment.

To comprehend on a historic scale and a concrete level when the slogan expresses the necessity and the possibility and when no, is decisive, because this determines our action, our objectives, and our perspectives. For this reason when we give a perspective this must correspond to a necessity and the possibility of reaching it, if not it does not triumph.

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## THE PEASANTRY AND THE COMMUNIST MORALITY

The formation of the communist morality, the conscious organisation of the communist morality, and its practice, the application of the communist morality is an indestructable part, inseparable part of the development of the revolution. But the communist consciousness is the mother, is that which determines the communist morality, the conscious morality. Peasants and workers develop themselves in an objective form determined by communist morality; that is to say the essential historic base of communist morality the objectivity of the process, the objective necessity of support for the best to advance, the objective necessity of resorting to all that may be useful, necessary to the progress of the struggle for socialism. For this reason, the book of Trotsky "Their Morality and Ours" is one of the best documents which the history of philosophy has known. Morality, truth, truth and morality are determined by interests. There is no truth and morality in the abstract. What truth? What morality? For this reason Trotsky posed "The end justifies the means". But the moral conception of principles, of this formula - which in the abstract serves for this - means; the ends are justified by the objective historic necessity of human progress. When the ends are not determined by the objective historic necessity of human progress, socialism, the ends are questioned. Not every end is correct. Every end which leads to the struggle to push forward the proletariat to power, to install power, to construct socialism has to be a revolutionary moral end; that is to say it impels, elevates the necessity of the objective progress of the struggle and the objective elevation of the fraternal, common objective to advance the objective of communism.

And it is necessary to base oneself on this conclusion because the peasantry, through its conditions of life, is the most prone to isolation, as with the petit bourgeoisie. The peasantry brings to the movement his individual interest, his individual sentiment. In spite of its practices of fraternal life, it does so through social necessity not through conscious necessity. It arrives at this conclusion through social necessity. Socialism elevates it through conscious necessity which dominate afterwards material interests, material life. And it does this so that an individual might be a communist and work in the function of communism, not of the bourgeoisie. The material interest is bourgeois, the consciousness communist. The communist consciousness is the organiser not the capitalist interest. Marx was of bourgeois origin and arrived at communist consciousness. What determined his life was the historic objectivity, the necessity of communism. And his material goods, his material life, his individualist capitalist formation were submitted to the communist necessity and he elevated himself harmonising ideas, consciousness, communist feeling.

The construction of the communist morality is the product, the consequence of the social economic life, but also of the life of the party to elevate the consciousness of the peasant and of the party, to elevate the consciousness so that he works consciously. And consciously means to know how to move, what to do in every instant in every moment,

how to unite the action of today with the action of tomorrow, to give the historic security of communism. The peasant acquires this comprehension only in contact with the proletariat. The way to unite peasant and proletariat is to unite the country with the town. The way to unite field and city advanced by the normal means of the development of the economy is slow, very slow. The Commune brings together very rapidly town and country, fuses town and country. It is a rapid instrument of the fusion of town and country and in this fusion, as a consequence the city, the proletariat will find the means and the historic organ to influence the peasantry. It wins historic time. Today itself without the Commune, the Chinese Communist Party would not have either the decision or the resolution or the capacity to confront the soviets. And as a consequence the policy of peaceful co-existence would be extended to an immense depth. The perversion and corruption would have succeeded in developing with a much greater force. Because it is a necessity of the soviet bureaucracy to diffuse, expand corruption and decomposition, as its policy, its origins demand this. If they were not able to do this more, it is through the existence of China, in part of its existence, the Commune.

And the limitation which is placed on the corruption and the decomposition of the Soviet bureaucracy is seen in Vietnam. It wants to hand over Vietnam and is not able to do so. Why cannot it not do so? Because the Chinese are there. But the force of the Chinese based on the Communes and on the proletariat found an echo, support in the world proletariat among them those in the Workers States. There lies the line, the historic continuity.

Political Resolution of the R W P. (T)  
on the border incidents between  
the  
SOVIET and CHINESE WORKER  
STATES :

The incidents on the Sino-Soviet frontier, express in a most deformed manner the enormous pressure of the political revolution in the Soviet Union and the efforts of the Soviet bureaucracy to counter the impact of the "Cultural" revolution, and the bureaucracy's failure to maintain control of the international communist revolutionary vanguard. The bureaucracy has various faces for various occasions as Trotsky and Posadas have analysed, but its real nature is objectively and inevitably counter revolutionary. It has to take steps to defend the workers state, (as in Czechoslovakia) but it also impedes it functioning harmoniously whether socially, politically, economically, militarily. On this occasion the soviet bureaucracy shows its vulgar, counter revolutionary countenance. And fundamentally this origins of this crisis lies with the role played by the usurping bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The nationalist filth uttered by the Soviet bureaucracy and the vilification of the Soviet Workers State by the leadership of the Chinese Workers State is a criminal disgrace to the cause of world communism. Such behaviour runs counter to the needs and aspirations of the world masses and only damages the advance of the revolution. We condemn completely the statements of both the leaderships of the Soviet and Chinese Workers States.

The Soviet bureaucracy is desperately seeking to rally support for itself in face of all the pressure accumulating in the Soviet Union as the result of the advance of the world socialist revolution, the Soviet Czechoslovakian crisis, the mounting pressure to throw out the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. On the other hand the attitude of the Chinese leadership arises from the total failure of the present team to advance to the level required by the world revolution. At the moment there is an apparent impasse (which cannot continue much longer) in the advance of the "Cultural" revolution, in reality the political revolution. Remarks referring to the Soviet Union as fascist, imperialist, etc, only shows the theoretical bankruptcy of the present ruling team in China. On this path it cannot continue much longer because to conflicts with the objective necessities of the Chinese Workers State - that is a united front with all the Workers States on the basis of the revolutionary socialist programme, sustaining of the World Revolution by all means, establishment of soviets, reestablishment of proletarian democracy in the Workers States, etc.

The Soviet bureaucracy uses the conflict as a means of intimidating the Chinese Workers State, (monstrous boasts of its nuclear armoury) to restrain tendencies in China hostile to any negotiation with the Yanks, attempting to impose peaceful co existence. It is absurd when in the Soviet Red Army they discuss the need to launch nuclear war against imperialism. But the bureaucracy is absurd it is an excrecence and it must go, and the process in China demands a new orientation, an honest understanding that the Soviet Union is a Workers State, belongs to the masses and is not a new imperialism. Only charlatans or imbeciles can believe the latter.

We repeat our condemnation of the criminal behaviour of the leaderships of the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet bureaucracy to defend itself from the pressures of the Political revolution is utilising the absurd statements of the Chinese leaders. The soviet masses are receiving the positive effects of the great Cultural Revolution in China, but they have no respect for those who on occasion applaud Joseph Stalin, the butcher of the Soviet masses, and speak of Soviet imperialism. Instead of exposing the Soviet leadership, the remarks of the Chinese leaders sustain them.

To eliminate such criminal escapades between Workers States, it is necessary to press forward with the world socialist revolution, to



The IV International under the leadership of Posadas has analysed that in such a process as we see today, with the proletariat exerting such enormous pressure on the trade unions, the conservative sectors find themselves isolated and within the shop stewards committees and the trade unions a process of resignations develops. This was seen during the Ford strike and was reported in the last issue of Red Flag but recent elections for the position of convenor in the NUVB, Vauxhall, show the move to the left and the resignation of the more conservative types, because the process no longer allows the former conciliatory practice.

Fundamentally the struggle at Fords was a victory for the working class, and the bourgeoisie have certainly realised its ominous significance. Thus the workers have won an all round wage rise of  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  to 10% as well as £15 holiday bonus with no "penalty" clause. The "penalty" clause has been rendered meaningless with very minor financial loss for unofficial strikes. Verbally the "penalty" clause remains but has been deprived of real meaning. Equal pay for women has been achieved, in Fords at least.

The victory of the proletariat at Fords is yet another lethal blow at the functioning of the capitalist system. It proclaims the total incapacity of capitalism to impose a wage freeze (on a smaller scale the bank workers have imposed a similar settlement which breaks through government determined norms). At the same time the proletariat has again proclaimed its contempt for the interests of capitalism, its preoccupation solely with its own class interests. The struggle will intensify all the crisis and tensions within the Labour Party apparatus, all the tensions between the L.P. apparatus and the Trade Union apparatus, because the line of Wilson inevitably is to provoke struggle with the proletariat. The interests of capitalism demand the imposition of some form of control on wages, some form of repression. All this goes against Wilson on the electoral level but inevitably to defend the interests of capitalism, collision is inevitable. Between the L.P. apparatus and the proletariat. When Jones of the T.G.W.U. warns the government of an increase in unofficial strikes in face of any attempted repressive legislation, he is appealing to the air. Capitalism can conciliate but only within narrow limits, and these narrow constantly.

Thus the proletariat returns to Fords victorious. But there is plenty of evidence to show the restlessness of the vanguard with the settlement and this is objectively entirely justified. When Scanlon is jostled by shop stewards and the police have to be called to cries of "sell out", it is because sectors of the vanguard sense that it was possible to conduct this struggle in a very different way. It is fundamental to draw the conclusions of this

confrontation, why the victory was severely limited, compared with what was possible. Fundamentally the proletariat was hampered by its lack of organic means, its lack of organisms in imposing its will. The situation demanded more than a powerful pressure on the trade union leaders, more than the winning of the middle cadres, it demanded the imposition of mass proletarian democracy in mass factory assemblies to discuss all aspects of the struggle, to discuss and elevate the programme of demands, to appeal to all the car workers, to integrate the struggle of the car workers with the rest of the demands of the worker and poor petit bourgeois masses. On the basis of the experience of this strike, as in the case of the engineering strike which was called off, we reiterate the need for the proletariat to form its own organisms, its factory committees constantly functioning with delegates open to immediate recall and open to workers from other factories and other sectors of the exploited population, to discuss not only matters effecting the conduct of the class struggle in a particular industry but all basic strategy and tactics in relation to the fundamental problems of the working class. At no time was there a discussion about the necessity to transcend the "passive" strike and proceed to the seizure of the factories under the control of the workers, putting forward the demand for nationalisation without compensation. The vanguard was evidently seeking for a profounder discussion of all the issues, they wished to utilise all their strength and knew that the leadership were not so inclined but the vanguard lacked the means to enforce their will, lacked the programme to transcend the purely economic demands in which the struggle was clothed. We reiterate our appeal for the necessity to establish these factory committees

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with a regular life, the immediate possibility to recall delegates and to establish links with other industries and other sectors of the exploited masses to plan the strategy of the working class around a comprehensive anti-capitalist programme which responds to the needs of all the exploited masses. If such organisms and discussions had been possible it would have been possible to extend the strike action, to make of Fords a revolutionary centre for the whole proletariat and to have acted upon the impact of the experiences of the French revolutionary general strike of 1968, and the process particularly in France and Italy now. Without organisms and without discussion, the vanguard cannot act with the necessary alacrity in this situation. Nonetheless despite all the limitations in this struggle, we must expect great leaps forward in the next stages, further advances towards proletarian democratic functioning, further advances in the anti-capitalist programme, further advances towards a revolutionary general strike.

Inevitably the polarisation of class forces continues in Great Britain. Wilsons speech during the strike showed the vicious reaction of capitalism. In a period where the preparation of the war continues remorselessly where capitalism concentrates itself more and more, where the social support for capitalism diminishes, the confrontation between the two forces however strong the world proletariat, however weak capitalism, cannot be prevented. Capitalism is fighting for its life, it will not give up however weak its response to the world offensive of the masses. There is a fundamental relationship between internal and external policy. The line of attempted repression at home finds its counterpart in the intervention of British imperialism in Anguilla. This expedition contains the element of farce but it reflects the aggressive spirit of British imperialism at this stage, on the road to the final encounter. It tries to break into the common market, tries to impose repressive legislation on the workers, British imperialism speaks of nuclear war as basically the only possible type of war, now it tries to crush the first signs of trouble in the Caribbean. It is true that the lion has lost its claws but its intentions remain alien to all human progress. The war in Nigeria fed by the active intervention of British imperialism shows what world imperialism would like to do everywhere, bomb, kill, maim and destroy the masses.

With the perspective of major collisions between imperialism and the masses on a world scale, with the quickening tempo of the course towards the final encounter, it is necessary to impel the revolutionary vanguard in Great Britain, to intervene with the anti-capitalist programme with the object of imposing workers democracy and workers control within the factories. The next collision between the proletariat and the capitalist class in Great Britain will be for more momentous and to reap the benefit of the Ford experience for the next round, it is necessary to turn the strike weapon into a series of occupations particularly in all the major factories to attract the support of the rest of the population. The student vanguard must turn its eyes outwards, away from confining its intentions to university and school issues, it must turn decisively towards the proletariat, otherwise its effect will be limited and its struggles fluctuate around issues which lack social transcendence. i.e. do not serve the major aspects of the anti-capitalist programme, the overthrow of capitalism.

The experience at the LSE must be assimilated, unless the student vanguard fuses with that of the working class, putting forward the programme to overthrow capitalism, a whole series of episodic and fruitless battles can ensue which deprive the student movement of value to the social struggle.

The proletariat is preparing itself for great new encounters with capitalism. The TGWU is now pressing for the 35 hour week in the docks and for a £35 wage. Railway workers are calling for a national basic minimum wage, we can expect sharper reaction from the miners in the next stage in face of proposed closures.

The social, economic and political crisis of British and world imperialism deepens. The events in Pakistan show the level to which the international civil war against imperialism is reaching. All sectors of the British population are ready to intervene, the process of disintegration now assailing capitalism in Ulster is characteristic of the collapse of world capitalism everywhere. It is necessary to accelerate the construction of factory committees, workers area committees, worker student liaison committees, price committees, to



# 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

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Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are all, all, all  
— Trotsky

Workers of the World, Unite!  
**RED FLAG**

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



NO. 87

APRIL 8th 1969

SIXPENCE

# Impel the mobilisation of the masses with the construction of factory and area Committees on the anti capitalist programme to benefit from the increasing weakness of British Imperialism

In the last few weeks, in the Fords strike, the working class has shown that even without organisms, which really express its will to struggle against capitalism, even with a trade union leadership, which does all it can to limit and block the struggle, it has been able to defeat the government and the Ford management, to increase the crisis at the very top of the Labour Party apparatus, and to attract sectors of the petit bourgeoisie masses to intensify the struggle for their own demands. Thus within a few weeks of the Ford victory we see the very combative strike of the pilots, which has dealt another heavy blow at the stability of capitalism, and we see the decision of the teachers expressed at their annual conference (over-ruling the executive) to put in a new pay claim only six days after new pay scales for teachers were introduced. This together with the tremendous Labour abstentions in the bye elections, particularly in Walthamstow, and the growing conflict between the Labour Party Executive and the Labour Government, as expressed by Callaghan voting against the Governments white paper on incomes and Norman Atkinson M.P. saying that no ministers should be allowed on the L.P. executive, indicates the depth of the social, political and economic crisis of British Imperialism.

We can see in the latest actions of the vanguard, as at Fords and in the long struggle of the AEF workers at the Vickers shipyard, which had the form of a 'demarcation' dispute, that the content of the strikes are much more than just economic; the vanguard is acting as a leadership for the whole class, and is disputing power with the ruling class in the factories, and is beginning to struggle for power on a national scale. The vanguard is seeking a way forward using what instruments it has in its hands at the moment, while groping its way towards the programme and the organisms, which are necessary to attract all the exploited masses to its side and push forward the struggle against capitalism. And in its advance it wins over the lower and middle ranks of the Trade Unions and Labour Party apparatus, and uses them to push forward the struggle, as for example has been seen in Newcastle with the organisation of the rent struggles by the local Labour Party officials or by the support, which Liverpool Trades Council is giving to the one day strike on the 1st of May against the directives of the T.U.C.

Even though there is this advance, even though the vanguard is using the inadequate instruments it has to hand with very good effect, it is still experiencing difficulties in the construction of new organisms on the anti-capitalist programme, which will be the new revolutionary leadership of the working class. And there are objective obstacles in path of construction of this leadership, in the shape of the TU leadership, the Labour and Communist party leadership, and those leaderships, which have arisen at an earlier period of the struggle, and which (even though they were at one time honest) have failed to advance as the situation demands, and have become a disturbing and diverting influence to the vanguard in this search, as with some of the unofficial committees or the Committee of Dash in the docks, for example. Because

that committee did not have an anti-capitalist programme, and because the union leadership are negotiating with the Port authorities for a £35 for a 35 hour week, and because the employers have now allowed shop stewards in the docks, Dash has put his committee into "cold storage", having been by-passed by the official leadership, for his programme is no more elevated. Had Dash built a revolutionary tendency in the docks, (which could have been done) with a full anti-capitalist programme, this would have helped the whole class to find its way towards the programme, and it would not have been liquidated.

Today capitalism is concentrating and centralising industry, speeding up the rhythm of production, trying to lower the costs of production by lowering wages to compete for a saturated world market, and most of all to pay for the costs of the atomic war, which it is preparing against the world revolution and the Workers States. It needs to repress the masses, to take away their political and trade union conquests, but it lacks the social force to do so. The problem now is not to organise a struggle just for the defence of the TU and democratic rights of the masses, but to unite and include this legitimate defence into a whole programme for higher wages, shorter hours, all profits of automation to the workers, nationalisation under workers control, and without compensation, of key industries etc.; in fact to unite it with the anti-capitalist programme, to struggle for this defence with the perspective of overthrowing capitalism and imposing a workers government. To fight only for economic demands can have no perspective in this period of the death agony of capitalism, where it cannot satisfy any of the demands of the masses; rising prices, rents and transport will whittle away all the economic gains, so that the major gain from any struggle, as it was in the Ford strike, is the gain in confidence and organisation of the workers.

## BRITISH IMPERIALISM IS DEFIED BY THE MASSES OF ANGUILLA

The preoccupation of British Imperialism with the advance of the revolution both here and in the rest of the world, is obvious and so are its preparations to confront it. The sending of troops to Anguilla has nothing to do with the supposed presence there of the Mafia or other gangsters (they are all over the Caribbean anyway except for Cuba) but the fear that Anguilla would take the example of Cuban or the revolution in

the Dominican Republic in 1965 and kick out Imperialism and build a Workers State. For as Cde. Posadas has analysed even small countries with small populations and resources, in this period of the unequal and combined development of the revolution can develop to Workers States, and have an enormous influence on the whole process of the revolution. It is an indication of the tremendous fear and weakness of imperialism that they have sent hundreds of police and troops to Anguilla, and it will not in-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## Support the campaign to liberate our Uruguayan and Mexican Comrades

### SMASH THE EFFORTS OF WORLD CAPITALISM TO REPRESS THE IV INTERNATIONAL

As we reported in the last number of Red Flag, there has been a new wave of repression against the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyista) the Uruguayan Section of the IV International. After the arrest and imprisonment of 26 comrades in Montevideo last October and November, the Uruguayan bourgeoisie strikes another blow at our Party arresting comrades and stealing documents, and technical apparatus from their homes. At the same time they have arrested and imprisoned three comrades of Argentinian nationality: Salvador de Fina, Salvador Levi and Pedro Stelman.

We denounce this repression against the ideas, the programme, and the theory of revolutionary Marxism, which today is embodied in Posadas and the IV International; ideas, programme and policy, which are having an immense power of attraction and influence on the Uruguayan proletariat and masses.

Neither imperialism or capitalism can stop the development of our movement. As in Mexico, Spain and Brazil, the Uruguayan Section of the IV International is reacting against these blows by increasing its activity a hundred fold, which is allowing it to increase its fusion with the revolutionary vanguard and masses of the country and it is because of this that the organ of the Uruguayan Communist Party has had to comment on and denounce this new attack against the P.O.R.(T) saying that it is absurd.

We appeal to the workers movement, to the student movement and the trade unions in this country, to the labour and trade union vanguard in the factories, to the Ford workers, who have given such a blow to capitalism, to denounce this repression against Trotskyism in Uruguay, and to demand the restoration of legality to the P.O.R.(T) the immediate liberation of the three trotskyist prisoners and the return of all the material stolen from the party. We appeal for telegrams of protest to be sent to the government of Uruguay Pacheco Areco, Government House, Independence Sq., Montevideo, Uruguay, and to the Embassy in this country, 48 Lennox Gdns., London, S.W.1., and to send delegations to the Embassy.

We call to all the readers of Red Flag, sympathisers of the International to respond once more to the financial appeal, which we launch to cover the costs of this campaign. Any copies of resolutions etc. sent to us will be published.

We appeal to the worker and student vanguard to reanimate the campaign for the Trotskyists imprisoned in Mexico. Now there are not only Fernando Bruno, Adolfo Gilly and Teresa Confreta in jail (and they have been there for three years without any trial), but also Roberto Iriarte, who did not enter the jail as a Trotskyist, but was won to the Party inside, and Colmenares Cesar who was arrested, tortured and then imprisoned at the end of January 1969.

We make an appeal to the worker and student vanguard to develop a dynamic campaign for the liberation of the imprisoned Trotskyist comrades and all the trade union and student political prisoners in Mexico.

Send letters and telegrams of protest to Diaz Ordaz, Government House, Mexico City, Mexico D.F., and to the Embassy here 48, Belgrave Sq., S.W.1. Long Live the Mexican Section, Long Live the comrades, who have not allowed imprisonment to put a stop to their activity.

Long Live the immediate liberation of the comrades.

# THE CRISIS AND THE STRENGTH OF THE DEMAND THE ANTI CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

## Extracts from a letter of the International

Every dispute means that there are forces, which wish to advance and forces which wish to contain them. When there is the effort to contain, it is because it is felt that a process is developing, even if it is not yet expressed. Sometimes this expresses itself in a direct way as in France. These forces cannot be dominated, and there is a desire to contain them by making concessions, trying to divide them, to atomise them.

In Germany the working class is not yet in movement. Their struggles as a class are not numerous. But when capitalism brings out a law on the participation of the trade unions in the management of the enterprise—which means to assimilate a part of the bureaucracy into the capitalist apparatus, a sector of the bureaucracy which acts as a control on capitalism, and will be prejudicial to it—it is because capitalism feels and sees the advance of the will and the feelings of struggle of the working class and the petit bourgeoisie. Otherwise it would not take such measures. It would not take the initiative for a form of co-management if that was not determined by the observation, the education, the judgement and the criterion that they feel the masses ready to mobilise themselves. So they try to contain the process beforehand. And what the students are expressing is the social crisis.

### THE ROLE OF STUDENTS IN SOCIETY

To the extent that the students are not the organic representatives of the exploited society, but only one of its consequences, their intervention has no continuity and ends in smoke. When the student struggles have continuity, when they are an element of continuity, then that expresses itself in the programme. The students can pursue their struggles, but if the latter do not express the programme, they are only a simple result of social crisis. For example in Peru, in Mexico, in Brazil, the programme of the students is that of the proletarian revolution. The Brazilian students accept the necessity for the workers party based on the trade unions. The National Union of Students accepted it. They accept the necessity of struggle, so that the proletariat can take power. It is thus that they express, that they are the representatives of a process of elevation of revolutionary struggles. Whereas in Germany, they are only the expression of the crisis of the capitalist system. They are the messengers of it, to the extent that they feel the effects in a direct fashion. They are in a condition of feeling and acting thus and of expressing it in their social organisation. They express the crisis of the capitalist system.

But the lack of continuity, of persistence, of organisation and the rapid loss of forces, indicate a lack of assurance, through a lack of programme and objectives. They have neither the programme nor the necessary and revolutionary objectives, beyond circumstantial objectives. Their role in society, in the economy gives them neither force or assurance. It is for that reason that after a short period, they are dissolved rapidly. Hence, the instability of the university and student movement, when it is not a question of being the direct representative of social struggles.

In Mexico, for example, they do play the role of direct representative of social struggles, because the students are the sons of the exploited workers and peasants through the particular conditions of this country, where the peasants made the revolution in 1910. The student struggles began in 1965. In Brazil similarly. The depth of the university movement does not come from the extension of the national and centralised organisation of the proletariat. The Communist Party existed for a short period, then it rapidly dissolved and decomposed not under the effect of the repression, but through lack of perspective. In 1946 it obtained 600,000 votes—which corresponds today to 10 million. All this shows the maturity of the Brazilian masses without the tradition of the class party, and without a mass trade union.

The level of the students struggles must today show itself and express itself through the programme. For four years, there has been an ascendancy of students struggles. In a series of articles written in 1964, cde. Posadas analysed the process of the influence of the students and foresaw the advance in a short stage of the class struggles. When the students mo-

bilise themselves organically, as a body and this is so in all periods of history, it is because they reflect and express a greater force than their own. They are the expression of the social crisis and they emerge to show it. It is not a question of discontent of a layer of society but the expression of a social crisis. And when the student struggles develop and elevate themselves throughout the entire world, and they wish to continue to advance in this stage, it is because after a period of 3 or 4 years of struggle they must be able, in order to survive, to express themselves in a programmatic form or they will die.

Programmatic form means to struggle as part of society, to overthrow capitalist society and to construct the new society, in seizing all the struggles for demands and in submitting the latter, to the struggle for the progress of society. Maturity exists for that. Hence the retreat or stagnation in many countries, of the university movement which enters conflicts and struggles for transitory demands. While condemning the regime, having attitudes critical of it, it does not organise; for example, those who barracked the people in La Scala in Milan or the cabarets of Viareggio in Italy.

All these discussions express a bellicose state of spirit, healthy, correct which is that of the population which rejects the show of wealth whilst hunger and unemployment exist. They wish to demonstrate that all that is unjust. But confining themselves solely to this action, in not organising the forces against the capitalist system, results in dispersion and the search for an individual satisfaction. It does not organise the struggles of the masses. They go and throw some rotten eggs at a woman decked out with jewels, but this does not organise forces capable of taking measures, of undertaking actions to advance the struggle against the capitalist system. It tends to give an individual expression to the protest against the most gross aspects—but not the most evident—of the capitalist system. In effect, the most brutal aspects are the exploitation in the factories, where the workers must work on the assembly line like animals.

To go to criticise the countesses, the women with jewels, clothes, luxury, is good. It is a good desire to combat the powerful, those who have money, but if one remains simply there, it has no value. This is the reason for which the masses do not accompany this activity. They see it with sympathy, they accept it, they do not reject it, they do not condemn it, but they do not see that this leads to the overthrow of capitalism. Then without being against, they do not feel attracted. Even the student movement is not led by this type of action, for it feels that it is a centre of individual decentralisation or of little groups, who give themselves the satisfaction of condemnation and feeling that they are in process of accomplishing a revolutionary action, while leaving intact the capitalist regime, its function, its apparatus, its

structure, whereas a great strike breaks the system. A mobilisation of the masses calling for the imposition of dual power, would disorganise the whole capitalist system, make it lose confidence, make it lose its unitary structure and weaken its organs.

All actions, which tend to condemn the professors and the leadership of the University, and are not accompanied by a struggle to push forward the organisation of the masses, to make this organisation advance, to overthrow the capitalist system become disorganised and lose all effect. Without disappearing, without dissolving, they lose all effect for they are all without transcendence, without perspective. They feel themselves to have the strength which they do not know how to utilise and do not see the consequences of this strength.

### THE UNIVERSITY MOVEMENT MUST GIVE ITSELF A PROGRAMME

To be able to continue, the university movement in this stage must give itself the programme of anti capitalist action, to combine university actions with anti capitalist actions. The best university militants must show themselves, for example, to be the most capable from the university point of view. They must show themselves as political leaders going to work in a university milieu. It is completely natural to act so. The militant students must feel respect for the necessity of study. In order that this can be realised, it is necessary to eliminate the obstacles to the advance of science, of art, and of technique. It is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system, to unite the two things, political activity and study.

It is necessary to discuss all the problems of the exploited masses in the university; not only to condemn the capitalist system, but to elaborate a rational plan, to confront capitalism with such a plan. It is for this reason that it is necessary to decide what it is necessary to study, who will designate the teachers, who will decide the themes of study and the programmes, but also in the function of objectives. It is necessary to unite study with life from now on.

In Cuba, they are in process of arranging to eliminate the university. They have already a project on foot, so that the factories and the workers areas become universities, without diminishing the capacity of the latter, but on the contrary elevating them. Then there is created a climate of social and not individual knowledge. Capitalist teaching is individual. In socialism it will be social; all the world will know everything. And why will it not be so? Why must there be one person who knows how to direct a rocket at the moon? and what if he is lost?

The social organisation, which the Workers State has is necessary. Already Cuba, but also China are beginning. In China there is beginning to be a social domination of the human being, of nature and of the Cosmos. This gives in consequence a capacity for more elevated interpretation, of decision—allowing more progress in scientific knowledge, the reduction of delays, which separate the different phases of an experience, an elevation of scientific capacity. All these elements interinfluence each other and elevate themselves more and more. Then a man can go into the cosmos, can plant the vegetables. Knowledge is realised in a simple form.

It is necessary to discuss syllabuses whose fundamental conclusions are how to resolve the problems of society, for example, the problems of the earthquakes, the cyclical devastations in Sicily, in Sardinia, in Southern Italy. This is what it is necessary to propose, how to eliminate the nutritional deficiencies in the population, to study, how to eliminate the greater and greater number of in-

fections and contagious illnesses. In the same way there already exists experiences concerning mental illnesses—which have quite an echo—and it is necessary to attack other illnesses. That is all that it is necessary to pose in the university, programmes and struggles; to struggle at the same time for immediate ameliorations and unite this struggle with those of the proletariat, with the struggle for power, combining them in a programmatic form.

It is not enough to go to struggle in the faculties of architecture by saying "the most important thing is to take power", that is true, but how to combine power with architecture? It is necessary to make a plan for architecture: a plan of housing, of ways of communication, of sanitary works, and to unite this plan with the struggle for the workers and peasant government, with the struggle for soviets. Then it is necessary to show that to realise this plan, it is necessary to have soviets and to say: "we fight for that in the university field, and we place our knowledge in the service of these needs. But for that it is necessary to take power. And as we alone cannot take it, we aid the workers, so that they may take it, in struggling for this programme". And this would have an immense authority.

This does not suppress the university activity, but complements it with the struggles for power, in weighing as a university on society and in maintaining authority as such. In remaining only a university movement, all is lost. It is for that reason that all the university movements, not directly connected with the struggle for power, learning from experiences and organising themselves for power, disintegrate.

Cohn Bendit has abandoned the struggles, saying that he was preparing for new ones. He has retreated. He has capitulated. One never passes to a new stage (which is not to desert) without making first of all a balance of the struggles, without drawing conclusions. Cohn Bendit demonstrated that he was the result of the pressure of the revolutionary situation. But as he had no programme, nor necessary objectives, he disintegrates. He is actually against a discussion in France for the reanimation of the movement, expressed programmatically. And at this moment Cohn Bendit brings out a book of insults, and attacks—not with a bad intention—against the existence of the revolutionary party. He does not understand events and thus he does not draw any programmatic conclusion.

It is not that the university movement has failed, but it has lacked the programme, the programme which unifies the students with the workers movement. It lacked the patience to wait for the communist masses to feel themselves influenced by the students. The latter have not acted with the sentiment and the consciousness that they had to organise themselves to await the mobilisation of the proletariat. It was logical to think that this first stage in France was going to pass and that the leadership of the PCF was going to profit from this to contain the movement.

It is necessary to discuss in all the university movement and in particular in that of Germany, the conclusions for society. For example, the problems of the process in France and of the present leadership. It is necessary to discuss the lack of a programme, of revolutionary objectives and to understand that the students and the university movement is only a complementary part of all the struggles of the masses for power. But to say that it is complementary, does not mean that it depends on it. It can promote, stimulate, impel. It can be during a period at the head of the process, exercising the function of the party, without developing itself as such. It can exer-

**Out with British Troops and Police from Anguilla.  
Strikes and demonstrations!**

# STUDENT MOVEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS POWER

## Secretariat of the IV International

cise the function in giving directives, programme, objectives, forms of struggle to stimulate advance and afterwards to fuse with the movement.

The objective is the taking of power and the forms to take it must be based on the revolutionary programme, which leads to the destruction of the capitalist structures.

### UNITE THE DIFFERENT LEVELS OF STRUGGLE

The student can play a great role in this activity. And this role is the struggle for a revolutionary programme, which combines the elements of study for each speciality, for each scientific subject, with the struggle for power. It is necessary to have a combination of these two elements. What unites this struggle for power is the programme that the students put forward: programme as much university as political, combining plans of housing, roads, sanitary works, electrification, transport, with the expropriation of imperialism, of capitalism, and centralised functioning. It is all that which it is necessary to combine.

It is necessary to discuss the problems of study, of the human being, of science, of medicine, of biology, of physiology, the problems of space, of architecture. It is necessary to discuss all. For example in the engineering branch: discussion on exploiting the mines, to open the pits, to find petrol, to seek for water, to electrify the country. Good, we agree with all this. But for who? At what cost? It is necessary to demonstrate how in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, in the first stage, in China similarly in the first stage, the country was developed without engineers, without technicians, without anything. The technicians and the engineers were made en route and better than before. With the world support of the masses, many kilometres of railways were put down in some months in Yugoslavia, with hands and without tools, but also without eating. They diverted the course of the waters, displaced by the mountains, as in China.

It is evident that these are past stages of history. Today it is no longer necessary to act thus; but if it was, one would do it. That shows in every way, that humanity, the Workers States even on the basis of the poorest conditions, can develop themselves rapidly. In Sardinia also a rapid development is possible, and not with capital investments as the leadership of the Communist Party argues. It is not that, which Sardinia needs to progress, nobody has any other interest. And even in the case where some capitalist will invest capital, this will produce no development of this region. They would do it, because it is convenient to them, and for no other reason. Now Sardinia needs houses, capable of resisting the earthquakes, the floods. Cataclysms are social and not natural. One cannot hinder the earthquakes happening, but one can on the other hand hinder their results.

Good, that is what it is necessary to study: how to force and to hinder the consequences of the earthquakes, and then how to construct the houses which resist tremors, to construct them in the safest places, to have good houses and not these present barracks, which are an infamy. When it is cold, people die of cold, when it is hot, people die of the heat. These are permanently the sources of infection, of contagious illnesses. In winter all sorts of illnesses are caused by the cold; in summer all sorts of contagious and infectious diseases. Thus the discussion in the university field must be destined to show that the support to Cohn-Bendit, to Rudi Dutschke is the product of a need of the student vanguard to find a centre, which neither the communists or socialists provide. They found this centre. It cannot be taken again in the immediate future.

The demonstration that the party is necessary to take power, and that this taking of power is a need, cannot be separated from the university activity, but

on the contrary is united to it. It is necessary to undertake in the university field, the task which the worker must undertake in the factory. And just as the worker must work and produce, gaining in authority and conviction, so it is necessary in the university field to realise this same task. It is necessary to show that in order for the student to have a perspective in the development of society, it is necessary to struggle for power, and that these are not distant activities, separated activities, but are on the contrary united.

In Germany this is one of the tasks in a short stage. The student movement without being a substitute for the party can temporarily be a substitute for it. Like the trade union, it cannot replace the party, but it can in specific historic conditions fulfill the function of the party as do the trade unions in the example of Bolivia. If the organisation of the party is not realised in time, the trade union degenerates, disintegrates. It is the same thing for the university movement. It cannot be a permanent replacement, for its essential function does not lie there. It has neither the representation nor the weight, nor a place in society, which will allow it to have authority and objectives. The proletariat is the leading class in society through its place in the latter. Its assurance comes from its role in the economy.

The students can immediately weigh in society, as they feel the desire for this and can favour this action, by intervening in the struggle to impel the currents in the university camp, which incline themselves towards this activity. The movement of Cohn Bendit is on the contrary much more paternalist. It has appeared to protect the proletariat. The communist proletariat has no need to be told to take power; it is preparing itself for this. It is sufficient to measure the development of the struggles in Germany to realise that it is capitalism which retreats and not the proletariat.

It is capitalism which proposes to present these laws on co-management to contain the revolution. It is capitalism which has proposed and resolved upon these emergency laws, for it sees the advance of the struggles of the masses.

That is to say that the proletariat without being organised directly in a class party, intervenes and prepares to intervene as a class to launch itself forward. Hence these repressive laws anticipate the process. It is the course which they foresee. And in the measure that they feel that all the laws will be insufficient, they seek to disunite, to disorganise, to disintegrate the student, petit bourgeoisie, proletariat front with this proposal for co-management, for incorporating in the management of the enterprises, the workers aristocracy and the workers bureaucracy. Capitalism shows in this that it has no security. If it felt sure, now in the future of German capitalism, it would feel its capacity to contain the struggles of the masses, and would not bring out this law, which is a notable prejudice against it. It prejudices competition with the rest of capitalism. It introduces a beginning of workers control, although it does not propose it. It is a beginning of workers control, to make the workers aristocracy participate; it has no other remedy than to make a sector intervene, which in every way comes from the camp of the class enemy, the proletariat.

It is therefore a measure, which presents great dangers for capitalism. And nevertheless it is capitalism, which takes the initiative and not the proletariat. And the German Workers State, which is led bureaucratically by one of the most degenerated leaderships, attracts constantly scientists, doctors from capitalist Germany. It gains constantly an authority superior to the pernicious consequences imposed by the bureaucratic leadership. The German proletariat and the students see all that.

The strength of the German students is a combination of the pressure of the world revolution and of the existence of

the German proletariat, the assurance of its will to fight and its constant concern to elevate its struggles and to take power. But if there was not the world revolution and its progress, the students would not feel the proletariat, for there exists no means of direct communication: there is neither party or organisation, which allows this to be done. When there exists neither one or the other, the student movement reflects then by its action, the most severe criticism of capitalism by all of society. It feels the pressure of the world revolution. Then it can see the proletariat and its forces.

The attempt to create the "free universities" as they are called in Germany is for the students, an attempt to escape from the control of capitalism in order not to be in its service. We are not against the "free universities", but what do they mean? What reasons for existence have they? Under the capitalist system, it is impossible for such universities to exist, having the power of decision. It is in the last instance a refuge which it sees itself constrained to accept, but which it wishes to isolate. It is necessary on the contrary, that these universities go forward to unite themselves in the struggle for the programme of the worker-peasant government. Then they would be a centre to impel the struggles. But if they remain a centre which canalises, struggles and is an obstacle, they have no value. Freedom then serves as an obstacle, a block to the revolutionary struggle. This is the reason for which capitalism allows in many countries—and in France among others—the free universities to organise themselves to the extent that the latter are not a decisive weight in the rest of society.

All this shows that capitalism is weak, without strength. But the students lack a party, traditions, a centre which organises, in seeking to advance in the anti-capitalist struggle. They are blocked in this process and do not succeed in finding the forms of struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. In Germany and in France, the students can without any doubt develop one of the most elevated and most important functions, even temporarily as a party.

Hence the recent declarations of the PCF take account of the struggles of the students. It does not mock as in the past. It now says no longer that they are adventurers, but says simply "they came out when the conditions were not yet ripe". Before, they accused them of being "adventurers, agents of capital, wanting

to deliver the proletariat over to capital". Now the PCF no longer says that anymore, for the proletariat has observed, reflected, measured the action of the students in France as in Germany or in Italy, and has seen that these are not adventurers, that they came out to fight with good intentions, with the correct desire to impel the struggles, but they do not have the programme, nor the prepared organisation, nor the objectives. And it is for that reason that their weight has diminished.

From this experience then arises the need to draw the conclusions from the process, on the lack of revolutionary objectives, the lack of previous organisation, on the limits of the student struggle, which to the extent that they have not succeeded in uniting themselves to the proletariat, to impel it, degenerate and disintegrate. Cohn Bendit is the expression of this. On the other hand, where the students express directly the depth of the revolutionary struggle, where there is no organising sectors, revolutionary class centres of the masses, they can play a very profound role of organisers, stimulators, a motor role for the political and revolutionary organisation of the masses, as in Mexico with the workers party based on the trade unions.

And where, as in France, and Germany, in Italy, the proletariat possesses organisations with class traditions, the students can play a transitory role of stimulant to impel the proletariat to struggle and to agitate for the programme of the socialist revolution. To do this and to attain in a short stage these objectives, it is necessary to combine the function of university agitator, of organiser and of propagandist with the role of militant and revolutionary political leader. It is all this that it is necessary to unite in this stage.

Thus it is in consequence fundamental in this stage to link the university programme directly with the anti-capitalist programme, with economic measures, political and social measures, which make the struggles against capitalism advance. January 1969

### CORRECTION

We apologise to our readers for an erroneous analysis [No. 84 RED FLAG] of the crisis concerning the Common Market. It is not correct to regard De Gaulle as the initiator of the recent fracas with Britain.

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# The objective Worker-Student-Peasant alliance in Pakistan demands the programme of the Socialist Revolution

WE SALUTE THE REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PAKISTANI MASSES

On a world scale the revolutionary process continues to accelerate toward the final overthrow of what remains of capitalism and imperialism by the revolutionary world masses. In this process new leaps in the world revolution constantly occur. In an earlier period the struggle, against American imperialism, of the Vietnamese masses, the Revolutionary General Strike in France, in the Middle East, the clash between the Arab revolution and imperialism, enormously concentrated the world masses. In the last months the struggle of the Pakistani masses which arose with tremendous and sudden violence, has further elevated the struggle of the exploited masses of the world.

Clearly the process of the world revolution develops constantly despite the lack of a world conscious revolutionary leadership. This fact has been vividly illustrated in Pakistan, and in particular East Pakistan, in the last period. The pressure of the Pakistani masses forced the dictator Ayub Khan to resign in favour of some form of bourgeois democracy. This was the intention of the various political parties, to overthrow the dictatorship of Ayub Khan and to replace it with a bourgeois democratic system, but this is no longer possible, and the masses had other ideas and having pushed the political parties into a confrontation with the dictatorship, they then proceeded to impose their own control over the country, the means of production and to impose their own democratic forms. In fact to a great extent the masses actually held power for a period in East Pakistan. The exploited masses of East Pakistan, who only have an average income of £15, who have been faced with exploitation, terror from the regime of Ayub Khan and famine, pushed the frightened leadership of the political parties like the East Pakistan Awami League, who had a programme of autonomy for East Pakistan and the pro-Chinese National Awami Party, who have a programme of economic and electoral reforms, into activity and carried the process beyond the intentions of these leaderships.

In Dacca (the capital of East Pakistan) for example, the police, who are armed, disappeared from the streets in the face of the worker, student and peasant masses. In West Pakistan millions of workers were on strike and demonstrated with demands for the restoration of the right to strike, for free trade union activity, for an increase in basic wages and for free medical facilities and housing. In the East all industry, commerce and government business was brought to a complete standstill for weeks with all the population—from doctors to railway workers—on strike. Using the gherao method (in blockading the management in the factories) the workers in East Pakistan not only demanded 150% pay increases, but in many instances actually gained these demands. In the countryside 'Peoples Courts' were organised in order to impose the justice of the masses on landlords, policemen, bureaucrats and rent collectors—justice in the form of fines and, for the worst criminals, death. In one enormous explosion of strike, demonstrations, gheraos and 'peoples justice' the masses imposed their control in a process, which went far beyond 'dual power'.

It was, however, an empirical process without a conscious revolutionary leadership, and it was this lack of a leadership, and the lack of a programme—although the students were demanding the nationalisation of industry and the banks, and the withdrawal from the Seato and Cento imperialist war alliances—limited the process and allowed the military to impose martial law in an attempt to ensure the survival of capitalism. In these circumstances it is criminal of the leadership of the Chinese Workers State not to have provided a political leadership and not to have given all aid to the Pakistani masses in their struggle. The intervention in support of the Pakistani masses was demanded by the situation, but it would have been of prime importance for the leadership of the Chinese Workers State

to have called on the masses of Pakistan to adopt the programme of the Socialist Revolution, for the expropriation of the land, industry, transport and the banks, the organisation of Soviets to control all aspects of society and to allow the full intervention of the masses in the running of the country; the organisation of workers militias, communes in the countryside to control the land, and the imposition of a worker and peasant government. The revolutionary leadership and the authority of the Workers State would have been enough to ensure a Workers State in Pakistan, and a Workers State in Pakistan would have led to the creation of Workers States in all S.E. Asia, in India, in Burma, in Thailand and to a leap in the whole world struggle. But the process is not yet finished, and we call on the leadership of the Chinese Workers State to call on the Pakistani masses to prepare for power and to put at their disposal all the strength of the Workers State. The failure to aid the struggle of the Pakistani masses will not go unnoticed by the Chinese masses, and it can only serve to accelerate the process of the political revolution in the Chinese Workers State, and the formation of a new revolutionary leadership.

It is true that martial law has been imposed with harsh penalties against the masses in the form of flogging, hanging and heavy prison sentences—14 years for strike—but the military regime in Pakistan has no possibility of consolidating its power, or ensuring the continuation of capitalism. The army cannot impose itself on the millions of East Pakistan who have shown themselves prepared to take power. The military show their weakness by insisting that wage increases gained in the last period are actually paid and by being unable to prevent the militant activity of the workers who continue to strike. In fact miners of the Quetta area of the West are still on strike and in a jute mill in the East workers are striking by the simple method of standing motionless in front of their machines, and only performing two operation each hour. The workers are still in the factories certainly and martial law is imposed, but the factories produce nothing, and the military are unable to restore production for the bosses. What is happening in Pakistan at

this moment is only a stage in the revolution, and in a short period the struggle of the Pakistani masses will reach new heights, and will shortly sweep away what is left of imperialism and capitalism in Pakistan.

The Pakistan masses have shown the invincible spirit of the masses of the world to smash capitalism whatever the consequences. As a workers leader said in Dacca recently ringing up the military and challenging them to come out and fight; "Ten thousand of us die every time there is a cyclone. Tackling you would only amount to three cyclones at the most."

We call on British workers to aid the

Pakistani masses by preventing with strikes, demonstrations and sabotage, any aid being given by British Imperialism to the military regime in Pakistan.

We call for the immediate withdrawal of Britain from Seato, Cento and all other imperialist war alliances.

But the greatest aid that the workers of the country can give to the Pakistani masses and to the exploited masses of the world, is to create their own organisms—factory committees, tenants committees, students committees etc.—and to adopt the programme of the Socialist Revolution in order to overthrow, without delay, what is left of world capitalism and imperialism.

## EDITORIAL CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

timidate the masses of the Caribbean, but only serve to increase their hatred of imperialism and their determination to get rid of it.

The process of the world revolution advances rapidly to the final destruction of capitalism and imperialism. It is an irreversible process. The coup which took place in Syria, coming from a backward sector of the standing army, linked to what little remains of capitalism and feudalism in Syria has completely failed in all its reactionary intentions. The Baath Congress re-elected Al Atassi and nearly all the left wing of the Baath, which the coup had sought to remove. Now Syria makes an appeal to Egypt and Iraq for unification, which if it took

## OUT OF NATO, SEATO, CENTO!

## EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW NO. 1.

Contents:  
All the political documents of the VIII World Congress of the IV International  
Editorials by J. Posadas  
Activity of the International  
8/6 P.P. or 7/6 Collets or Dillons

## 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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

place would be a tremendous blow to imperialism, because even though only Syria is a Workers State, in the Union the superior social forms would influence and accelerate the process towards a unified Workers State of the three countries. In Pakistan, despite the opposition by pro-Chinese TU leaders and without any help from the Workers States, the masses, led by the working class, reached a very elevated level of organisation setting up popular tribunals to put on trial and punish landlords and thugs, and now the present military regime feels itself so weak that it has to allow the wage increases, which were won during the height of the rioting. If there is a lull now, it is because the leadership of the masses has retreated before the military threats, but the masses have not, and there will quickly be a recommencing of civil war. In Europe with the strikes in the public sector in France, the continual process of strikes and demonstrations in Italy, the demonstrations even of priests in Spain, announce that capitalism has lost all social force, and that it is only the lack of a leadership which prevents the masses from going forward to the seizure of power.

This is the world and national process which advances towards the final settlement of accounts, still in the main empirically, but as Cde. Posadas has analysed, becoming more conscious as the IV International begins more and more to influence those centres and leaderships, which direct the process. But to accelerate this process on a national scale as well as internationally, the organisms and the programme are necessary. The lull, which has occurred in N. Ireland after all the combativity shown in the struggle there, is because the Civil Rights leadership has not reached the programme, and the masses have not yet found a way round this leadership to a programme which will attract all the exploited masses of Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, to the struggle against capitalism.

The construction of these organisms, the factory committees elected from mass meetings with all the delegates, subject to instant recall, will not start from nothing, but from the level already reached by the working class in the shop steward committees and the TU movement. Similarly the programme is not an abstraction, which comes from nowhere, but is a bringing together of all the demands which the masses, separately are fighting for, uniting this struggle with the struggle for a workers government. We appeal to the vanguard, to the lower and middle officials of the TU and LP apparatus, who are responding to the pressure of the masses, to the student vanguard to push forward the discussion of the programme which must be adopted; immediate 30% increase in wages, minimum living wage to rise with the cost of living, all profits of automation to the workers, nationalisation of key industries without compensation and under workers control, out from NATO, out with US imperialism from the country, for a Workers government.

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# Workers of the World, Unite!

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

# RED FLAG



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

No. 88

25th. April 1969

price 6d.

FOR A 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE ON MAY DAY

WITH THE IMPOSITION OF FACTORY OCCUPATIONS AND WORKERS CONTROL.

MASS WORKERS ASSEMBLIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS TO DISCUSS THE ANTI-CAPITALIST  
PROGRAMME AND THE METHODS TO IMPOSE IT. OUT WITH THE TROOPS FROM ULSTER !

Throughout the world the masses increasingly take the initiative against capitalism, although they do not possess the programme and the leaderships. The action of the Korean Workers State in shooting down the Yankee plane shows the desire of the masses of the world for the preventive war against imperialism, the desire to take the initiative and smash the forces of material privilege and private property. In Vietnam and the Middle East the same line can be discerned; despite the attempted conciliations, and the prevarications of the leaderships, the masses are saying " we can crush imperialism and we can do it now". The desire for revolutionary insurrection was clear in Battipaglia in Italy where the bourgeoisie murdered two people in an effort to terrorise the masses, but they are not terrorised and neither are the masses intimidated anywhere, either in Pakistan, Anguilla, or Ulster. The fights in Londonderry have the same significance as those of Battipaglia - the masses are seeking power and they want it now. They are impeded, they are not sufficiently united in their own organisations - factory and area committees, but they want to be rid of injustice, private property and all the bureaucratic structure of the army and the police which defends the capitalist system and social order. They are in process of finding their way to the organisms of factory and area committees, their own form of government which will entirely supersede and eliminate all the capitalist forms of administration and lay the foundations for a workers government.

Apart from the events in the six counties, we have not had in Britain a confrontation so direct with the forces of repression as Battipaglia, but the accumulation of the anti-capitalist forces is identical in scope and spirit. The present enormous crisis in the Labour Party is an expression of the will of the masses not to tolerate any measures which fetter their just demands. Capitalism and Imperialism as represented by the top apparatus of the Labour Party cannot help but to try to repress and impede the masses in their anti-capitalist objectives, but so weak is it that the attempted anti union legislation has the element of farce present throughout. Thus although certainly the legislation is designed to fetter the immediate actions of the class in disputes by imposing a conciliation delay, imprisonment is ruled out for violations of the law and the bill has no provision to impose fines if strikers refuse to pay them. Nonetheless the bill is designed to intimidate and the masses will not tolerate it.

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Sectors of the vanguard have been trying to impose a general strike on May Day, as can be seen in the call of the Liverpool Trades Council for a general one-day strike in the Merseyside area, in face of the bureaucratic inertia of the trade union 'tops' who are waging a struggle to attempt to moderate the pro-capitalist policies of Wilson from within the apparatus.

The masses at Fords won a notable victory in the same way as for example the vanguard in Italy have won notable victories over the bourgeoisie and have imposed themselves in a way which is intolerable to capitalism (i.e. in relation to the agreements equalising in some degree wage differences between North and South Italy. This has accelerated the confidence of the vanguard so that it takes initiatives and imposes itself in some measure on the conservative leaderships. Thus the Liverpool Trades Council takes an initiative over the question of a May Day strike and the TUC is very annoyed but has not authority to impose itself. But as in Italy capitalism can still take action against the masses - albeit in an inconsistent way - in the absence of a strong, independently functioning workers organisms with an audacious anti-capitalist programme to be imposed by revolutionary methods, occupations and workers control. Nonetheless the masses are finding their way to this programme in the absence as yet of a unifying national revolutionary general strike - and the situation constantly advances toward this - we can expect to see all manner of local initiatives and confrontations with capitalist authority.

It is in this light that we must see the situation in Londonderry. It is true that <sup>hence</sup> the masses are particularly incensed through the denial of even basic democratic rights and they have had to tolerate for years the vicious gangster regime of the Unionist party, the regime of police terror and a miserable standard of life. But the process of confrontation is identical with that in Great Britain and the local actions of the masses in Londonderry and Belfast are an appeal for an all out struggle to annihilate capitalism throughout Great Britain. Troops have now been called in "to protect public services and the bourgeoisie which is on its last legs is openly resorting to threats of repression to maintain itself. It has no reform programme only a policy of pseudo conciliation followed by violence. OUT WITH THESE TROOPS. WE CALL FOR EVERY FORM OF ACTION AGAINST THIS VICIOUS THREAT OF REPRESSION BY CAPITALISM. WE CALL FOR STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THIS POLICY AND WHEREEVER POSSIBLE FOR SABOTAGE AGAINST THESE FORCES AND WE CALL UPON THE TROOPS TO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH REPRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST THE MASSES OF ULSTER. We applaud the revolutionary initiative of the masses of Ulster and we appeal for the necessity to discuss the imposition of a revolutionary general strike throughout Great Britain. It is necessary in all the actions of the proletariat to unite the anti-capitalist programme, nationalisations under workers control without compensation, all the profits of automation to the workers etc. with the demand for basic democratic rights in Ulster, an end to gerrymandering, withdrawal of British troops, an end to partition. The masses of Ulster are prepared for civil war. They have used the election in Mid Ulster to centralise themselves and with that victory they went over to civil war methods almost immediately. The actions of the masses in Ulster are going to accelerate the downfall of capitalism within Britain itself, and are an example for the worker masses in this country.

The process of mobilisation of the masses is going to continue. The strike of the women workers at Ilford is significant of the weakness of capitalism at this stage. Capitalism cannot afford to yield on this issue but it has had to yield in the case of womens pay in Fords and thus its crisis is insoluble. Strikes and preparations for strikes in the docks, the railways, above all in the car industry show the general course of events which lay the foundations for a revolutionary general strike in the future. The militancy of the teachers and nurses shows that the influence of the proletariat is continuously mobilising these sectors and all the conditions are prepared for the speedy overthrow of capitalism. Similarly in the student movement although there is a delay in the appearance of a leadership with a firm anti-capitalist programme, the anti-capitalist spirit develops and advances. The fact that in the NUS, the "right" wing has been thoroughly trounced and that the "left" sector prevails is a symptom, however distant of the constantly augmented anti-capitalist spirit of the student masses. But it is necessary here to extend the development of the worker student liaison committees, to push forward the anti-capitalist programme, to be based on the working class and not to be confined to "educational" issues.

contd. from page 2.

In conclusion we appeal for the class victory at Fords to be extended and developed. The conservative sectors of the apparatus are more and more isolated in the unions and similarly with the 'tops' in the labour party apparatus. As part of preparing the way for a national revolutionary general strike, we appeal for the regular calling of mass workers meetings in the factories and the workers areas, to discuss the anti-capitalist programme and its implementation, all wages to rise with the cost of living, all the profits of automation to the workers, workers control, nationalisations without compensation, equal pay for women, the seizure of luxury properties and unoccupied properties for the homeless, withdrawal from all imperialist war alliances, for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe etc. In any emergency conferences of the LP and the TUC the vanguard must try to impose a genuine discussion of the perspectives of the struggle for socialism in this country - it is

absurd to try to conduct the struggle over the bill fettering the trade unions as a defensive struggle. It is necessary to take the offensive in every way as did the masses at Fords and as the oppressed masses of Ulster are doing. The programme of Trotskyism is necessary at this stage! In the election in Northern Ireland the Peoples Democracy candidate put forward an aspect of this programme, that unemployed workers should take over factories, run them and find markets for the products. This is only a partial aspect of our programme. But the situation as it advances in this country and Northern Ireland more and more will demand the full anti-capitalist programme and we appeal to the revolutionary vanguard to take every effort to disseminate this programme and impose it by the only possible methods - occupations, workers control, the development of class organisms, factory and area committees and mass assemblies, mass meetings. For a national general strike on May 1st. with occupations and mass meetings! For a show of strength to concentrate and centralise the workers and the masses of this country in preparation for the historic events that are coming - the revolutionary general strike and the establishment of a workers government.

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CAMPAIGN FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE MEXICAN AND SPANISH TROTSKYISTS !  
IMPOSE THE RESTORATION OF LEGALITY FOR THE POR(T), URUGUAYAN SECTION  
OF THE 14th. INTERNATIONAL !  
FOR THE RELEASE OF ALL THE ANTI-CAPITALIST AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST  
PRISONERS IN THE WORLD !

We renew our appeal to the worker and student vanguard to demand the release of the Mexican comrades held in the jail of Lecumberri, Mexico City. Three of them, Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez, Teresa Confreta have been in jail for over three years without trial, while the other two Roberto Iriate and Cesar Colmenares have been held for some months. Other comrades who have been released have to report to the police daily and could find themselves at any moment behind bars again. The comrades who have been in prison for more than three years are charged with subversion and because there is no evidence against them and as the comrades were prepared to defend themselves aggressively in court as Trotskyists, basing themselves on the documents of Cde. Posadas the Mexican bourgeoisie have been frightened to bring them to trial. THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR BEING HELD, EVEN BY THE NORMS OF THE BOURGEOISIES OWN LEGAL CODE. It is a clear example of persecutio against the democratic rights of the masses, their right to think and speak. For this reason we direct ourselves to those organisations, national and international of liberal democratic and socialist lawyers as well as the workers and student movement to denounce this juridical monstrosity and demand that the Trotskyists and all the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist prisoners in Mexico are released.

Send telegrams and letters of protest to :-  
The Mexican Embassy, 48 Belgrave Sq., London S.W.1  
Mexican Government, Diaz Ordaz, Palacio de Gobierno, Mexico City, Mexico, D.F.

## URUGUAY.

On the 15th. March 1969 the Uruguayan government published a decree dissolving the POR(T) the Uruguayan section of the IVth. International. At the same time the government banned 'Frente Obrero' the weekly journal of the party, arrested 12 comrades who it later released, and confiscated documents and technical equipment of the party. The Uruguayan government has made this move as an act of desperation against the advance of the ideas, the policy and the organisational methods of Trotskyism. This move which comes after the arrest of 26 Trotskyist comrades last Autumn in Uruguay - these comrades were liberated after the world campaign of the International - is part of the attempt of the Uruguayan bourgeoisie to halt its own galloping social crisis, and block the influence of the IVth. International on the worker, student and intellectual vanguard in Uruguay. The Uruguayan bourgeoisie has found it impossible to maintain its rule by parliamentary means, and what was once the 'Switzerland of Latin America' has in the last year imprisoned strikers, and drafted into the army hundreds of workers and strikers, and murdered students during demonstrations.

We appeal to all the worker, student and intellectual vanguard to protest at this and to demand the immediate restoration of legality to the POR (T) and the return of all the material confiscated from the party.

Send letter and telegrams of protest to :-

Pacheco Areco, Government House, Montevideo, Uruguay.  
Uruguayan Embassy, 48 Lennox Gardens, London S.W. 1

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The British section of the IVth. International has prepared a dossier of information on the repression in Mexico and Uruguay, which can be obtained from the address of the party.

## SPAIN.

There are still comrades of the International in prison in Spain. It is necessary to continue the campaign for their release together with the release of all the worker, student and peasant political and trade union prisoners in Spain.

The comrades of the IVth. International held in jail in Seville are JOSE BELLINDO MORENO, JOAQUIN VARA LACHARO, GONZALO TOLEDANO CRESPO, JOSE FERNANDEZ SASTRE.

Send letters and telegrams of protest to :-

Franco, Government House, Madrid, Spain.  
The Spanish Embassy, 24 Belgrave Square, London S.W. 1

## THE DECLARATION OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE PRISON OF LUCUMBERRI,

MEXICO CITY.

We publish below the declaration of the Political Prisoners in the Prison of Lucumberrri, Mexico City. This resolution was adopted by three meetings in three cell blocks. In the first cell block 29 prisoners out of 33 signed the declaration, in the second 30 out of 32, and in the third 23 out of 58. It is the first time that there has been such a unification of the political prisoners who comprise Communists, Revolutionary Nationalists and Trotskyists.

The RWP(T), British section of the IVth. International, denounces and appeals to the worker and student vanguard to denounce, this provocation on the part of the Mexican bourgeoisie which has the objective of justifying either new repression in the prison or the further postponement of the trials which are pending. The Mexican bourgeoisie, as we have analysed in the article on the campaign in this issue, cannot even apply its own legal norms, but seeks all the time, as it has done for over three years with our comrades, to avoid putting political prisoners on trial.

J. Posadas. December, 1965.

Part 3.

Continued from part 2. which appeared  
in Red Flag No. 86 dated 25th March. 1969.

THE COMMUNE REMOVES POINTS OF SUPPORT FROM THE CONSERVATIVE TENDENCIES

Our attitude towards the Chinese does not respond to the individual interests nor those of a fraction or tendency. Our attitude towards the Chinese is one of respect, of recognition of their revolutionary historic function. Our criticism of the Chinese arises from their limits in programme and policy. Our criticism relates to this. The Chinese exercise an enormous revolutionary function. The commune has given to them an immense security and confidence because what impeded progress were the immense social and economic difficulties. And the immense weight of millions of peasants in a thousand economic difficulties would have burdened the economy with the individualist feeling of the peasant, of private property if there had not been a real social and economic progress. This weight of the peasants tended to individual, private solutions. And this influenced the development of the conservative tendencies in the city. The commune can remove in the city, points of support from the conservative tendencies and give them to the revolutionary wing. The effect is not yet realised sufficiently but in a little while it will be felt. These changes are being effected in China reflect this. The Commune has allowed an abbreviation by developing the economy of the historic stages and developed, the linking of the country with the city, only possible to realise, through the economic development.

The development of the economy, with the communes has shown that this is realised through stages. At the beginning the costs of production were high, there was the incorporation into work of about 200 million peasants more or less, but who were unemployed, and this was not caused by the workers state. Under feudalism, under Chiang Kai Shek, there were 500 million peasants without land and work, 500 million not 200 million. For this reason annually millions and millions of peasants died. The number of 200 million unemployed Chinese for these reasons does not show the backwardness and the incapacity of the Chinese workers state but shows the situation which the Chinese inherited. They were without houses, without iron coal, steel, industrial production. But in a few years they were able to resolve this problem through the Commune. In these same historic conditions other countries have not done what the Chinese had done. For example Cuba. Cuba could organise communes and today. We proposed to Guevara to constitute communes. Our comrades spoke to Guevara proposing the establishment of communes to him, and Guevara complained that they were making too much in relation to this, saying that there was no need to make so much noise, because it was being discussed. They were posing the problem and one could see there were internal disputes among them. It means that when Guevara replied in this way, the team saw the possibility of realising communes in Cuba. But the soviet leadership was opposed to this. And even the tendency of Fidel Castro. But the International has now demonstrated its influence in the Cuban revolution because the comrades in the name of the International spoke and said that "it was necessary to make the commune, thus, thus, and thus." Guevara replied "don't make such a fuss," as if he was saying "do not make so much propoganda, otherwise everybody will know." But the commune should not be discussed secretly, it must be discussed publically. Communism cannot conceal its ends, it must be public, thus also the Commune must be discussed publically. This discussion of the comrades with Guevara indicates the way in which we can now influence. One of the reasons besides which led to the liquidation of Guevara was this problem. He showed himself sensitive to the progress of the revolution and to the organs which showed the progress of the revolution and in this framework lies our discussion of the Commune.

THE COMMUNE INCORPORATES THE PEASANT IN THE ECONOMIC SOCIAL ACTIVITY

The commune concentrating the activity of the peasant, eliminates partial activity. It includes the peasant in a harmonious activity to be able to resolve all the industrial, agricultural, scientific, cultural theoretical problems making of the village a little city - not a village a little city which does everything like a small state, in which the peasant feels himself to be incorporated, achieving a fusion with the proletariat. Besides the commune resolves an historic problem; on this base it is possible to incorporate the peasant into economic

activity and not in the market; 200 million peasants.

It was not the responsibility, the negligence of the Chinese that led them to so much unemployment; it was an inheritance. In India and Pakistan, they must still resolve this problem; in China hence forth, it is resolved. In this country as India and Pakistan, the governments were incapable of elevating, fusing with the population, improving their level of life, to act in such a way that the population found the necessary instrument to develop the economy. On the contrary the unemployed are a weight on the economy because they are unemployed and must live. And they are consequently a cultural, social, economic political weight a negative adverse. The Chinese have incorporated the peasants in the economy and society, not in the market, so that in this way, their relations do not stimulate the feeling of private property, individualism, because they are incorporated directly in the socialist life. They incorporate themselves not through the market, production, acquisition, consumption, but through the organised life which tends to socialism. Thus China is giving the demonstration today of what can be done in India, in Pakistan, in Latin America; as for example in Brazil. It demonstrates what can be done, to eliminate the atrocious problem of backwardness and of unemployment. To incorporate the peasant directly into society, does not exclude the intervention of the market, but in such a case the market is controlled undoubtedly. The market does not vanish, acquisition and sales, remain but their functioning is planned and controlled by the state. On the other hand in the so-called market economy their consciousness takes many years to develop, because the market economy stimulates individual consciousness, individual interests and enjoyment. On the other hand, through the intervention of the state, planning and control the collective consciousness is elevated and at the same time it gives to the peasant the industrial consciousness of the worker. The peasant when he goes to the city must use new instruments; the use, the functioning of new machines is difficult. They go against all his experience. He is used to seeing nature, the trees the earth, to live the life of the fields and all this has subordinated all his experience. The entry of technique, of engineering, of machinery into the country accelerating production develops rapidly the peasant consciousness, transforming the peasants into proletarians. The low concentration of the agrarian proletariat determines its lesser weight in society, indeed the greatest individual agrarian enterprise amounts to between 100 to 1000 workers. On the other hand the car industry concentrates for example 1000 workers in a single factory. And there are a million workers who produce cars. A million! Consider the weight they represent!

A million metal and engineering workers! On the other hand in the country however large the concentration, there have never been more than a thousand workers in any one enterprise.

A direct attempt to fuse the city with the country are the Kolkhoz and the Sovkhoz. But they are demonstrated to be insufficient, limited instruments. The Commune has shown itself superior to these organisms. The Chinese found the solution, the Soviet Russians no. It is true that there exist various conditions of development but the commune has shown itself infinitely superior whether to the Kolkhos or the Sovkhoz. But at the same time the Commune shows that without a soviet, it lacks a foot. It does not walk with two feet, the Chinese would say, the other foot is not used. The Commune makes the consciousness of the industrial proletariat rapidly assimilated to the peasant. Consider that the peasant when he finds himself in front of the machine experiences a difficulty because its use is totally different from working the land. The machine demands ability, concentration. In the Argentine the "black heads" - so called because of their mops of black hair - workers who from within the Argentine were transferred to Buenos Aires and to the other important city centres are those who are at present fighting in Tucuman for the workers and peasant government, are those who in China are constructing the workers State and constitute the base of the development of the state and who in a short time will be beyond Boumedienne.

#### SELF MANAGEMENT: THE DIFFERENT PATHS IN ALGERIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

When Boumedienne took over, the team which supported him and which stimulated him, proposed in due course to eliminate a series of self management enterprises. The elimination was not simply to dispose of self management, it was to effect a return to private property. The excuse was that self management would lead to economic ruin and supporting themselves on this excuse they sought to return to private property they did not touch the source of the evil. That is to say the fever was not abandoned but the body was abandoned so as not to have the fever. And the workers said: "no, no you will touch nothing". And nothing was touched. It is there in the daily papers; the workers assembly of one important factory resolved to support and sustain the self management of another factory that was tending to retreat. The workers demand now the occupation and the self management in all the French factories.

We are not for self management, but for the workers it is a sign of immense progress. They want to control and dominate and in this Pablo bases his shameless statement "The Yugoslavs are going towards Socialism". Filth! He speaks about "the contribution to marxist theory and to socialism of the Yugoslavs with self management" Swine! It is a retreat. It is a substitution for the Soviet. And such that it stimulate private property, private interest. This is not progressive. We do not oppose it and we understand the progressive feeling of the workers who do not know how to organise themselves and seek where to centralise themselves. But the aristocratic layer takes this progressive interest, the administration dominates it and perverts it. Self management develops an aristocratic layer in the workers movement, as it now exists. Read about the conflicts in Yugoslavia; between the well paid layers and the directors, a united front against the rest of the workers. And in spite of the fact that they want to equalise the distribution of income, it is paid in the relation to each one according to his capacity and the salary absorbs all the income. And what remains to distribute as profit is zero. The law made, the deception is realised it seems with self management. There might be equal distribution but in the wages lies the deception. It leads to private property. It leads to private property!"

Self management is an invention, the bureaucracy must organise the economy trying to extend it, to justify its role but as it cannot develop collectivisation, it develops thus. To justify and to have points of support in this form of organisation of the economy it seeks its base of support; the workers aristocracy. It creates the workers aristocracy of the bureaucracy of the Workers State. The result is that production does not increase on the contrary factories compete among themselves. They themselves say it, there are some factories which they have to close because people are not buying the goods because going to the market means that the market does not have the capacity to buy all the shoes. They produce more than they need. On the other hand, planning has to take into account what it needed and no more, that's it. It is an immense quantity of wasted energies and then in producing thus and producing for the market, the market determines what to produce and creates a similar situation to capitalist privilege. Production takes into account the great buyer of footwear, of luxury and does not produce for the people, who cannot buy. Thus begins anarchy in production and from there the return to the capitalist cycle.

The workers support self management because not being able to intervene politically, they seek in a trade union way, through self management to influence and decide in the economy. In this sense there exists a difference between Yugoslavian self management and the Algerian model. The latter the workers seek to intervene, to weigh and decide. They do not have their own trade unions, independant unions, they do not have an independant political life and feeling that they are not able to decide, they seize hold of these measures to seek a means through which to decide, to impose. For this reason self management does not go; and when it functions, it functions in a different sense, because they seek to elevate its functioning through workers control, economic planning. For this reason in Algeria it is not the same. In Algeria different groups show that the workers are siezing hold of self management to impose workers control and collectivisation. They have not been able to advance more because self management as soon as it was created, conflicted with the group of Boumedienne, right at the beginning of its development.

The measures of the Algerian workers are fundamentally, historically different from Yugoslav self management, because in Algeria there was no planning of production, Algeria was not a Workers State. Then the workers have developed production seeking to collectivise and plan it. The Algerian workers have taken self management as a point of support to stimulate the planning of production. For this reason there have been reciprocal visits of workers from different factories seeking to support themselves mutually to develop production. In the last Congress of the Engineering Trade Unions a resolution demanded "all the profits of self management may go for the development of the country". This expresses the collective socialist feeling of the peasant. For this reason Boumedienne went to Moscow. At the beginning he showed himself indifferent to the USSR, he criticised it certainly; now he seeks support in the Soviet Union. He sought protection, economic, political, military help, but at the same time he has done it to justify himself and to gain authority before the Algerian masses, not to

appear as a reactionary. This is the important objective of the trip of Boumedienne in the USSR; to seek support, political authority before the Algerian masses not to appear as a reactionary. Boumedienne has tried to hand over self management to private property, but the workers have replied to him "we will not return to private property." It has not been possible in fact to retreat. There were two or three enterprises returned to private ownership. But Boumedienne wished to return the lot, Now he has to run to Moscow; this then shows the force of the Algerian revolution.

Self management is an historic obstacle, a reactionary measure imposed by the present bureaucracy to justify its existence to seek to increase production to justify its role in the economy and in society, stimulating private interest. But in a short time in Algeria the workers will see that self management has nothing to do with what they want, they will seek superior forms and that is the planning, the trade union, the factory committees, the commune, the soviet to develop collectively the Algerian workers state. They will see that the advance of the Algerian Workers State which it will be necessary still to structure, demands the workers council.

The Soviet Bureaucracy at the beginning rejected self management but afterwards when it saw the possibility to be able to utilise it to its benefit, Khrushchev said "the committees of self management are interesting, we will discuss them. The structure of the Soviet Union does not allow self management but the economic reforms lead to a form of self management. They stimulate private interests, decentralise production, decentralise the economy and open the way to the pressures of the market which determines who has power, as in capitalism. The workers council, the councils of the peasants and soldiers were the masters of Russia. Here was based the popular will, because the council includes various sectors of the population with various sectors of production. The advice of the workers, peasants and workers united and decided "we do this". On the other hand the Yugoslavs instead of constituting soviets, developed self management. Why did they not institute soviets? Because the correct struggle which the Yugoslav leadership carried on against Stalin did not succeed in developing the revolutionary leadership; otherwise they would have leaned on the soviets. And these have never spoken of the soviets. Now they have resorted to self management, to self management to seek to conciliate their interests with the bureaucracy. Socialism demands the development of norms and collective forms of distribution of production, of distributive and collective forms of distribution, of collective appropriation, of collective moral and spirit. Self management develops private morality. It does not develop collective interests.

It is a measure which the bureaucracy has taken. It has no other way of escape, now it seeks to procure allies. Consciously! Capitalism has created and corrupted a sector of the proletariat elevating it to a workers aristocracy, analogously the bureaucracy to seek to maintain itself, seeks to create bases of support as with this worker aristocracy. The Chinese ignore all this. The Chinese ignore completely this, because they do not know, have not understood what the bureaucracy is and they are mistaken. Although they see self management as dangerous, they do not know how to characterise it and then they commit great stupidities. Revolutionaries who understand where the world is going make stupid errors in relation to self management. They characterise it as "bourgeois". This expresses the lack of theoretical understanding of what is a Workers State.

#### THE COMMUNE IS PLANNING NOW

The commune, in order to develop and to resolve the needs of economic development, aims at planning the limited production. They take into account the following; the commune has to make a limited planning like in a small country. Planning on a limited scale as if it were a small country, for its own needs! It is a real planning which they are doing. It does not depend on the centre - though it does not break centralisation - because the centre could not supply its needs. And what the Chinese masses and the Chinese leadership are doing, which really is a great contribution to the history of Marxism and the revolution, is that they can harmonise the particular planned development without big contradictions with the interest, with the centralised need of the economy. Because there is a conflict, a real conflict. The fact of planning in a limited way in each commune, brings about conflicts. They could do it, without doubt but not without consequences. Because of this came all the arrangements, rules and corrections, but the principle was maintained and they could do it. They could do it because of all what we explained previously, because the commune could respond to the necessity of economic progress and allow the incorporation of all the masses, and moreover it was based in the activity made by the Eighth Army, by the Chinese Communist Party, through the Red Army; preparing the conditions which afterwards were used in the Communes, even though in their preparation they did not have the consciousness nor the intention of making the commune.

Four years ago, there was a moment of crisis, in the years leading to the installation of the communes and moreover at that time one could already see the rapture with the Soviets coming. The installation of the communes posed a serious and grave problem: the immense weight of the peasantry which, attracted by the need to resolve its economic and social problems, gradually changed its sentiment and aspiration of private property, of individual interest, and opposed it with the pressure, with the weight, with the political leadership of the proletariat. Because of this they sent the best of the proletariat to the countryside, so that this incorporation of the peasantry did not have the effect of attracting the rest of society to the peasant mentality. Because of this they sent them. That is to say the conscious leadership united the new with the old. This is the essential basis of 'Walking with two feet', which the Chinese still do not understand; To unite the old and the new. They take it in another sense. And to unite the old and the new is to unite the soviets and the communes. This is to unite the old and the new and to 'march with two feet'. If the Chinese had done this there would have been an enormous progress; the masses of Asia, of Africa and America would resolve their problems in five years.

#### UNITE THE YOUNG TEAM WITH THE OLD:

The sending of the best of the proletariat to the countryside had this reason; To weigh with the weight, the political security of the proletariat to attract the peasantry, to influence it. The old team - even though they were young, they were communist - went to weigh on the peasantry to incorporate them, to attract them, to discipline them to centralise them in the interest of the Chinese Workers State. This school is an example of this; here there are comrades who for the first time are present at a school, not solely of the International but at a school. They come without any formed ideas, come with an immense individualist sentiment, which is seen in their way of looking at things. We see how they look, we do not say anything, but we judge that it is like this. And we defend them and educate them. They come with a completely individualist sentiment believing that they are above the school and giving opinions and judgements from above the school. They still do not feel the authority of the school, they cannot feel it. A time to mature is necessary, it is necessary to learn, to read, to write, to experiment. To experiment needs a base and a guide which is the old team of the International, which is here and which is very small; for practically all here are new comrades. And we have let this thing pass intentionally. Because of this we did not intervene, we let things pass, because tomorrow you are going to have to do this to lead the revolution, not a cadre school. And you have to learn to discipline yourselves, to learn to feel the best and apply the best. Because of this we let things go, and because of this we are not worried by any difficulties which there are, it is not important to us.

So that the team feels capable of acting alone, we give opinions in general and then we leave it at that! And also when stupidities are done which is quite often. But making mistakes is part of learning. The new team, which is the majority of those here, we combine them with a part of the old team. The old team gives the confidence, the security, the centralisation and the collectivity, the collective sentiment. But more important than the collective sentiment is the security, the confidence and the continuity. On this basis the collective sentiment is based, and in this way it attracts. And comrades who come with an unformed disposition, who have to learn this, we understand this; comrades who have to organise themselves, have to learn to have confidence in the International, in the ideas - because they have to learn in practice - receive this weight. The more intelligent the comrades are, the more they will demonstrate that they assimilate the ideas of the International rapidly. This will be the greatest expression of intelligence. The errors are the normal part, a common part, this does not worry us, we have also made many mistakes. And we are not frightened of making others. It is not important; we correct ourselves or the class corrects us. Our greatest teacher, Lenin, said; "One must not fear errors, what one must fear is not to learn from mistakes". It is necessary to learn from mistakes, then one fears nothing. From this comes our audacity; we are not frightened of anything! We are certain of everything! We are not inhibited, not intimidated by the lack of understanding of one or another problem. We believe, we are convinced that we dominate the world sufficiently to do what we are doing. But it is necessary to construct the team to do this in every country. Thus the old team comes here to influence and unite, and part of this activity is to join the new with the old team. But, different to other schools

there is no more than 10% of the old team here, no more. We have a new team and it goes very well; quite confused, with many who criticise, many expressions of dissatisfaction and annoyance, but it is not important. It is going very well and there is a flower of a team developing in this school which is seeing the perspective of the International, of the revolution and of themselves. And these factors are going to weigh and are the ones which are going to decide.

The Chinese did this, are doing this. The Chinese sent the old communist team, youths of twenty but members of the old team, but communists, all members of the Chinese Communist party and they went to the countryside to attract, to organise the peasants in the consciousness of the Chinese Workers State, of communism and also to learn themselves. Because the peasants taught them quite a lot. Because the young Chinese communists felt sure, without doubt, and they were sure, they had the right to feel sure, powerful, invincible and joined with this they had an attitude a little sectarian and impatient. There is an article in 'Pekin Review' which showed how they directed themselves to containing the impatient ones among the communists who wanted everything to happen in one year; saying "But the situation is not advancing" they feel hurt, they are not capable of having the patience to wait for a growth, an ascent and to see that a militant is one thing and he who is constructing a militant is another. Thus it is necessary to devote time and in time all these errors, foolishness and decentralisation but the old team overcame them. And the Chinese sent this old team, of youths of 20 years to assimilate the new team of youths of 60 years. And the joining together of the 20 years and the 60 years is the Chinese Workers State.

And this same combination is here as well. We are the ones who are 18 or 20 years old, together with those of 50, 55 and we have to assimilate the youth as well. When I say youths who are 18 and 20, it is because I am 20. The age only designates the time which has gone past, but not the ability, which is the same. I have the same capacity as an 18 year old, the same vigour and dynamism. Now my dynamism is better because I use it better, before I wasted a little. Because of this our teachers, and I repeat what they say, learning from them; 'from the beginning of my conscious life' as Lenin and also Trotsky said. That is to say of the life when their consciousness commenced to dominate, they did everything with the idea of socialism. Because of this it is the conscious life. In the same way as the unconscious process of history encounters its consciousness in Marxism, so we enter into conscious life when we become revolutionaries. Up till this moment we did many stupid things. We do not do them anymore; what we do wrong now, are errors. We believe that we do not make any important errors now. Otherwise we would not have the authority we have.

The Chinese Communist Party demonstrated with the communes and the use of the bases of the commune, the power which the commune signified to resolve all the problems. That is to say, the centralisation of the planning on a small scale in relation to the necessity for a general advance of the country. But in order to have succeeded in this without exalting, stimulating, without having as a consequence the danger of an influence towards individual sentiment and interest, it was necessary to unite this small planning with a very important measure, with a fundamental base, which is the beginning of socialist democracy. It is not socialist democracy but it is a beginning, because everything is discussed in the commune, except the policy which must be carried on, except the general planning. Everything is discussed in the Commune. In the last documents which the Chinese have brought out, they are discussing experiences and at the same time discussing about production; What to produce, how to produce, how to correct, how to raise production. That is to say, there is a participation of the Commune in the discussion of all the economic life of the commune. But within a short time, the modern communards, those of China, are going to demand not only a discussion on the plan of their commune, but they are going to intervene, to give opinions, to decide on general problems of the economic, planning of policy etc. It is going to have this as a conclusion. And this is the Soviet.

The final part of this document will be published in a later issue of 'Red Flag.'

contd. from page 4.

New beatings and even murders are going to occur in the prison of Lucumberrri, if the weight of progressive public opinion does not make itself felt on the Mexican bourgeoisie. We reiterate our appeal for the sending of resolutions, telegrams of protest, letters of protest etc. to the Mexican government and embassy.

DOWN WITH THE REPRESSION IN LUCUMBERRI !

FOR THE IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF THE TROTSKYISTS AND ALL THE ANTI-CAPITALIST AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST PRISONERS IN LUCUMBERRI !

DECLARATION OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS 28th. MARCH 1969.

With respect to the last incidents occurring in the prison of Lucumberrri we the undersigned, political prisoners of different tendencies state the following :-

1. The provocation and aggression which the political prisoners in cell block G. were subjected to - of which we give more information below - are part of the present campaign of physical provocations, attacks, subjugations and aggressions, of which the students of various secondary schools, the Popular Arts Studio, The Independence Library, The Popular Culture Foundation have been the object of a campaign organised by the government with the objective of creating a climate of terrorism, to try to impede the development of the struggles and prepare new massacres, as that of Tlaltelolco, and new physical attacks as already have been made by the police in the secondary school, who have murdered students. We denounce that this aggression in the prison is a preparation of similar attacks against the political prisoners and they have just made a rehearsal of this using the cell block leader and a group in his service.

This provocation as part of the whole repressive policy, has been accompanied by a campaign of slanders by the bourgeois press and the intervention of the prosecutor of the federal district; making new charges against the comrades and trying to invent new trials.

2. The 'yellow press' has tried to present these facts as a fight between the political prisoners and the common criminals. We reject this statement for we have had no conflict with the criminal prisoners; on the contrary we have received demonstrations of sympathy from them. The political prisoners of the cell block C. were attacked by the chief E. and his gang, who were directly instigated by the authorities of the prison. This occurred while the comrades mentioned were playing on the sports field; and when they tried to leave the field to avoid the attack, the jailers prevented them, and not only did not intervene to put an end to the beating, but helped the gang by closing the only exit door.

Later various friends of this cell block C. were interrogated by people from the prosecutor of the federal district who accused them of the events, fabricating a new trial, accusing them of robbing, wounding and other crimes.

3. The relations between the political prisoners and the criminal prisoners are friendly and up to the present there had been no problems between one and the other. On this occasion which is also the first of this type which has occurred, the incident was not with the common prisoners but with a small group headed by a chief "trustie" of the cell block. The criminal prisoners don't have any motive to do anything against us. On the other hand they are exploited by the authorities of a department of the federal district and through the miserable salaries in the workshops in the prison, through the bad food and the other impositions by the authorities, and their overseers - as the chief of cell block E. - who has all sorts of privileges.

The political prisoners have many fewer motives to be against the criminal prisoners, and have on occasions even shown solidarity with us. On the other hand these provocations are not new, already previously they have interrogated various political prisoners in this prison on the part of the Federal Direction of Security in some cases and even by the general prosecutor of military justice in other cases. We recall also that some time ago they took from the prison our friend Luis Servantes Cabeza De Vaca in order to take him to the military camp No.1 where he was tortured and where they subjected him

contd. on back page.

# OUR PROGRAMME

contd. from page 11.

to a simulated firing squad.

4. These grave attacks which as in the case of the secondary schools have led to the murder of students, with the preparation of new attacks which can lead to premeditated murder of political prisoners. We denounce them and we protest energetically about the above mentioned provocations and aggressive actions and we make responsible for them and for their future consequences, the government of the republic and its representative, the penal authorities.

We consider that these provocations can only be detained by the mobilisation of the workers, peasants, students, professors and all the oppressed sectors in the struggle for the liberty of all political and trade union prisoners, for the conquest of the democratic historic rights of all the exploited population.

Lucumberri Prison, Mexico D.F.

«LETTER TO THE INTELLECTUALS»

J. POSADAS . .

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Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are all, all, all  
— Trotsky

# Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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



NO. 89

MAY 10th 1969

SIXPENCE

# MANIFESTO OF THE 1<sup>ST</sup> MAY

## APPEAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNAT.

- to the exploited masses
- to workers, peasants, students and soldiers
- to children and the so-called old people
- to the rank and file, revolutionary cadres and leaderships of the Labour

- Party, Communist Parties, the Socialist Parties, the Nationalist Movements and the left Christian Democrats
- to the world proletarian vanguard, which is getting ready to eliminate the capitalist régime and for the world-wide construction of Socialism

### COMRADES,

The objective world situation is characterised by a constant ascent of the World Revolution, and by the incorporation and eruption of the immense exploited and oppressed human masses into the course of history.

This ascent in the revolution can be measured in terms of the degree of its objective maturity, its programmatic development and ascent, the measures, forms and objectives adopted by the anti-capitalist struggle, and by the extent of the unification of the masses in the struggle throughout the world, which now includes the participation of the mass of the youth, the students, but also of the children, the peasants and the professional petty bourgeoisie. The impoverished masses erupt as one, from the children to the so-called old people. These are factors which constitute the most important event of this stage in history. And this is occurring in combination with the world-wide mobilisation of the proletariat. The student population, the detonating element in the French May, is a constituent part of the revolutionary movement today, but to a lesser degree than in May; it is the proletariat, in the principal countries of the world, that really puts its mind to bringing the movements into action. All these elements of mass mobilisation are those which dominate the objective situation. Never before in history has a process developed with such concentration and centralisation.

Incorporating themselves in demonstrations and struggles for class demands and anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist social demands, on different scales and to different degrees, workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, and even soldiers, and policemen, intervene in a growing way in the mobilisations. The chief capitalist countries of the world: Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, and in a smaller proportion, the United States of America, and almost the whole of Latin America, Africa and Asia are shaken by this world historical process. And it is the world proletariat that is guiding the process, attracting and winning over to its side the rest of the movements, imposing its rules on them, by means of the programme for a shorter working week, wage increases, the beginning of Workers' Control with participation in the management of the factories, that is not just co-management<sup>(1)</sup>, Popular Tribunals, and other forms of social decision and leadership. The greater and greater extension and development of the participation of the masses in this with far-reaching objectives and forms, constitutes the means of disputing with the capitalist system, the leadership of its system. This process is occurring throughout the world. And, within this picture there is a fundamental ascent in the struggle in Latin America, in countries like Peru, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, that have a programme of daily strikes: strikes that are not only justified, but which represent an irreplaceable necessity, and in which there participate between 70% and 100% of the exploited population, the usually non-active parts of which are drawn into the struggle with the rest. This is the rule, to various degrees, throughout the world.

(1) "Co-management" meaning the participation of trade union bureaucrats in the management, without their being subject to the control of the rank and file trade unionists.

The masses combine in this constant ascent of their struggle, immediate demands to do with wages, better work conditions and the right work, with objectives, which tend to put into dispute the capitalist leadership of society. Even though this is happening within the capitalist system, the masses dispute the position of the bourgeoisie and impose forms that tend to substitute for capitalism: forms like commissions in working class areas, Committees of Control in the factories, shorter working hours, and carrying on a direct dispute with capitalism about who should decide the time necessary to do a certain job in the factory. The workers are winning and advancing constantly in these conquests. And simultaneously there is a rise in the proportion of their objectives that are part of the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme. Struggle for demands like these is combined with mobilisations against imperialism for the expulsion of the Yankees from Vietnam, for the defeat of NATO, and for unconditional support of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist revolutionary movements. Throughout the world there is an objective United Front on this. It is a characteristic of this stage.

At the same time as this process is occurring in the capitalist countries, a rise in the Political Revolution in the Workers' States is taking place. This ascent is expressed in an inter-bureaucratic struggle. The bureaucracy has reached the limits of its possibilities of carrying on the policy of co-existence with capitalism. The bureaucracy is making an effort to keep up the policy of co-existence still, but the emphasis on this line does not rise, but falls constantly. The inter-bureaucratic dispute is expressed in its sharpest form in Czechoslovakia. And Czechoslovakia shows that at the same time as the Soviet bureaucracy tries to eliminate a rival that is inclining its relations towards capitalism, doing away with the Workers' State, there appears the independent intervention of the masses. This is one of the most important events

to have occurred there, for it shows that the masses are alive in their desire to intervene. The Czechoslovakian proletariat intervenes without the support of either the tendencies that want to link themselves to capitalism, the bureaucracy which seeks a stronger tie with capitalism, or the Soviet bureaucracy. The Czechoslovakian proletariat is trying to play an independent role, still a limited one, without being able to express itself clearly and still led by a bureaucratic apparatus that belongs to the past, but showing, through the resolutions in the recently held Congress of the Czechoslovakian Trade Unions and through the discussions held in the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, its tendency to take a position independent of the Soviet bureaucracy and the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy, trying to encourage the advance of the Socialist Revolution. It is the first time that this has appeared so markedly.

In the rest of the Workers' States, in one way or another, the same process is expressed. In Yugoslavia in the recent elections, about 30% of the candidates were rejected, accused of being bureaucrats. In this process the workers intervene as well, but it is the Yugoslavian students who do it particularly. In the demonstrations they carried anti-bureaucratic banners. The proletariat and the students in Yugoslavia are trying to impell the revolutionary process on by increasing the struggle against the bureaucracy, attempting to make of self-management an administration that is at the service of the masses for the development of the Socialist Revolution, and not at the service of individualist distribution.

The inter-bureaucratic contradictions between the bureaucracies of the Workers' States, carried along by their individual, nationalist and regionalist interests, have reached the stage of armed confrontation on the Sino-Soviet border. This is a confrontation of the bureaucracies. It is not the confrontation of two countries, two Workers' States. One Workers' State cannot get itself into the position of armed confrontation with another Workers' State, nor can it carry on a dispute over borders. The aim of Socialism is to eliminate frontiers. The Workers' State is the necessary state structure for advancing towards Socialism. Therefore as it progresses it should gradually eliminate frontiers. These problems still appear as inheritance from the capitalist system, kept up by the bureaucracy that does not represent Socialist interests: and in the frontier dispute it is capitalist interest that is still being expressed. These problems must be discussed in a Socialist way, that is, along with proletarian internationalism, and the objective of the Workers' States to do away with frontiers. Then there will be no interest in where the frontier lies. The

bourgeoisie in capitalist countries has frontier interests, because it wants a separation that makes it possible for it to exploit more, cultivate for its own use a larger area of land, or use it for military purposes, or to satisfy the nationalist sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, which are of use to it as a support in the maintenance of the capitalist system. Or, as is the case this time, so as to maintain the dominion of the bureaucracy. This confrontation is occurring between two bureaucracies.

The fact that this process has had no importance and, quite to the contrary, was nipped in the bud immediately, is not due to a reaction of reflection on the part of the leaderships of the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties, but to the fact that the masses and the vanguard were against it: the proletariat and the proletarian vanguard showed their reaction against it. This is what obliged the bureaucracies to put a stop to the dispute. Just the same as upon other occasions in the epoch of Lenin, the masses made it felt that they defend Socialist interests, not bureaucratic interests, not the material incentive, individual appropriation or individual material interests. This is what caused this process to be broken off, which is a demonstration of the vitality of the Workers' State. No capitalist state could have done this. All capitalist states find their support in the sentiments of the more backward masses. Though now, in the present day phase, they cannot find any centres of social support, and therefore they are obliged to find their support more and more in military apparatuses.

The Chinese bureaucracy as much as the Soviet bureaucracy has nationalist border interest, if this were not so, such a dispute would not have arisen. When they put a stop to it, it was because the masses and the proletarian vanguard of both countries and the world made their disapproval felt: the vanguards of all the Workers' States and the capitalist countries united. It was the feeling of disapproval, not welcome, of this vanguard that bore weight with the leadership of both parties, and obliged them to stop the dispute. Once more the role of the world vanguard came onto the stage in a decisive way just as comrade J. Posadas analysed in August, 1968, about the events in Czechoslovakia at the time. This world vanguard, analysed comrade J. Posadas at the time, gave objective support to the proletariat and its vanguard, making them feel, and encouraging, security and confidence in class and historical objectives, which had an effect on the Czechoslovakian events of August, of introducing a serene class spirit, in resistance to the right wing of the bureaucracy, expressed most openly amongst the technocrats, but without playing the game on the side of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The re-introduction of the Communist

Saturday in the Soviet Union occurs at the same time as this border dispute. It is a measure that goes against the interests which objectively animated, and animate the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies in the border dispute. The Communist Saturdays are part of the struggle for socialist interests and morale. This is not merely a repetition of what happened in the times of Lenin; it is of historical importance, because it is taking place in a phase in which the bureaucracy seeks to fully develop the material incentive. Thus the re-introduction of the Communist Saturday in the USSR cannot have been motivated by the bureaucracy. The Soviet masses have imposed the re-introduction of the Communist Saturday, as a result of their experience in intervening and contributing with weight to the solution of the problems of the Workers' State and to its construction, and after having waited a long time to make their intervention again, and now this appears in this form due to the lack of other means. This is a blow dealt against the existence and development of the material incentive in the Workers' States.

The Socialist construction of the Workers' State means collective interests and development, for the building of Socialist sentiments, affections and consciousness. This can only be done on the basis of social development, which occurs with the development of the economy, for it still depends on the economy. In the meantime the bureaucracy rejects this conception and tries to encourage individual interests in the masses, so that they express them in the frontier dispute. When the masses of the Workers' States, and in this case of the Soviet Union reply to the bureaucracy by re-introducing the Communist Saturday, it means that they have got the upper hand over all these leaderships. The masses have already conceived of and accepted Socialism in their consciousness, will and aspirations, as a collective relationship of harmonious collective sentiments, and as an interest not in moving forward for the good of oneself, but for the good of all. This is a direct rejection of the material incentive and indicates the very high level of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses in the Soviet Union. If this were not so, 85 millions of people would not work the Communist Saturday to benefit the Workers' State. They are not working "for no pay", but in the interests of the Workers' State. Only under capitalism would this be working for no pay. The masses in their Workers' State work to advance the Socialist Revolution and Communist stimulus.

In Cuba and Korea they are advancing towards annulling the wage system and money; by making a unification of Communist necessities, they are eliminating such things as paying fares, paying to use the telephone, and paying for certain other things, making it the rule that they should be equally at the service of everyone. Each person can buy only what he needs. This move is necessary so that all those who could not buy what they needed before can do so now. Capitalism makes jokes about the measures that the Cubans are taking, saying that they have to wait in queues before they can buy anything. Before there weren't any queues, because the people didn't have anything with which they could buy. And now he who earns least can buy the same as he who earns the most. The system is being applied to the distribution of milk, eggs and rice, which is made according to the necessities of the population. This, even though it still has not advanced very far, is an attempt to apply equalising measures, even in a limited way, which is progress in Communist measures.

The experience being made by the workers in the factories is equally important for they work without receiving wages, controlling the distribution of the hours of work themselves, deciding how the production shall be made, and the factories be run. This shows that Socialist measures are advancing in Cuba and receive a great echo even though it is in an empirical way, for it is not organised according to a programme, for the advance towards Socialism. Lenin and Trotsky taught that these are things that should be done throughout society, taking on a "legal form", even though everything begins on a small scale at first, through the functioning of Soviets; this is the power of the Soviets!

The Koreans are eliminating a lot of capitalist relations: wage system, transport fares, telephone charges, and the paying of rents; they have introduced measures of equality in distribution. Workers' States as backward as Cuba and Korea have managed to take these measures.

In China they are advancing towards the direct intervention of the masses in the countryside and industry. Administrators, directors and bosses are eliminated and substituted for by Factory Commissions, which is a measure of greater superiority, not only because brings to an end the role that these bosses played in limiting the technical capacity put to use in the factories, but because it results moreover in a lowering of the cost of production and a rise in the quality of the products. Although they are doing it in an empirical, unorganised way, they are advancing the progress of the revolution, for excess profits go to the benefit of the revolution and no-one earns more than anyone else. Consequently as the cost of production goes down, Communist relations reach a higher level.

In the countryside, capitalist relations are being eliminated, though still in an empirical way, by getting rid of the landowners and their agents, and in their place are developing forms of co-operative farming in which everyone works in equality. No-one possesses greater rights than anyone else due to the work he does, and everyone has to work!

The Chinese still have to develop these relations politically and socially; the functioning of the Communist Party is administrative. It is not run in a revolutionary way, and there is no party life. This is why it has not organised Soviets. And this is why a successor to Mao Tse-tung has been chosen in a bureaucratic and administrative way in the IX Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. The revolutionary leader must arise due to natural selection of a political revolutionary type; by choosing in the way the Chinese did, the choice is made without considering the revolutionary will of the leader or his historical experience. Choices in party life must be made by comparing texts, taking resolutions and result from the functioning of the party. Lin Piao has not written any political text which acts as a guide, or organises the party, the economy or the social life of the masses. He has not written any text of any importance which shows his capacity for orientating a team. And this stage demands, not only the orientator of a team, but the whole team as well.

The principal characteristic of this Congress is its attempt to give an organic form to the party, finding support in the most impoverished and exploited layers of the population, to use against the bureaucratic layers. But this is a very limited, superficial and empirical way to set about eliminating the bureaucracy. It is an administrative way, the same as was used to decide upon who should be the successor of Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese are developing in an uneven and combined way. The elimination of the factory bosses and their substitution by Factory Commissions, is in contradiction with the way in which Mao Tse-tung's successor has been chosen. This contradiction is the product of insufficient consciousness, will and Communist-Marxist preparation. It makes of China another example of an unevenly and combined developing Workers' State. But in this process it is the combined part that determines, that is, the measures that tend to encourage the development of Communism, like the suppression and replacement of all forms of bureaucracy, and the tendency to equal up the unequal distribution of wages. Even without great progress having been made in this, the road is now open to the establishment of the rule of equal distribution.

In the rest of the Workers' States, the development of the process is stimulating the interest of the masses in intervening, even though it is in a limited and uneven way. For though the masses in the rest of the Workers' States do not intervene in such a direct way as they do in Czechoslovakia, the USSR, Cuba and China, the Vietnamese masses, for instance, show the vitality of the revolution through their offensives and the persistence and continuity of their struggles. This same revolutionary vitality was manifested by Korea when recently she shot down a Yankee plane and killed 31 murderers, imperialist spies. The internal social de-

velopment of the Socialist Revolution in the Workers' States advances in combination with the struggle of the world proletariat, the masses of the capitalist countries and the countries known as "under-developed".

The action of the Koreans in shooting down the Yankee plane has the same meaning as their capture of the boat "Pueblo", and it is evident that imperialism should take measures against this sort of thing. This time they have killed 31 murderers and they have brought down a very expensive plane. This deals a very great blow against the military and social authority of Yankee imperialism. Hence it is possible that reprisals will be carried out against the Korean Workers' State, and also against the world revolutionary vanguard and the IV International. But the attitude of Yankee imperialism depends on that adopted by the Soviet Union. Imperialism will try to react in such a way as to make the Workers' States and the Nationalist Revolutions see that it is prepared to repress them if they attempt to put its interests in dispute, and if they fight its terrorism and spying against the revolution. The Koreans have done good work and will meet with success in it. The most probable thing is that imperialism will not even intervene in this matter, though one cannot be sure of this. An intervention is not excluded, but imperialism is doubtful about making one. It would like to attempt reprisals, but it has to bear in mind the presence of the Chinese and the Soviets. It must consider that in 1951 the Chinese and the Koreans defeated imperialism with machine guns, when McArthur had promised the soldiers that they would be home by Christmas, thinking that he could defeat the Koreans in this short time, and as it turned out they were home for Christmas, but after defeat by the Koreans. If Stalin had sent 300 planes more, nothing more, the Koreans would have crushed the assassinating Yankees completely.

There is constant progress in the advance of the revolution, the influence of which rises to such a degree that it paralyses capitalism, obliging it, impelling it, to concentrate all its attention in finding a military solution to the problem, for there is no social, economic or political way out of the situation for Capitalism, that would enable it to detain the advance of the masses and compete with the Workers' States, or take advantage of the crisis of the bureaucracy. If it were a crisis in the structure of the Workers' State, the failure of state owned property or the measures taken in the road towards constructing socialism, then capitalism would have already taken advantage of the crisis. But the crisis is one of the bureaucracy, not of the Workers' State. This is why the masses of the world are not participating in the crisis and equally why capitalism cannot take advantage of it. And the masses are even trying to take up an attitude independently of the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. This, together with the rejection of the electoral candidates in Yugoslavia, demanding that a control be established over them, means that there are now two Workers' States where the masses intervene in this way. This is of immense importance.

In capitalist Germany, the vital centre of representation in Europe of Yankee imperialism, which is being prepared as a launching pad for the atomic war in Europe, the policy of the Socialist Party and the nomination of Heineman, are blows against the interests, plans and objectives of Yankee imperialism. The proposal of the Socialist Party and of Heineman to seek an agreement with the German Workers' State, and even to diminish the weight of NATO and its military importance in West Germany, without abandoning the possibility of using the atomic arms, shows how German capitalism lacks the security and confidence to confront the masses of the country itself. Capitalism does not feel sure and nor has it any confidence, it doesn't believe in the possibility of the economic or political measures that it takes of detaining the development of the revolution in Germany. This is why it recently had to make concessions concerning the establishment of a type of self-management, where the trade union bureaucracy participates in the control and intervenes in the administration of the factories, which is an attempt to hold back the masses. Even though Germany is the country occupied by the forces of the allies that won the

inter-imperialist world war, it has repressive laws of greater importance than those of any other capitalist country in Europe. And in these conditions, Heineman is elected President; and the German masses, organised in their trade unions, ascend constantly in their conquests and struggles. They do not desert, or abandon the struggle, nor are they disappointed with it, rather they are concentrating themselves and obliging the Socialist bureaucracy to let them make use of such a concession. Such is the panorama of the capitalist system in the most developed countries.

The measures of repression taken by Franco in Spain with the establishment of the "state of emergency" had no effect, due to the incessant struggle of the workers, especially the miners, and the students, who having held the repression in check, are going over onto the offensive, disorganising the Franco régime in this way and obliging capitalism to withdraw.

Fundamental facets of the development of the struggle of the masses in the United States of America are to be seen in the student mobilisations, strikes of workers, and in the recent crisis of the AFL-CIO, which has split up. The reactionary sector has been left isolated, and a new Workers' Centre has been formed, led by the Reuther tendency with a programme that includes opposition to the Vietnam war. It does not express itself directly against the war, or attack American imperialism, but it does show itself to be in opposition to the Vietnam war. This indicates a maturation indirectly, (which has a direct programmatic significance), of the North American proletariat. For it is of immense importance that the workers' movement in the United States of America should oppose the war in Vietnam, as it is the vital base of Yankee imperialism.

There still is no centralisation of the struggle of the negroes combining it with the workers' and students' movement. Separately, the three struggle for uneven objectives, without the existence of a common maturity, for there is no party, leadership or tradition in these struggles. There is no team, no organisation or centre that directs these struggles. But all the demonstrations made, indicate a maturation in the will to struggle of the United States masses.

The 40% abstention of the masses in the Presidential Elections and the holding of a "parallel election" in one place on the issue "Yes" or "No" to the Vietnam war", which drew an enormous number of votes against the war, express the rejection of the masses of North American capitalism.

The masses in the United States of America will feel themselves hampered in their struggle as long the masses in the Workers' States do not make their revolutionary struggle for Socialist objectives more openly, for the North American masses need a reality to hang on to and encourage them. A movement for the discussion and organisation of a Workers' Party Based on the Trade Unions in the United States with a programme of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist opposition is required.

Capitalism, in order to keep up its expenditure on preparation for the atomic war, repression and counter-revolution, which takes up a greater and greater part of its capitalist profits and investments, cannot cede to the masses any more or bear their conquests, such as reductions in the number of working hours, greater compensation for redundancy, and wage increases. Thus, at the same time as it is obliged to make concessions to the masses, it immediately has to suppress these concessions. The struggle to defend itself from the revolution means coping with the competition of the world revolution against the capitalist system. Capitalism has no more possibilities of yielding. The policy of the Communist Parties, standing by hoping to gain advantages for themselves from the decomposition of capitalism, making a united front with bourgeois tendencies in an attempt to go on from parliamentary politics to the suppression of capitalism, is a senseless policy. Capitalism is manoeuvring and in the meanwhile trying to get coups d'état of the lightning military Greek type, ready. If in the principal capitalist countries of Europe there have not yet been coups d'état, it is only because capitalism is afraid that it won't be able to cope with the reaction, it feels unsure, it feels that

the coups will fail and it is afraid that capitalism will be destroyed in the process. This is the reason for its insecurity and why the capitalist press is constantly launching warnings, appealing to the reactionary European tendencies not to be adventurist. But the only way out for capitalism is to carry through reactionary coups very shortly and the atomic war. And the one single reply that the masses give, with this situation before them, is to rise to higher levels in their struggle for the installation of Workers' and Peasants' Governments in Europe.

The anti-imperialist coup made by a military team in Peru is an expression of the power of the masses made use of in a partial way, because of the lack of a leading revolutionary centre. The measures taken by the Military Junta in Peru, are measures proposed from a long time back by the workers' movement and nationalist movements. Later on they were abandoned, and then from 1960 onwards taken up again by the Trotskyists with a permanent campaign centred round them. In three Miners' Congresses in Cerro de Pasco, the 3rd, 4th and 6th and in the recently held Miners' Convention these measures were enlarged upon, and proposed as resolutions by the Trotskyists and the resolutions were passed. The Convention took up the Trotskyist slogan for the nationalisation of mines without compensation, and their functioning under Workers' Control, together with other points of the revolutionary programme. These measures, as taken by the Peruvian Military Junta, do not belong to the bourgeois field anymore: they are solutions to Peruvian problems taken from the revolutionary programme of the proletariat and the Workers' States.

The development of revolutionary struggles in Colombia is equally much a blow to imperialism: after 20 years of relative tranquility the masses have stimulated and triumphed in a General Strike and the trade unions propose to present their own candidates in the elections, working in a way that is similar to that which would be adopted had a Workers' Party Based on the Trade Unions been established. All this shows the advance of the revolution. By taking the political measure immediately after his election as President in Venezuela, of putting a stop to the repression of the guerrillas and proposing a political amnesty, although this is an attempt to win time and to try to disorganise the guerrilla movement, Caldera shows himself up to the masses as being weak and inclined to make concessions to them and consequently this will encourage the Venezuelan masses to carry on a revolutionary political class struggle. The interests of the bourgeoisie, represented by Caldera, are in the development of the home market with the pacification of the country, so as to confront Yankee imperialism economically. The triumph of Caldera in the elections is a blow against Yankee imperialism.

The defeat of Yankee imperialism which has not been able to apply repressive economic measures against the Military Junta in Peru, will increase the impetus of the progress of the Peruvian masses pushing the left tendency amongst the nationalist army chiefs further to the left. The formation recently, for the first time, of an "anti-imperialist Youth Front", with the participation of the Trotskyists—which is of the greatest importance, for the young people who are those who have created the centre, and they are the head of the struggles—shows the power of the movement and the possibility of its carrying its influence to within the army itself.

The struggles of the masses, especially the proletariat, in Uruguay, with constantly ascending strikes, factory occupations and extension of the power of the masses defeating the plans of the government, is one of the fundamental aspects of the world process, showing the influence of the world-wide sharpening of the revolutionary class struggle. Thus the Uruguayan government, under orders from the CIA and in its own interests has made illegal the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), banning its press and stealing its material goods, in complicity with the police. This, when the forces of the Trotskyist Party are very small numerically. It shows fear of the ideas and programme of the IV International. This is what has brought Uruguayan capitalism to make such an intervention. The fear of the bourgeoisie is due to the fact that

it feels that the masses of Uruguay, Latin America and the whole world, are ready, and have been for some time, to apply the programme of the IV International: against imperialism, against capitalism, for Workers' and Peasants' Governments.

The tremendous uprising of the proletarian and peasant masses in Pakistan together with the victory of the united front of the left parties in West Bengal marks a qualitative leap in the advance of socialist revolution in the sub continent of India and Pakistan. The proletarian and peasant vanguard in Pakistan took enormous initiatives. Factories were occupied, hostages taken, extensive wage concessions imposed, bourgeois "law and order" practically disappeared over large areas of the country, popular tribunals condemned tyrannical landowners and their agents and imposed summary popular justice. The masses were actively seeking to take power, in one instance as at Dacca openly challenging the army to a fight to the finish. In the absence of a revolutionary party, and the lack of popular organisms, capitalism managed to establish a precarious military regime to contain the mass forces of insurrection. The leaderships of the Workers' States provided no lead and rendered no assistance to the masses, but this experience is of immeasurable significance for the masses in India and Pakistan. It will stimulate all the revolutionary forces in Asia and thereby the whole world, and on the other hand stimulate the worker, student, peasant vanguard in the search for the programme of the socialist revolution, and the organisms of popular power—factory committees, mass assemblies, workers militia, throughout India and Pakistan. The events in Pakistan have been historic and confirm all the analysis of Posadas and the International that the world conditions are mature for the victory of the Socialist Revolution, but the construction of the world leadership is necessary to facilitate the actual taking of power by the masses.

In the Middle East, even without being able to replace the function of a Revolutionary Party, Al Fatah is developing as a revolutionary organism, since there does not exist a co-ordinating centre of the struggle of the Arab masses, and it expresses the need for a Revolutionary Party. Its intervention is that of a centre that canalises the revolutionary will of the masses and it raises to the level of militants Arab children from the age of 6 to 15 years old. The revolutionary will of the Arab masses has not been thus canalised by any other leadership. Al Fatah bases itself on the existence of this will and it is from this that it draws the strength of its resistance in confronting pressure from Jordan, Iran and partly from Egypt and Irak. The success of Al Fatah is based on an immense power: it canalises and develops the revolutionary will of the working, peasant and petty bourgeois masses and partly that of the intellectuals in the Arab countries.

This same process of maturation and advance of the revolution, which rises to programmatic conquests and reaches the organisation of the great masses, is expressed with force in North Africa and Black Africa. In Algeria, in spite of attempts to neutralise, annul and impede the organisation of the revolutionary tendency inside the UGTA and the Local Union in Algiers, the road is opening to the programme for the advance of the Socialist Revolution and methods of participation of the rank and file, with the national extension of the trade union organisation. The right wing of the FLN finds resistance to its policy in the masses, especially from new sectors of the vanguard that are arising and which bring pressure to bear on the left of the FLN itself and on the Boumedienne government. The preparations for the National Congress of the UGTA—which the right wing tried to put off, conscious of its weakness—make easier and will make easier the organisation of revolutionary tendencies in the interior of the Algerian revolution; it will create the conditions necessary for the raising of the resolution of these revolutionary tendencies and sectors so they act as a leadership, for they are already won over to the programme of the Socialist Revolution.

In Congo Brazaville, the same as in Mali, the attempts to make the conquests of the revolution fall back have failed. As cde. J. Posadas has analysed, the con-

servatism of the leadership who are at the head of all these processes and the absence of a clearly Socialist revolutionary programme and perspective, together with the fear of the leaderships to find their support in the initiatives and mobilisations of the masses, encourages the professional sectors of the army to develop as reservoirs of anti-revolutionary feeling. It is the lack of a clear perspective that prevents the winning over to the revolution of these sectors, or the removal of the social base in which they find their support, so that their liquidation and the arming of the whole people can proceed instead. In spite of the liquidation of their leaderships, the masses in these countries advance in the process of creating trade unions, renewing their leaderships and developing their understanding of the programme of the Socialist Revolution and how to apply it, influencing sectors in the Army, and preventing any going back in the conquests of the revolution, the measures already achieved in the nationalisation of property, and they keep up, impose and raise their fusion with the Workers' States. In Black Africa fundamental leaps forward in the revolution are in preparation in this period. An essential historical fact announces this: the imposition by the black workers in South Africa of their right to belong to trade unions, and the tendency to organise trade unions common to both the black and white workers.

The crisis of the Catholic Church is not due to the disappointment of one or another of its members, or an internal struggle in the distribution of the positions in the hierarchy or of temporal power. The crisis of the Church is social. Beginning 5 years ago, the fundamental reason for the sharpening of the crisis of the Church has been the breaking away of an important part of its members from its conservative programme; hundreds of priests, representatives of the Catholic Church in high positions and important places break with the line of the Church and adopt a programme of class struggle, with slogans that belong to the proletariat, the masses, coming from the field of the revolutionary workers, the Workers' States and the Trotskyists: against imperialism, against capitalism, for Workers' Control, for Socialism, "Viva Che!", "Long live Mao Tse-tung". These are slogans that break with the line of the Church. It is not a partial break, there's a whole historical current in a large sector of the Church that is breaking with its conservatism and which in an attempt to express itself is moving outside the limits of the Church itself. This current is not trying to carry out interior entrism inside the Church to bring about a change, it realises that this wouldn't solve anything, instead it is trying to attract the Church into the accomplishment of its objectives. But the Church as an institution is opposed to this. So this current breaks with the Church. And the ruptures are more and more common.

The Army and the Church are the two centres of support to capitalism, and they are crumbling. The Church is breaking up more rapidly than the Army because it is in greater contact with the people, it feels the mood of the people and depends on it; and it hasn't the rigidity of structure that the Army has, which depends directly on the state apparatus and is linked to representatives of high finance, landowners and industrial representatives. Priests are in greater daily contact with the population than soldiers are, and this gives them the confidence to break with the hierarchy of the Church. This process is an example of the inner disintegration of the capitalist system.

The class struggle in Europe, including the experience of the Revolutionary General Strike in France, which the students detonated and which was taken up by the workers, has an influence which covers the whole world. In the case of France this influence has come back to roost in a much more developed form, showing itself as the proletariat tries to impose on its struggles a conception which is objectively that of the Socialist Revolution, working for the elaboration of a revolutionary class programme, and attempting to impell its leadership into fighting for this programme in the process.

In no country in the world have the proletarian struggles been detained during this period; the bourgeoisie has not succeeded in crushing the proletariat, detaining or counter-balancing its struggles, or

distracting the worker, peasant and student masses from the path of the class struggle. In France the impoverished and fairly well-off petty bourgeoisie alike are incorporating themselves in the struggle against the government and against capitalist distribution, they are associating themselves with the impoverished peasants and the proletariat, showing thus that they cannot find any support in the capitalist state and seek the protection of the proletariat to defend themselves against attacks from big capital. The capitalist state is constantly increasing its centralisation, liquidating small shop-keepers, the smaller distributors, the small, and now, the fairly well-to-do industrialists and financiers. The class struggle obliges capitalism to establish much more intense, more pronounced and more extensive competition and it is devouring its very self, eliminating important layers of the bourgeoisie and of support to it. Capitalism is trying to take back the concessions it has made as quickly as possible.

The Mansholt plan for the European Common Market involves the elimination of 5 million peasants in a few years time, concentrating production so as to increase productivity and enter favourably into world competition, which becomes more and more difficult for the Common Market due to the class struggle in the Market and the world. The sharpening competition is not determined by capitalism, but by the existence of the Workers' States and the revolutionary struggle of the masses, which oblige capitalism to cede constantly. In provision of this process, capitalism is preparing to confront it globally by giving over a greater and greater part of its budget and gross income to the manufacture of armaments. This type of competition with Workers' States and the World Revolution is part of what capitalism cannot avoid today.

In the course of the unfolding of this process, the masses find themselves without a leadership. With the existence of the best of conditions in France in May for the taking of power, conditions for taking power in Italy, Belgium, Britain, and in countries in Latin America, like Chile, conditions for the launching of the struggle for power, the masses have no leadership. For the leaderships of the Communist Parties and the Socialist Parties are not attracted to struggling for the taking of power, nor have they prepared themselves for it; they do not believe that it is possible, and their idea is to contain the masses by disputing in parliament in order to keep up or better their positions. This goes on being their fundamental policy, in spite of the development of certain tendencies with a more advanced programme to the left of these parties that are in search of the Socialist solution. But these tendencies, still not mature and still unsure, do not feel able to govern the process, which is the necessary condition to organise the experience of the struggle of the proletariat, for the overthrowing of capitalism and the constitution of Workers' and Peasants' Governments.

In all the capitalist countries, inside the large Communist Parties and Socialist Parties the nationalist movements, the left Christian Democrats and independent movements, their advance and develop groups and tendencies which seek to use the forms and measures of the revolutionary struggle to impose a Socialist solution to the problems of society. And meanwhile in the Workers' States, the masses are raising their struggles confronting the bureaucracy to a higher degree, for example in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Such is a normal characteristic of the development of the process at present.

In the measure that the economic productive capacity of capitalism advances, its social capacity for providing solutions to the problems that arise in the capitalist system diminishes at a greater and greater speed. The bureaucratized leaderships of the Workers' States and the Communist Parties are afraid, hesitating and lacking confidence in a revolutionary solution, for they do not know what to do and they don't believe that they are going to triumph. There is no Marxist centre that leads the revolution. Instead there exist 20 currents and tendencies each one of which calls itself Marxist in its own interests. And thus the Communist leaderships find a justification for not suggesting a revolutionary solution. Consequently the Communist proletarian vanguard, and even,

sectors of the leadership of the large Communist and Socialist Parties and the Christian Democrat and nationalist movements, advance, but they find they have no example before them of the programme, laws and experience of Marxism, and equally there is no leading move from the Workers' States to guide them in the struggle for taking of power.

Nevertheless this stage of history is dominated by Marxism. The masses, even lacking the leadership and a revolutionary Marxist programme and without the experience drawn upon by the Marxist revolutionary, in any part of the world, find that their objectives, and the forms which their struggle adopts, especially its objective unification, fall into line with Marxism: they practice and apply Marxism in a most marked way. The Marxist, Communist collective sentiment of the masses, without being its most complete application and interpretation, is one of the most advanced forms of the Marxist method. It is due to the general existence of this sentiment that the experience of the struggles, the methods used, and the application resolved upon, become so widely generalised. This was what the French May proved and what the Military Junta in Peru is proving, by dealing a blow at the authority of imperialism by expropriating the oil fields from it and demanding that it pay up all the income that it has robbed from Peru during the years of exploitation of the oil under Yankee imperialism. This is a process that encourages the struggle of the masses and the maturation of petty bourgeois currents in Latin America. Caldera, after his electoral triumph, and under the influence of the process developing in Peru, felt himself impelled to shift his programme more to the left. And whilst the Communist Party of Peru and in the rest of the world classified the military leadership of the Junta as a "fascist guerrilla government", only the Trotskyists characterised this movement as petty bourgeois nationalist trying to take certain anti-imperialist measures and said that it is necessary to make use of it as a basis of support in order to advance further. It is an example of one of the laws that govern the present course of the revolution.

The world-wide repression carried on by capitalism and imperialism is immense. But a general glance alone is sufficient to see that the war preparations made by imperialism for the final encounter with the revolution are, in their capacity and repressive effect, infinitely smaller than the progress of the revolution. Even having assassinated a million Communists in Indonesia, the oligarchy and capitalism there have not been able to return the nationalisations that had been made to imperialism. And although Vietnam is one of the centres of the greatest repression, imperialism feels itself defeated there, even militarily. The Korean masses show their resolution in confronting imperialist repression with the capture of the boat "Pueblo" and the recent shooting down of a Yankee spy plane.

The repression carried on by imperialism, organised on a world-wide scale, has not held back the revolution nor intimidated nor distracted the masses in their struggle, but rather than this, they advance and extend their struggle. The masses are developing their participation in the struggle, their conquests, programme and organisms of dual power in the whole world.

The repressive measures of Franco in Spain, and the bourgeoisie in Uruguay and Bolivia, and of imperialism in Vietnam, Africa, the Middle East, directly and indirectly, through its Israeli agents, who assassinate and bomb the Arab masses daily, have all been of no avail. Equally so the world-wide repression of the Trotskyists, Communists, Socialists, left Christian Democrats and nationalists.

Imperialism, on two consecutive occasions in both Spain and Uruguay has tried to destroy the functioning of the IV International and has failed. And these blows that imperialism dealt us, together with the imprisonment of our Trotskyist comrades in Mexico, who have spent three years in prison without trial, and the brutal imprisonment in Mexico of worker leaders, like Vallejo, condemned to 20 years for having led a railway strike, and the repression carried on against the Communist Parties, have not intimidated the masses. Quite to the contrary, in Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Ar-

gentina and Uruguay, not to mention the rest of the world, the masses oblige their governments to cede, with the continuity of their struggles and their rising will to fight and triumph.

The repression directed against the Trotskyists in Uruguay, Spain, Mexico, and Brazil, have only had organisational effects and not political ones. The masses have not been paralysed by the repression of imperialism and the bourgeoisie against Communist, nationalist and left Christian Democrat movements, the effect of which has only been the disorganisation of their conciliatory and reformist leaderships. The masses go on with their struggles, extend their united front, increase their centralisation, gain positions and go through experiences of a more and more profound nature: just like in Spain, for example, where the masses occupy and direct factories, mines and universities, and gradually unite in the course of this, trying to give the struggle for power a programmatic form.

The masses advance, and capitalism disintegrates, concentrating all its remaining energy on accelerating the preparation for the atomic war. The failure of Nixon's trip round Europe was a direct effect of the struggle of the masses. And it shows that the European bourgeoisie is trying to take advantage of the crisis of the capitalist system in general to get something out of it for its own advantage. Nixon was trying to unite the bourgeoisies to make a strong front for the launching of the atomic war. The spy-work of the Yankee plane in Korea and the pressure put on the Military Junta in Peru are other aspects of imperialism's preparation for atomic war. But it does not launch the war, because it feels unsure still. Were this not the case, its world offensive with atomic war would have been set off already. But under the threat of this the masses, far from letting their struggles die down, rise their pressure and participate more directly than ever in putting the bourgeoisies in a corner, to the extent that the bourgeoisies are not the ones who are the deciding factors in the running of their countries any more. Clear and categorical examples of this appear in Italy, France, Belgium and Britain. The need for the struggle for a proletarian programme arises as the conclusion of the process in this period of history.

The economic development of the Workers' States is very powerful. But their social and political development is seen as limited because the interests of their leaderships do not coincide with those leading to the construction of Socialism. The level of social relations in the Workers' States can be measured by the profundity of Communist sentiment expressed by them. The material incentive, social, economic and wage differentiations and the existence of hierarchy, impede the development of Communist relations in the Workers' States. Capitalism bases itself on the structure of private property to govern. Meanwhile in the Workers' State this structure must be suppressed in order to advance towards Socialism. It is the existence of the bureaucracies, which impedes the Workers' States in the organisation of all their strength, taking advantage of conditions that already exist to bring about the unification of all the Workers' States with the revolutionary workers' movement in the capitalist countries, and with the Workers' Parties, to make an Anti-capitalist United Front to do away with capitalism. And in the event of nuclear war, a united front would neutralise the devastating effects that this will cause.

Neither the Communist Parties nor the bureaucracies of the Workers' States have discussed the consequences of the Sino-Soviet conflict. The IV International appeals for the organisation of this discussion. In the same way that the interests of the masses in each capitalist country are not mirrored in inter-capitalist wars, but they are fought in the interests of the bourgeoisies, in this case, it has not been the interests of the masses in the Chinese and Soviet Workers' States that have been mirrored in this confrontation, but those of their respective bureaucracies. Capitalism needs frontiers in order to maintain its exploitation. The Workers' State needs to eliminate them. An expression of the crisis of the world capitalist system is that, proving incapable of living closed in by its own frontiers, it creates international organisations like the European Common Market and the Latin

American Common Market. In this way it tries to centralise its vitality to compete with the Workers' States and the World Revolution, whilst each bourgeoisie separately finds itself growing weaker and weaker. And this process increases the military and financial power of the bourgeoisie, but diminishes its social and political capacity. This is a characteristic of the present process of history.

In this process of the concentrated and centralised ascent of the world revolution, the incorporation of the peasantry represents one of the most important progresses made in human history. The backward peasant mentality is being replaced with acceptance of the Socialist Revolution, even without this triumphing on a world wide scale. Already in all the countries of the world the revolution is appearing adopting advanced forms that lead to its world development, unification and planning. And imperialism is preparing concentratedly to launch the atomic war, as the presence of the Yankee spy plane shot down by the Koreans shows. The precise moment in which the war is launched will depend on a whole series of conditions. But it is imperialism that will make the decision. For it is not in the interests of the bureaucracy of the Workers' States to appeal for revolution. The Communist Parties do not appeal to the masses to overthrow the capitalist system and organise Workers' and Peasants' Governments either, although they are making progress in their parliamentary and social confrontation with capitalism. But they don't appeal for the carrying of the struggle outside parliament, making of parliament nothing but a centre of political support to accompany the struggle of the masses for the organisation of Workers' and Peasants' Governments, as should be the case. There is no leading centre in the struggle of the masses.

The IV International is small numerically and its organisational, social and historical forces are small for the tackling of this task; but it possesses the will, decision and capacity to understand the necessity for undertaking this task. The objective experience of the masses shows that there is an ascent in the elaboration of a revolutionary anti-capitalist programme in the struggle in the capitalist countries and that there is an ascent in the Political Revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy in the Workers' States, like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the USSR, China, Cuba, Korea and Vietnam. In Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe, the masses in the capitalist countries and the Workers' States alike are centralising their struggles more and more.

It is necessary to adopt a programme that responds to the immediate necessities of the population: a programme for the building of houses for the masses, for the building of schools, hospitals, and roads, the installation of running water, electric light, and sanitation, and the running of transport—a plan of public works—for the masses. And together with this, work for the establishment of a sliding scale of working hours and wages; an all-round increase in pensions; free education at all levels in the countries where this does not exist; a student wage; the control of education, the teaching methods and syllabuses by councils of teachers, workers and students; Worker Student Government of the University. Appeal for the nationalisation of banks, without compensation, and putting them under Workers' Control, and the expropriation and nationalisation of all imperialist enterprises. All the profits of automation must go to the masses. Expropriate large agrarian properties without compensation and hand the land over to the impoverished peasants, annulling all their debts, let industry provide them with machinery and fertilisers at a low cost and exploit the land collectively. Establish Workers' Control of production in the factories.

Appeal for a programme for the defence of the democratic liberties: the immediate release of all political and trade union prisoners; freedom of expression for all workers' tendencies; the election of delegates in the trade unions who are subject to the control of the rank and file, being revocable at all times; delegates for each workshop, each department on the shop floor of the factories and for each shift. Appeal for Factory Committees, and mass assemblies in the factories. Let the rank and file make the decisions! Appeal for Committees in the workers areas; and a single Trade Union

Centre for workers, peasants and students. Give an organic form everywhere to the dual power that the masses are creating with their struggles: organise Soviets!

Appeal to the Communist Parties, Socialist Parties, the anti-imperialist nationalist movements and the Catholic left to struggle with a revolutionary programme for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Appeal for a Worker-Student Front, a Worker-Peasant Alliance, a Proletarian United Front to overthrow capitalism.

Appeal for the organisation of a Single Centre for the struggle in Europe and for a General Strike of the European masses in solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish masses, for the downfall of Franco.

Appeal for the elimination of the professional army and for its substitution by a territorial army based on Workers' and Peasants' Militias in all the Workers' States and those which, without being Workers' States, are advancing rapidly in their construction towards Workers' States (like the two Yemens, Egypt, Iraq, Algeria, Mali, and Tanzania etc.). Organise Communes and Soviets in all these countries; nationalise what remains of private property and plan the economy as one whole; expropriate all imperialist enterprises without compensation. Appeal for a United Front of all the Arabs to liquidate the State of Israel, liquidating at the same time all the feudal régimes that remain in the region, making the process of the Socialist Revolution advance. Appeal at the same time to the Israeli masses to make a United Front with the Arab masses for the overthrow of the Israeli bourgeoisie. Appeal for the establishment of the Federation of Socialist Soviet Arab States.

Appeal for the re-establishment or installation where they have not yet existed of Soviets, and Planning of the Economy; Military and Revolutionary Policy of the Workers' States. Give total support to the struggle of the Vietnamese masses. Appeal for a World Anti-imperialist and Anti-capitalist United Front for the planning of the strategy for the overthrow of what remains of the capitalist system. Appeal for a World Conference of the Workers' Parties, and Trade Unions as a step towards the organisation of the Mass Communist International.

**The Fourth International salutes those who for the first time in history of humanity, the children, old people, the women and the mothers, intervene with rights and capacity equivalent to the adults. Our salutes go to the Communist masses, Socialist masses, Trotskyist masses, to the mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, and to the children who intervene with the same resolution, same capacity of decision with a social power equal to their adult brothers all over the world. They make an immense contribution to the socialist revolution. The IV International salutes with the greatest revolutionary joy this incorporation obtained with the effects of the world revolution and it is a symbol and a sign at the same time of what the masses of the world are aspiring to.**

**VIVA THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!**

**VIVA THE MASSES OF THE WHOLE WORLD WHO WITH THEIR DAILY STRUGGLES ARE CRUSHING CAPITALISM!**

**VIVA MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, AND TROTSKY!**

**VIVA COMRADE J. POSADAS, THE THEORETICAL CENTRE AND ORGANISOR OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!**

**VIVA ALL THE SECTIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL AND VIVA THE IV INTERNATIONAL!**

**VIVA THE WORLD ANTI-CAPITALIST AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT!**

**VIVA THE WORKERS' STATES AND THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS' STATES!**

**VIVA THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!**

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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

# RED FLAG



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

No. 90

25th May, 1969.

Price 6d.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CURRENT: DEVELOPING IN THE TRADE UNIONS AND  
LABOUR PARTY MUST BASE ITSELF ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME,  
AND APPEAL FOR THE FORMATION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES.

The British working class, with only the limited level of organisation it has at the moment, overcoming the resistance and lack of initiative of the trade union leaderships, continues to show that it is not prepared to carry the costs of the capitalist crisis on its shoulders. Capitalism, and the Labour leaders, governing in the interests of capitalism, call for greater efforts, for sacrifices to be made to ensure the survival of British capitalism in the increasingly fierce inter-capitalist competition, and the workers answer with strikes and demands for higher wages, shorter hours, and for control over the speed of production. The form of the workers struggle is still predominantly economic, but the objective of these struggles is to finish with the system of capitalist exploitation and to replace it with a superior system; Socialism. But still to achieve this the programme, the organisms and the political leadership do not exist and have to be constructed, and this work of construction of a new leadership takes place in conditions of constant advance of the revolution in all its forms and a constant retreat by imperialism and capitalism. The whole capitalist world from Malaysia to Argentina, from Italy to the USA itself presents the appearance of one International Civil War in which the capitalist class with its tanks, tear gas and helicopters is powerless to stop the onslaught of the masses. And the situation in this country is becoming more and more harmonised, in tune with, this world process.

The 60 thousand or so workers from the most important sectors of British industry who came out unofficially on May Day expressed a total unconcern for the problems of capitalism, their concern was only that these problems should not be solved at their expense. Thus the workers of the Leyland factories, at the same time as the announcement of yet another bad months trade figures, contd page 9.

OSCAR FERNANDEZ, ADOLFO GILLY, TERESA  
CONFRETA HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED TO  
8½ YRS., 6½ YRS., AND 5¼ YRS. See page 11

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COMMUNES AND  
SOVIETS

J. Posadas, December 1965

Part 4.

Continued from part 3 which appeared  
in Red Flag No. 88 dated 25.4.1969

3. THE SOVIET: LOCAL AND NATIONAL POWER OF THE WORKERS STATE

The soviet performs a different function. It is the natural development of the commune. And it is the crystallisation of the will to intervene in the problems of the state, of the whole country, economics, politics, leadership, wages, everything. For example the commune nominates representatives for areas or sections; and they nominate their own representatives, they discuss and send representatives to combine with those of other sections to form a single body. And they discuss all the country's problems: what to produce, what quantities to produce, what wages to pay, how to distribute, which plan, what production, what foreign policy to adopt, what to produce here, today, what support to give to the revolution? All this in the soviet, the soviet discusses all this. The commune does not. The commune exists and it discusses, but its problems are those of the commune. Apart from the fact that it cannot talk about other communes, its scope is very limited because it is not unified, not centralised. Because, by its very nature, it can only achieve a very limited centralisation. The soviet however, can be centralised because it is the soviet itself that determines economic life, which plans, programmes, leads and directs the politics of the country. And in order to do this, representatives must come from the commune to the soviet. And the commune also has a soviet functioning.

For the commune is not a substitute for the soviet, on the contrary, they are united into a single organism with different functions. The commune is the expression of a need for regional, industrial, economic, and political organisation. The soviet is the form in which this commune can exercise its power, the national power of the commune, and in the soviet it is most important that the most advanced commune can influence the least advanced by means of the soviet. This is a much more powerful method than through the Party, for the Party reflects, can only reflect, the extent to which the Party has elevated itself, but not the position of anyone else, one section or another, certainly but not all levels of the population. For this requires the independent functioning of the revolutionary Party, without which the soviet has no meaning. The commune can function for itself alone, but it functions as a commune, internally, it has not much scope, however, through the functioning of the soviet, it addresses the rest of the country, it is able to address the rest of the country.

The communes have a central representation through the government. There is progress, but at the same time a certain retrogression, for the Chinese leadership does not take the spontaneous stimulus of the commune and organise it in a democratic form. It limits the communes. This is a very great limitation. That is to say, the commune shows a capacity for immense initiative, and now they control it. It is a control that limits its capacity for action. This is not going to go on much longer. What is happening in the Army indicates that there are forces struggling to advance. It is a control, an ordering, because life has to be ordered, but the soviet could exercise this control. The Soviet! What they are doing in the army is completely different. An organism that must have political power, has none. It has economic power, but not political power. This contradiction is going to lead to conflict. This is not yet the beginning of the soviet. The soviet discusses, decides and applies. What has happened in the army, and those who are taking part in it, will lead the way. For the most progressive will take the least progressive along with them. Maintaining the form and significance of the communes, but elevating them to soviet functioning.

TRADE UNION AND PARTY DO NOT INCLUDE ALL THE EXPLOITED MASSES -

THE SOVIET DOES.

What are soviets? They are the brain of the soviet society, the brain which thinks in a centralised way. The trade union maintains its function, the party maintains its function, but everything is centralised in the soviet. The party exerts influence through its members, in the soviet, the organism which then centralises is the soviet.

Soviet society, Chinese society, Argentinian, Uruguayan society, are made up of many people; peasants, workers, professional workers, students, soldiers, bosses, bourgeois, tramps, murderers, the whole range, this is what forms the society. The specific organs of the class struggle are; trade union and party. And then other inferior organs, for example, the factory committee. is a necessary inferior organ, which does not replace the trade union, but is necessary because its function is to effect the organisation of a factory, a factory which determines when its leadership is not wanted or is not capable of doing what is necessary. But the trade union also exists, because it organises on a broader scale. Trade unions and party exist to represent the exploited class. But trade union and party only include part, even of the exploited class, and that part is small, very small. It does not include, it does not attract, it does not organise all the exploited masses or even all the proletariat. Only a very small part. Being organs directly representing the exploited masses, they are limited in their capacity for forming a nucleus. Even at the best times, in periods of good trade union organisations, the trade union does not include more than 25 or 30 or 35% of the masses, no more. The strike draws 100%. The trade union 20, 25 or 30%. That is a quite normal phenomenon, everyone knows it. It means that the trade union, being a potent and living organ, organiser of the exploited class, has no authority to attract and keep the class permanently within its organisation, but only circumstantially, fleetingly, at certain stages of history. And it means that the influence of the trade union is limited, because whenever it is not involved in militant action it cannot influence the whole class. Militancy means going to meetings, discussions in assemblies. For instance, a concrete example, in a factory or company with ten or a hundred thousand workers, only 10% go to meetings, it is only a small minority that makes decisions. Always. It is the same in the Party. The revolutionary party, the reformist party - but in this case the revolutionary party - even the most complete and elevated, only embraces 10 - 20% of the class, no more. The rest is not included. And outside the class, outside the party and trade union, there is the poor petit bourgeoisie, the moderates - some join the party, others remain outside - there are the peasants, farm workers, soldiers, journalists, the small landlord, the moderate landlord, the small tenant, the moderate tenant, the poor tenant. That is to say all these together make up the exploited masses. And the proportion of these who are organised: only 10, 15 20% no more. The rest are not. But all these have a common interest and they display this common interest, because when there is a strike, then there is revolution, they are all involved. Although the soldier is a worker and a peasant, he has to act within his own function, in the specific moment in which he can exercise his authority and social weight. And although he is peasant and worker, being a soldier he has no function in the trade union or the factory, he functions within the army. That is to say he has a specific function in the society; as an officer, soldier; etc. How to use the organic, organised force of the soldier, of the worker, of the peasant, who at this moment is a soldier, is doing his military service? Not in the trade union or in the party; however in the soviet it is possible. Not just by giving him the right to have opinions and to think, but how to utilise the organised social force of the soldier, who is worker or peasant and who at one particular moment is a soldier. Soldiers' committees, soldiers' trade unions are good, they can be created, they already exist, but how can they intervene in order to make themselves felt in the revolution? Through the soviet. The necessary condition: democracy, so that the people can speak, can form opinions, can think.

Only a part of society is moving towards the total mobilisation of society: trade union and party, not the rest who are in the army, in the fields, in the office, at work, in the factory, in the neighbourhood, they are not mobilised. The trade union membership is organically organised, the rest have no organs

of expression. And yet it has as great a capacity as the proletariat for thinking, forming opinions, judging, feeling and deciding. And if it does not have this capacity, because it does not live the political life, does not have the elevation nor the political activity of the proletariat, it has just as much interest as the proletariat in

expressing its opinions like the proletariat, in finding the means to express its opinions like the proletariat. The means must be sought whereby every soldier, officiar, peasant, petit bourgeois, worker who is not organised, every factory is included in active political and revolutionary life. The trade union can't call and they don't come, the party calls and they don't come. And the people felt the need to intervene and resolve problems, intervening in everything. For example, automatically, spontaneously, people all over the world tend to create their soviets, in whatever form they can. In Uruguay for example neighbourhood committees. The neighbourhood committee is a form of soviet. It does not play the same role, nor has it the strength of the soviet, but it is one form of soviet. Because the soviet, in its historical sense, represents the will of the lowest of the population to overcome those at the top, to put themselves in a position to make decisions. It is the most elevated form of parliamentarianism. I say parliamentarianism in jest. Without president, without seats, without benches, without buildings, the soviet demonstrates its capacity for deciding, judging and applying. And it is unlike the organs which constitute capitalism, which deceive the masses, which have legislative, judicial and executive forms, the three organs of capitalist power, these forms of capitalist authority are created to deceive the masses, to deny to the masses the possibility of deciding and instructing. Because they are organs in which, in the final instance, it is the central power which carries out what is necessary, and the central power is always in the hands of capitalism. In capitalism it is they who command. So that even in the best times, when the masses have a parliamentary majority, it is the government who make the decisions. The masses can get a socialist candidate into the government. Good, but the judicial structure is capitalist. And so there is a contradiction between the socialist government and the capitalist judiciary. The socialists show that they are well-educated chaps, and in order not to disturb the judicial structure, they adapt themselves to it, to the capitalist judicial structure. They don't adapt themselves from one day to the next, they are developing their function in society, in parliamentary and ministerial careers, this is what they represent and this is how they live.

In consequence the masses cannot have, in the organs of capitalism, in the usual trade union and party organs, even in the organs of the neighbourhood, the means of carrying out what they resolve, of applying their decisions, or their will. They can formulate their will, they can decide what they feel is necessary, but they cannot carry it out. A similar example in Argentina is the programme of Huerta Grande and the leadership of the CGT. The CGT leadership is the executive power; the CGT is like an institution; the legislative power and the CGT regulations are the judicial power. It is not exactly the same, but there is a very approximate similarity. The workers decide that the programme of Huerta Grande should be applied. How was it decided? There has been no big assembly for many years but assemblies in Cordoba accepted and decided and the CGT was also having general strikes, occupying factories. At the same moment, without assembly, without meeting, without preparation, at the same time: a million and a half workers occupied all Argentina. What impelled them to do that? It was no other than the programme of Huerta Grande. The executive power, the CGT leadership, had to support it and to carry it out. But in carrying it out they got their fingers burnt, and other parts of their anatomy as well, so that they couldn't sit down and had to run away. They got burnt because they didn't really accept the programme, they didn't want it. They were not prepared nor had they foreseen or wanted power. And so they fled.

#### THE SOVIET, LIKE THE COMMUNE, GREW FROM THE CREATIVE CAPACITY OF THE MASSES

In Russia it was the same; the masses had decided that they wanted to break with the army, in 1905 they wanted power. In 1917 they wanted power. The masses were against the war, the peasants wanted land, the soldiers wanted to abandon the front. The Russian towns didn't want any more war, there was no bread and they wanted bread, so they proposed: instead of working for the war, let us work to buy bread. But how is this national will of the masses to be expressed? The unions' power to lead the masses was very limited. The party also, very limited. In 1905 the masses invented the way for the will of the town to make itself felt, to bring its weight to bear, and to make decisions. And this way was, for opinions to be expressed, judgements to be made, resolutions to be passed and then acted upon. That is to say, the three powers concentrated into one, the soviet. And so they created the soviet. An organism that represented equally, soldiers committees, peasants committees, housewives

committees, every committee was represented there. Neighbourhood committees, trade unions, factory committees, all were organised in this way. Thus the unanimous will of the nation was expressed. This indeed was Russia. This was the country, this was the national feeling. They expressed opinions, they made decisions, and put them into application. They didn't leave it to the legislative committee to put their decisions into practice to study them. The masses decided what they thought resolved and applied, for how did they apply their decisions? They were able to put them into practice because the masses themselves were the organ which decided and which said to the soldiers and to the government. "Do that!"

The soviet has to implement what it thinks, what it resolves and itself effects this. The legislative, executive and parliamentary powers are different, in that he who decides, does not execute. In the soviet however, the executives are the very same people who decide, execute and apply. If the government does not do what is required, they remove it and immediately replace it. This is soviet power. It was the masses who created it. And this was the organism that showed itself to be the most complete in the whole of history and possibly it will not be bettered, - that reunited in a single body the will of the nation, the will of thinking, deciding and applying. And the will of the exploited nation, which is the only one that can do that. And the masses created the soviet in 1905, in their own initiative.

But there is a historical precedent for the soviet. Like all great organisms created by the masses, it didn't drop from the sky, like the commune in China which didn't drop from the sky either. In Russia, as in all backward feudal European countries, as a means of defence against feudalism, against the Church, there existed communistic ways of life, as we have today in Latin America, communist to a greater or lesser degree, intensity or extent, communist forms, ways of counselling ordering, giving mutual aid, on the basis of which the experience of the masses was built, not only in the countryside, but also in the city. This is the historical precedent. Like the Chinese commune, it didn't grow from a resolution of the Chinese Communist Party, nor from the Chinese Workers State, which witnesses it, adopts it, and gives it conscious form, organised, more effective form. But the origin was with the peasants, who also, in order to defend themselves against the mandarins, the owners of China, organised themselves in the form of communes. In order to form a front against drought, hunger, want and devastation, they organised themselves in the form of communes so as to resolve all the problems; of industrial production of water, drought, mutual aid, in order to so as the poor peasants so in the Latin American countryside: one week they all go to work in one field, the next week in another, the following week in another. This is a communist tradition arising from the primitive epoch, the feudal epoch, but in this case, primitive. It is a form that can be used as a basis for working out a form that is relevant today. This is the creation of the masses. Neither the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. nor of China believed it. And the masses were able to create that and they are able to create all the other historic organisms, socially necessary organisms, by their position in the economy, by their experience and because they support and find the means to impel the whole organism to bring about the progress of history, which is the progress of the masses themselves. This is why the soviet is irreplaceable. This is why the masses created it. This is why the soviet shows the immense and irreplaceable capacity for initiative of the masses. Because as we have said, marxism is the most potent creative instrument that there is. Marxism is a creator. Because it allows life and society to be understood, to be worked upon, and for life to be organised, for the masses to organise amongst themselves in order to destroy capitalism. And the masses are the most potent creative instruments, because the society and the economy are founded upon them, they are dependant upon them, and when they can speak and declare, they will utilise their experiences, their capacities, which collectively are better and more important. Because they know that their progress and life must be based collectively. This is why Lenin said, referring to the soviet, "It is the most powerful organised instrument that human society has created." The soviet!

#### THE SOVIET IS THE BASIS OF THE WORKERS STATE'S FUNCTIONING

The soviet is the basis of the Workers State's functioning. And it must inevitably be the soviet which fights the resistance, the opposition, the villainous attitudes of the bureaucracy, and its usurpation, the soviet which reanimates soviet life. Because it is the soviet that organises the will and intellect of the nation, and the raw material for action. There is

no better organ than this. Because it comes from below, from the man who lives on the land to the other who works in the factory. It is based there, that is to say on the direct relation with society and life, upwards. On the other hand, the organ formed from above is based on bureaucratic interest, administrative interest, from the mental organisation which places itself above society. The lack of decision and strength of the bureaucracy results from its place in history. The action, the immense capacity of the masses is founded on the strength from below, from feeling themselves master of the world, capable of everything, without fear of anything. Because the interest is not against the interest of the whole of the masses. And this is the whole country. For this reason the soviet is the most complete instrument, the most irreplaceable instrument.

The bureaucracy is the result of the structure of the country, and of a precise moment in which the world weakness of the workers state and of the proletariat created it. Thus it has to think as a structure not as the root. Hence the difference. Hence the immense historic backwardness of the Chinese, really astonishing, that they still do not discuss the soviets. It is astonishing. The Chinese still have not written anything on the soviets. They are afraid, they do not name the soviets. The word soviet is excluded from Chinese literature. Excluded. They have published about 30-35 old texts. Beginning from the movement of Mau Tse Tung until now and the soviets are excluded. Because if they posed the soviets, they would have to explain what the soviet is. And the masses are going to say "let us apply the soviets." That is to say, they open the gates to knowledge and to historic experience to apply it, for this reason they have excluded it. The means which permitted Lenin which gave him the vision of, the possibility of triumph, was not only the general outline of what would happen - and in that the necessity of the party unified with the masses - but the fact that in 1905 the consciousness was given to Lenin that the social base where the historic instrument of the party could support itself, was the soviet. And the soviet demonstrated how the revolution is the best thing for humanity, where it brings to light, develops, stimulates; nourishes and stimulates into action the best for humanity. And it launches the creative capacity, the organised capacity for action, and leadership of the multitude, of the masses. It is the revolution! There is no other historic fact in humanity which allows and which will allow the feeling, the thought, the will of the masses to be unified and homogenised, There is no other organism which allows the launching of the creative capacity of the masses as the revolution has done. No. There is no other human action like this. Because the revolution launches everyone to intervene and each one feels a part of this and

a decisive part and all the desire and the aspiration which has been accumulated in years and years of observation, of vision, of criticism, of judgement, of rejection, of lack of satisfaction, the creation of small culture in the house, the family leads to deducing, analysing, judging; in the revolution everything returns completely. But not in the abstract, because the party prepares for this, because the action of the class in the trade union, prepared it, because the occupation and the strike prepared it. And then, the party intervenes through the soviets directly as a party. But its real force is not so much as a party in itself but through the soviets and its delegates in the soviets. If it was just the party, then the soviet would not be needed; it intervenes as a party but it wins through the soviets. Hence the slogan of Lenin in July "It is necessary to win over the soviets". Although the party was very powerful. Then the party had to influence the soviets, to win over the soviets.

I believe that among the Chinese, it must be that the soviets are discussed and this is going to appear suddenly. It is impossible, absurd, that they do not discuss this. The revolution cannot progress as is necessary, without discussing the soviets, this is absurd. In the same way that still the axe is used to cut down the trees, when it is possible to press a button and a hand saw cuts it in one blow and better. The way in which in China the absence of proletariat power, of the proletarian dictatorship is expressed; is that there are no proletarian organs, there are no soviets. The Commune is close to, but does not replace the soviet.

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THE SOVIET IS THE HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHINESE BEFORE THE MASSES  
OF THE WORLD

The Chinese in this stage of history have a responsibility that no other leadership in history has possessed, in the stage of history. If the Chinese decide to intervene today, launching themselves in preventative war, organising their production, their planning in the economy, submitting it to the necessity to impel the world revolution, and making this possible even with the risk of the nuclear war - and in consequence before the risk of the nuclear war, making the revolution - thus reducing the havoc which is going to provoke the nuclear war. If the Chinese decide this, they can abbreviate the stages of history in which capitalism can continue and the human damage, the damage to humanity. If the Chinese do not work thus, they will allow the accumulation of forces which will provoke infinitely greater evils. Without better possibilities for shortening their historic time, their time of existence capitalism produces determined damage. In extending their historic stage of existence without better possibilities, it does infinitely greater evil and as a consequence contains, blocks, diverts the power of humanity from uninterrupted progress.

The Chinese must intervene now, draw upon the experience of history. They must intervene now! And now means to organise action, planning for the Chinese people, beginning to make in China demonstrations of millions, assemblies of millions, activity of millions, preparing openly for solidarity, appealing for solidarity with the revolution, making soviets. Let the North American masses, European, Asiatic see how the Chinese people can resolve the problems of the economy, of society, of life, making soviets. The functioning of soviets in China abbreviates the historic stages of capitalism and the damage to capitalism because the functioning of the soviets in China will have an immense influence on the North American masses. And the north American masses will see the Chinese people, the capacity of the Chinese people and in it, they will see the immense force of the revolution and it will be an incitement and an influence to resolve the problems which they think about, which are necessary to resolve and they do not know how. Because the North American people in front of the contradiction of the development of the capitalist crisis, the constant development of human exploitation and the constant development of production and productivity: and they feel themselves the greatest industrial power in the world. A contradiction which is reflected in the mind of the North American masses.

The organisation and the functioning of soviets in China, the organisation and independent functioning of the trade unions in China would be an immense influence over the North American trade unions. An assembly of unions; the world press, the witnesses of the world - that in every way see, feel and transmit - see an assembly of a trade union of millions which discusses and resolves and see that millions can discuss and resolve. And the North American people could see that millions can discuss and resolve, that the secrets of industry of North American technique can be dominated in months, in years. One of the conditions which contains the development of the organisation of the North American masses, is that they feel that the power and the North American concentration demand a capacity of leadership which they do not have, which they are not capable of because their organisation does not allow them to do this. But if the soviet proletariat and Chinese function in an independent form and discuss all the problems of China and of the Soviet Union, the North American proletariat in one year, in less than a year could elevate its capacity to resolve all the problems of the economic leadership also. And then it elevates its capacity winning the technicians to its point of view and to its proletarian conception, which is the way to prolong its strength for the proletariat. In the same way that the workers state to impose its strength extends itself in the revolution and prolongs its force, the North American proletariat, in winning the technicians to its point of view and to its historic objectivity, is the same which extends its power to the technicians, of administration, of the leadership, of cybernetics, of the economy, It resolves.

The Chinese have to realise and understand that they are a decisive factor in this stage to prepare the preventive war. Before launching the preventive war they must live thus. They should prepare the conditions so that in the United States, the outbreak of the war may be simultaneous with the revolution. Because the masses are going to see what they must do and how to do it and it impels them to feel the security in themselves. The Chinese must do this.

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strike indefinitely and unofficially for wage parity with the midlands car factories. The importance of this strike, as that of the Ford strike, must be fully understood by the vanguard. Not only is it unofficial, not only the first for 40 years, but it is completely solid, no one is trying to pass the pickets and the strike involves a whole community. It is the complete unification of the workers of an entire area, and it has the backing of the local AEF and confed organisations. The demand for recognition from their union the AEF nationally, will probably (but not (inevitably) mean that the AEF will make it official as they did with the Fords strike. The relationship of forces between the bureaucracy and the workers is changing in favour of the workers, and the bureaucracy under the enormous centralised pressure of the workers, transmitted by the lower and middle officials of the T.U.'s is forced to yield to this pressure. Recognition of the strike by the AEF, even though it will be in part to try to contain it, will be an enormous encouragement to the Leyland workers who will see that they do not have to confront the union bureaucracy and will not feel that they are separating themselves from the rest of the class. It is necessary to extend this strike, to hold mass meetings to discuss the programme to fight for and to elect the committees to lead the struggle, the factory must be occupied and kept running under the control and management of the workers, making appeals to the Workers States to buy the products. Leyland buses have been sold to the Cuban Workers State by the Leyland capitalist management, now they can be offered to the Cuban, Korean, Vietnamese, Syrian Workers States etc. and to those countries who are developing towards Workers States like, Algeria, Tanzania etc. at a lower price, a price which takes no account of the capitalist need for profit. Such measures by the vanguard, such appeals to the Workers States would greatly accelerate the development of a new leadership here and the process of formation of the world anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front, which although it exists objectively at present, lacks an organisational form. Capitalism cannot afford to give the concession of raising the wages of the Leyland workers to those of the Midlandland workers because it would involve an increase of around 20%, but neither could capitalism afford the Fords agreement, or French capitalism afford the wage increases conceded after May, but they have been forced to by aggressive class actions which they have not had the force to resist, and in yielding they knock another nail into the coffin of their economic, political and social stability.

Such is the decay of British Imperialism, so much does it, with its capitalist and imperialist allies, concentrate its attention and resources on the preparation of atomic war, as the only way to hold back the struggle of the masses, that it has to attack the fundamental gains of the working class and dismember still more the skeleton of the social services. Thus the government plans to abolish the laws restricting the employment of women (on night shifts etc.) and talks of higher charges for teeth and spectacles and higher insurance contributions. The need to carry through these measures together with the laws against the trade unions brings the Labour government, elected by the working class and the poor petit bourgeoisie, to destroy capitalism, into a deeper and deeper crisis. The conflict between the government and the TUC, the opposition of a part of the AEF even to the feeble proposals of the TUC to discipline the unions, the statements of the TGWU that it will stop its sponsorship of certain MP's like George Brown because of their anti-TU stance, the open

conflict in the Congress of the ETU where Cannon attacked the 'ratbag of trotskyites and communists' who were trying to prevent the control of the union apparatus by the Cannon bureaucracy, are all indications of the crisis in the apparatuses of the workers movement, in which the bureaucracy is caught between the pressure of the workers who are not prepared to go on in the old way and the capitalist class which has reached the end of the concessions it can make. It is a crisis without solution for the top bureaucracy, but at the lower and middle levels of the workers organisations certain officials are being and will be won over by the struggle of the workers at the base and these in turn exert a pressure on the top bureaucrats so that these in determined instances and circumstances can be made to respond to the pressure of the rank and file. It was this as Posadas and the International have analysed, which occurred in the early days of the May Revolutionary General Strike in France. This means that within the Labour Party and the unions there is a left wing developing, its precise form still not clear, of party and trade union members lower and middle officials who are vanguard elements from the factories, or in contact with this, and who are now seeking in the mass organisations the way



Demand the immediate release of the Trotskyists imprisoned  
in Mexico :— ADOLFO GILLY, OSCAR FERNANDEZ, TERESA  
CONFRETA.

On the 18th of April, nearly three years after they were first arrested, Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez Bruno and Teresa Confreta have at last been sentenced. Fourteen other comrades have been sentenced to two and a half years but all have been permitted to remain free under caution, most of them having spent more than two years in jail since 1966 anyway. Another comrade Fausto Davila has been sentenced to one year and 9 months, and remains free, and another Sergio Cortes who has 'disappeared' could not be tried.

Oscar Fernandez was condemned to 8 year 6 months; for conspiracy, breaking the law in relation to foreigners, and falsification of official stamps. Adolfo Gilly was condemned to 6 years 6 months for conspiracy and breaking the law relating to foreigners, and Teresa Confreta 5 years 3 months for the same two offences. These three comrades will not be released under caution because this provision only applies to sentences of less than five years. There is now an appeal pending, which can if the Mexican government is submitted to a vigorous campaign of protest from the world workers and student movement and all progressive public opinion, result in a diminution of the sentences.

These sentences have no juridical basis but are a result simply of the relation of forces which at the moment is in favour of the bourgeoisie. There was no concrete evidence against the comrades, and the trial was simply against the ideas and opinions of the comrades. The defense of the comrades, part of which we will reproduce in the next issue of Red Flag showed that the evidence which the prosecution presented was not based on any proof and was an accumulation of lies.

Only a vigorous campaign of world opinion, denouncing the anti-democratic illegal character of this violation of the Mexican constitution and of the revolutionary traditions of the Mexican people, can bring about, in the appeal, a lowering of the sentences.

It is with this end that we launch a campaign for the sending of telegrams, declarations, letters to the Mexican government, to the Mexican Embassy here in London. We appeal to all the political, trade union, worker, student organisations to make declarations for the immediate liberation of Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez Bruno and Teresa Confreta de Fernandez.

We appeal to intellectuals, professors, artists, to sign telegrams of protest to the Embassy. We appeal to the newspapers and reviews of the left, Tribune and New Statesman etc, to publish our communiques so as to give them the widest possible publicity. We appeal to lawyers, organisations which defend human and democratic rights such as Amnesty International, Russell Peace Foundation, to constitute committees to investigate and denounce the monstrosities of this trial.

We appeal for the immediate collection of funds which will allow us to send a lawyer to Mexico, which is an irreplaceable way of putting pressure on the Mexican government for the liberation of our comrades and all the other political prisoners, workers, students, journalists and trade union militants held in hundreds in the prisons of Mexico.

It is necessary to denounce by all possible means this violation of democratic and revolutionary rights which the Mexican government still claims to support. If all resolutions, texts of telegrams etc. are sent to us we will publish them in Red Flag.

The addresses to send telegrams, resolutions etc. are.

The Mexican Embassy, 48 Belgrave Square, London. S.W.1.

The Mexican Government,  
Diaz Ordaz, Palacio de Gobierno, Mexico City, Mexico. D.F.

# 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.
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British Section, IVth International



Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are all, all, all  
— Trotsky

NO. 91

JUNE 10th 1969

SIXPENCE

## The emergency Congress of the T. U. C. shows the need to impel the Revolutionary wings in the Unions and the L.P. with Anti-Capitalist Programme and methods

The result of the emergency conference of the TUC at Croydon is a formidable blow at British imperialism. In a different way, with different conditions it parallels the defeat of de Gaulle in the referendum. In a limited way it centralises the attention of the class in the same way as the candidature of Duclos has centralised the French proletariat in the Presidential elections. The British proletariat has in this conference expressed in a clear way, its desire to be free of capitalism, to be free of the policy of the bourgeois leadership in the Labour Party, its desire to have power.

But although the results of the Croydon Conference show the tremendous force of the British proletariat, its total rejection of the line of capitalism, its capacity to impose itself on the Union apparatuses despite all the conciliatory manoeuvres of the bureaucracy, they also show the great limitations in the confidence and the understanding of the vanguard in the unions and the LP. It is quite absurd that in this stage, the attempts of capitalism to fetter the Trade Unions, to impose a discipline on "unofficial" strikes are met, not by a clear anti capitalist programme with appeals to the masses, with preparations for a revolutionary general strike to overthrow capitalism, but by a defensive programme of promised self reform by the trade unions. It is absurd. Imperialism and capitalism are weak. Even the proposed legislation of Wilson is weak. It is all pathetic, reflective of the impotence of capitalism. And yet the Croydon "Conference" is based on a defensive programme, which furthermore does not really reflect the mood even of the Conference. Despite the "defensive" programme the atmosphere following the Conference is one of tension, the threat of political strikes against the government unless they withdraw their legislation. The top bureaucrats draw back at the horrid phrase "political strike", but they know the proletariat is prepared for revolutionary actions to precipitate the downfall of capitalism. They refuse to lead the struggle, because they are professional bureaucrats, but they cannot deny that the working class is prepared to use strikes going beyond the level of purely economic demands. The union bureaucracy including the pseudo lefts, such as Scanlon, are concerned to restrain the vanguard, to conduct the whole struggle as a defensive one, but the process is going beyond them. And it is on the objective confidence and resolution of the British working class, and the whole course of the world socialist revolution that the vanguard in the unions and the LP must base itself. It is on this basis of confidence that the vanguard must put forward the anti-capitalist programme, without any fear of breaking the centralisation of the masses around the trade unions and the LP.

The Croydon Conference has shown

fundamentally the contradiction between the desire of the working class to be free of capitalism and the great weakness of its leadership in the unions and the LP. The working class is constantly intervening to impel the vanguard. At the very time that the Croydon Conference was meeting, the workers at the Leyland factories were defying the management in a powerful unusually united strike. Such strikes are not to be considered as merely economic in motivation, fundamentally they express the desire of the masses to impel the class struggle, to defy the interests of capitalism, and to impel the vanguard, to impel the leadership in the unions and the LP. The results of the intervention of the Italian proletariat over a period of years has been together with the fundamental intervention of the IV International—to stimulate the middle cadres and the revolutionary tendencies in the ICP. Still these currents lack confidence, but their historic role is fundamental, to provide the leadership, on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme in a united front with the IV International, of the working class. Such experiences, as with all the other experiences of the world socialist revolution, such as the revolutionary general strike in France, must be assimilated by the vanguard in the LP and the Trade Unions.

The middle cadres in the workers organisations, the unions and the LP can base themselves on the process in the Workers States, the maturing of the revolutionary communist vanguard. In Czechoslovakia, the right wing tendencies who wished to dismantle the workers state's centralised and planned economy, replacing it by competition between individual factories and making "profitability" of enterprises the basis of the economy, have been thoroughly defeated. In Cuba and Korea the emphasis is being placed on the replacement of the material by the socialist moral incentive. The traditional line of peaceful co-existence of the Soviet bureaucracy increasingly has to be replaced by a more intransigent line represented particularly by the preventive actions of the Korean Workers State in relation to imperialism. The criminal absurdity of the Sino Soviet border disputes is alien to the

interests and the historic progress of the Workers States, and only reflects the crisis of the bureaucracy, not the rapidity of progress of the Workers States. And what strength has imperialism? Even the military forces of Yankee imperialism show increasing desertion and outright mutiny. There is no profound success or increase in authority, which can be attributed to imperialism. It is for this reason that imperialism is preparing for war. It realises that it has no future. Wilson's apparent aggressiveness in relation to the workers, his persistent attacks on strikes is really a sign of desperation. He has to reflect the interests of capitalism, because he represents the sectors of the LP who think and live like bourgeois, but his "penal clauses", which are an inevitable response to the necessities of capitalism, just as inevitably call for the resistance of the vanguard. On the basis of this understanding there is no legitimate basis for lack of confidence. The speech of one delegate from the NUM, at the emergency conference, saying there was a need for a general strike to confront the proposals of the government shows the spirit of the vanguard—even in a conference where genuine proletarian democracy can hardly be said to apply—but the need also to link this perspective, with a whole series of anti-capitalist demands.

All the time the struggle between the masses and capitalism becomes more acute on both a national and international scale. Thousands of workers in many of the principal car factories have been on strike, paralysing one of the bases of the capitalist economy. Women delegates at the recent conference of the GMWU spoke of the need to fight for equal pay for women by using all their force in the factories. And on the other hand whilst capitalism sustains private industry, it perfects its preparations for the nuclear war as can be seen in the recent Healey and Schroder conversations where the strengthening of NATO is the principal concern. All these issues should have been discussed at the Croydon Conference. The attempted repressive legislation of the Wilson government against the unions is only part of the whole programme and policy of capitalism, and it should be combated by the whole programme of the proletariat. Instinctively the arrest of British seamen in Greece for distributing leaflets—although the intervention was weak from the point of view of policy and programme—shows the desire of the vanguard to deepen the objective world united front against capitalism. All this desire must find reflection

in the anti-capitalist programme of the revolutionary wing in the LP and the Unions.

We appeal to the middle cadres in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, the delegates to the trades councils, Labour councillors, trade union branch secretaries and area secretaries, and the shop stewards, we appeal to the left MPs, to the Irish left MPs to push forward the anti-capitalist programme and to do this fearlessly. The apparatus tries to intimidate them it is because it lacks the social strength. We appeal to all these sectors to raise basic demands including equal pay for women with demands for trade union democracy, demands for all wages to rise with the cost of living, nationalisations under workers control without compensation and demand the planning of production to meet all the necessities of the population, education, housing, transport etc., to raise these demands in the unions and the Labour Party, but at the same time to appeal directly to the workers in the factories, and in the workers areas to act on these demands, to impose them acting on the bases of proletarian democracy, factory committees, in the factories and also imposing a genuine trade union democracy with the elimination of all bureaucratic privilege and asserting the right of immediate recall. This is not the period for the power of the apparatus. Five years ago in the Italian CP, Trotskyists could be expelled and beaten up, now the apparatus has to allow Trotskyism to express itself in the very heart of the ICP. Similarly the LP and union bureaucracy is in no position to stamp out opposition to them and the left MPs can lean on this. It is necessary to push forward the programme rapidly and with confidence. The spirit of the Irish masses is a tremendous encouragement to the British proletariat, blocked as it has been for so long by the obstacle of the Labour Party apparatus. We appeal to the Irish vanguard to stimulate all the sectors in the unions and the LP to put forward the anti-capitalist programme and methods. We appeal for the united front of the vanguard in the factories, the middle cadres in the LP and the Unions, the revolutionary sectors at the base of the CP, to work in a united front with the IV International to prepare the way through the various stages, for the application of the anti-capitalist programme, and the preparation for the revolutionary general strike and the imposition of workers power.

## News of the Campaign for the release of Trotskyist prisoners

SEE PAGE 4

# THE 9th CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IS A NEW IMPULSE AND ADVANCE OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

The holding of the 9th Congress of the PCF expresses an ascent of the struggles within China. It marks the defeat of the tendency of the right, of Liu Shao Chi and the triumph through the "cultural revolution" of the left centrist tendency of Mao Tse Tung. We do not possess news on the existence of an organised left, but such a left exists, and the left centrist sector of Mao leans on this in its struggle against the right.

The importance of this Congress resides in the fact that it is the first attempt to make the party really function to push forward a coherent policy. Until now, as comrade Posadas posed in a series of documents, there has not been a party, a functioning of the party. The lack of a party life remains. This absence of a political and theoretical life has hindered the organisation and structuring of an organised left.

It is very important that a majority of young leaders, of cadres of the "cultural revolution", of revolutionary committees coming from the proletariat and the peasantry, poor and middle peasantry participated at this Congress side by side with the old cadres, the soldiers of the long march, leaders like Kan Shen, Chen Po Ta or the wife of Mao. Significant also was the presence of numerous "red guards".

The absence of mentioning or eulogising Chou En Lai, indicates also a process of recomposition of the leadership which through measures of a still administrative character orientate themselves towards objectives of struggle and elimination of the conciliatory right or openly pro-capitalist wing.

All these changes stem from the lack of marxist tradition, of marxist formation, of political and theoretical life as a function of the understanding of a coherent revolutionary programme of the world revolution, of the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, of forms of political power of the masses to construct socialism. They are the consequence of the contradiction between a sector of the leadership having a communist revolutionary mentality, and feelings, but a regionalist conception of the revolution, and the right sectors who have no confidence in the masses and lean on the apparatuses. It is also the product of lack of a world theoretical centre, political centre of the revolution, of a conscious leadership.

This absence of marxist tradition and formation leads this left centrist tendency to contradictory measures such as the nationalist and bureaucratic struggle on the frontiers with the Soviet bureaucracy on the one hand, and on the other, the putting into action of a whole series of economic measures in the country which lead to the elimination of capitalist exploitation, to the development of communist sentiment. On the one hand there is the absurd and reactionary conflict of frontiers, the stupid attacks on the "new czars", "fascists", and on the other hand a series of correct criticisms of the soviets on their capitalist conception of the economic plans on material stimulus etc.

The Chinese do not have the conception of proletarian internationalism whose basis is the necessity to unify, to plan all the Workers States eliminating the regional and national interests. They see clearly that capitalism is no use anymore, but they have a regionalist conception; like the petit bourgeois who becomes a socialist for his country, or as the Peruvian militants who say; "we defend the Peruvian flag and not the Red Flag", or like Peron in speaking of the necessity of a socialism for Latin America". The Chinese arrive at conclusions to the extent that reality imposes itself on them. They admit the existence of such conclusions, but without understanding theoretically. Hence the impossibility to draw the conclusions for the future and their closing in on themselves.

The Chinese have not acquired a communist consciousness. From their regional conception of marxism stems their incapacity to give political orientations and programmatic orientations for the other sectors of the world revolution. Marxism is a universal conception, which leans on

the objective world process, which judges in accordance with world conditions and perspectives. Hence their limitations and contradictions. On one side they act with the worst bureaucratic methods on the Ussuri, and on the other, they give the control of the factories to the factory committees, which means the progress of marxism.

To the extent that they have this regionalist conception of marxism, all their analyses lack conclusions on the level of the class struggle at this stage, on the preparation of the nuclear war and the world revolution. They do not draw the conclusion, for example, on the necessity for the unification of the Workers States, on the reasons for the existence of "revisionism" etc. They substitute for a lack of theoretical understanding by mechanical declarations, revolutionary but mechanical. They do not explain for example why there are several structures and different leaderships in the Workers States; China, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Korea, Rumania, USSR, why there is no mass communist international.

Their general interpretation of the permanent revolution is not the same as that of the trotskysts. Ours implies a constant process of the revolution with the participation of the masses as leaders, for proletarian democracy, for soviets. It means that proletarian power is that which elects, which revokes in the case where the leaders do not carry out their mandates, the decisions. Thus the rank and file daily controls the leaders through soviets, opposing any bureaucratisation, any policy or practice contrary to the interests of the exploited masses. It is because this is not applied in the Workers States, that there are today seven different leaderships and deviations and that the process of the revolution is made slower than necessary allowing capitalism to continue to exist.

The Chinese are impelled by the ascending process of the revolution, but they haven't a world comprehension of it. Their limitation in this regard is considerable. To pose the problems that they pose today in making an abstraction of the existence and of the significance of 16 Workers States does not permit them to understand and to draw the conclusions of the fact that any revolution has as a fundamental point of support, these Workers States. It is this which the IV International and Cde. Posadas poses in all their analysis of "Nationalism to the Workers State".

There exists in the world a very advanced process of established bases and forces, which are a force of attraction. And all this cannot for the moment develop fully, not because the masses are not impelled by the revolution, but because they are submitted and checked by their bureaucratic leaderships.

The Soviet bureaucracy is frightened of the Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and of its social consequences on the masses of the Soviet Union. It fears not to be able from now on to negotiate with the Yankees, that under a limited form they are no longer the only representative being able to negotiate in the name of the Workers State with capitalism. We are no longer in 1935 where the Soviet bureaucracy reigned as mast-

er. Today it must enter into conflict with Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, with the bureaucratic sectors who are already developing towards capitalist interests.

The left centrist wing in China is conscious that it is going to stimulate and impel the revolution, and above all the internal relations within the Workers State. And this, in spite of a functioning, of measures, of control, still in relation to bureaucratic interests, through lack of a unitary and monolithic conception of marxism. In spite of a partial reasoning, and a regionalist application of Marxism, the Chinese are in process of pushing forward in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the revolution.

Nevertheless in the Middle East they are not the ones who lead, but the Soviets. We can see in a clear way that the Chinese have a better access to the revolution, when it is directed by the poor layers of the population. There where on the other hand, it advances under a leadership of middle layers, of wings or tendencies which came from capitalism, from the rural petit bourgeoisie it is the Soviets who have the best access. They adapt themselves better by their interest and their capacity, to the medium layers, than to the poor layers. It is exactly the opposite with the Chinese.

But in spite of this the Chinese suffer failures by their lack of a consistent marxist policy. Thus in Mali, in Ghana, and now at a culminating level, in Pakistan. From there equally comes the importance of a congress, which for the first time made the discussion appear in the form of a party discussion, expressing the objective necessity of the Party and it did this in spite of the fact that there had not been any documents or preparatory resolutions to the Congress, any programmatic preparation. The empirical preparation nevertheless expresses the existence

of a programme of combat against arbitrary decisions and the bureaucracy and those who command. It reflects in a general way, the "Cultural Revolution" in opening up to the masses, to the workers, to the proletariat, to the poor and middle peasants, a minimum access to the leading posts of the state.

The attitude in face of the army signifies also a process which affects the interest of the Soviet army. They throw out ranks and begin a functioning of militias, but still without a programmatic functioning. But in spite of the absence of a conscious marxist centre all this expresses the element of an advance of the revolution.

If this congress had not been held on the basis of preparatory texts, one must nevertheless consider it in its context: that of the Cultural Revolution, of the documents which they brought out some months ago on the Paris Commune. With this Congress one stage has ended, a stage of struggle for a leadership. But nothing is finished, and the following stage, starting from the level attained is going to be more profound. Without going as far as Soviets, as far as the organisation of the Mass Communist International, to the struggle for the planning of all the Workers States, the sectors which have fought for democratic power, have been pre-eminent in all this stage. They are the ones who have also aided the development of the Chinese atomic power. One of the leading sectors of China has taken a harder and firmer position in view of disputing with the Soviet bureaucracy for the leadership of the Workers States.

In trying to contain the Soviet bureaucracy, this sector is also trying to contain the revolutionary sectors fighting for

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## 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.
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  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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
  20. For a workers government.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

power in China. The rightist sector has wanted to defend its bureaucratic interests by basing itself on atomic arms, but it clashes with the majority which wants to be based on the world revolution and pose that the atomic weapons must be at the service of the masses. It was this which was reflected in the communique of the first atomic explosion, which said: "this is a weapon which serves the development of the proletarian revolution".

Chou En Lai and the right centrist sector want to use atomic arms as a way of increasing their weight, their power, but equally to brake the revolution. This internal struggle is not finished. Nothing is yet defined or decided, concerning seeing if the leadership will be centrist or of the left. We are in an intermediate stage, which is going to permit the structuring of a party functioning. It is now four years ago that the leadership, first called the Chinese to intervene in the cells, this was in 1965. It was already an aspiration for a party functioning against the multiple empirical forms of functioning. The cultural revolution has come in its turn to stimulate a party functioning which tends now to regulate itself, with a stable leadership of the centre left which wants to advance, as is probably the case of Mao. Still nothing is clear. Mao has no programme, methods, tactics. Nothing, except declarations, which are often revolutionary. But this is not sufficient.

The appeal to the Chinese to intervene in the cells, the suppression of ranks and posts of command in the army, the measures in relation to the countryside and in the factories, all this indicates a tendency which wants to advance against the bureaucracy, but with still administrative methods. The cultural revolution has meant in this sense, a considerable step, but still without programme, without clear objectives. The word, soviet, still remains repugnant to them.

This congress marks a stage; a stage of advance of the Political Revolution in China. But a whole road remains to be covered in order that the methods of struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy cease being right, and become left. Thus when they say that the Soviets are "fascist", this is of no use in the fight against the bureaucracy. They give on the contrary a justification to the latter to diminish the authority of the Chinese within the communist vanguard. All this is the reflection of the immense inter-bureaucratic struggle, which exists and continues.

We must wait for the results of this Congress, which will be important for the future, even if the positions remain still little defined, for if it were otherwise, they would have been expressed in the form of a programme. The struggle of tendencies persists. The programme of the revolution remains formulated in a very dispersed, inconsistent fashion, through the declarations of Mao Tse Tung. Their principal failure is that of their conception of the world revolution, the fact that they do not launch any appeal for a UNITED FRONT.

The Congress has not launched any appeal, which would be normal for a Workers State congress, for any appeal which would link it to the world revolution to the masses of the world. The Congress has not given any orientation to the world masses for taking action in the coming period.

There exist several tendencies to the left of Mao, who have expressed themselves in texts on the need of the 'open revolution', through revolutionary texts on philosophy, on the students, the universities. They have criticised the sentiments of Soviet writers, correctly discussing these writers as petit bourgeoisie in all their concepts of life, of the house, of women, of art etc. All these articles take orientation from some of Cde. Posadas' texts.

The left in China has again not shown itself publicly. But now already the centrists and those comprising the left attempt to defend themselves. Whatever be the limited conclusions of this Congress, it is necessary to expect a much more profound functioning of the Party, going towards a revolutionary type of functioning, which permits the right of tendencies and permits the development of China's most important needs; that is a theoretical understanding of the world revolutionary

process. A step was made in this sense with the almost total halting of the attacks on the Soviets, the acceptance of the discussion on the problem of frontiers, with the appeal to struggle in Asia. This Congress has not really resolved anything. The struggle of interior, inter-bureaucratic tendencies remains very strong, but in the sense of an elevation of the revolution. Two incidents have shown best the profundity of this struggle, first of all the holding of the congress behind closed doors, the time taken to publish a hesitant, uncertain communique, and the other thing was the election of Lin Piao and the semi elimination of Chou en Lai (his nomination to the post of Party Secretary is of a secondary nature.)

Mao Tse Tung is in the process of preparing his retirement and the team who are coming are more vigorous and dynamic. One fact is the commemoration of the congress by demonstrations of millions and millions, and the mobilisation throughout all of China by millions of people. This indicates that they wish to give great importance to the role of Party as orientator, as centre of responsibility from which the masses develop their confidence in the apparatus of the Party. All this signifies a situation opposite to that which the bourgeois press and also the Soviet press analysed when they said 'It is the Army which dominates the Party'. It is all quite contrary. The military are there as members of the Party and not as military defending the interests of a caste, but on the contrary to make the weight of the Party felt in the army.

It is not only because of idealisation that millions, of hundreds of millions

mobilised themselves to celebrate the Congress taking place. If the means of expression are idealistic the objectives are not: it is a question of making the population weigh and putting the Party at the centre of the country, as a force of leadership. Such is the sense that it is necessary to give these mobilisations.

To the extent that they have not previously organised the Party, the struggle of tendencies has developed in the form of circles, of groups, through the struggle of a town or of one centre against another. The new leadership looks for a means of compensating for the absence of an organised functioning by making the mobilised masses weigh giving support to the Party. Nothing is final, the internal struggle remains very great, as is shown by the number of days that it took to elect the leadership. They argued position by position in their dispute. They discussed point by point the economic measures to take, the way to support Vietnam. All that was discussed, not so much each measure in itself so much as the world vision. The means still remained again administrative and bureaucratic in that there was still not as much as a tendency which understands, which develops itself on the basis of a Marxist conception.

This Congress signifies in everyway a step forward which reflects the advance of the line of the left. The battle is not only between the centre and the right but is also in the presence of a tendency of the left, which the centre tries to control, with the centre supported by the left in its fight with the right. All this will have great repercussions on the world workers movement and will begin to influence the Soviet Union. Once this Con-

gress finishes we must expect in a short time new important events affecting China itself to a stage of struggle, at a more elevated level.

The Chinese Congress is not only important for China but for the whole world Communist movement. We call to this and in France to the PCF, the CGT, the UNEF, the PSU, the Communist vanguard, the middle cadres to take part in discussions and base themselves on our analysis for understanding what is maturing in China and why the Soviets have had to stop the armed conflict and call for a discussion, for anti-imperialist united front. Why the Chinese on their side have ceased to stupidly and imbecilically attack the Soviet Union and have responded positively to the Soviet Union's offer. All this shows that the Communist vanguard and the masses in these two Workers States who are opposed to the reactionary and bureaucratic policies of their leaders have imposed an attitude which conforms more to the interest of two Worker States, of two Communist Parties.

All the world communist movement and the worker and revolutionary vanguard must intervene like the IV International, to show the Chinese that they must give a political, programmatic conscious marxist centre to all the world revolution, by fighting for the mass communist International, for the planning and unification, for the unification of all the Worker States, for the elimination of frontiers, for the single world anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front.

Political Bureau PCR(T) French Section  
of the IV International  
8th May 1969

## Krivine is not a Trotskyist Candidate

FROM LUTTE COMMUNISTE, ORGAN OF THE P.O.R.(T) PUBLISHED BEFORE THE ELECTIONS

The candidature of Krivine, presented as much as a trotskyist candidature as of the "New Forces of May", is neither one nor the other. It is an attempt to confuse the real programme and perspective of the IV International. This operation is destined to block the real alliance between the student and communist vanguard.

In May, it was not solely a confrontation in the Sorbonne, in Nanterre, but the massive occupation of the factories, of the public services, the action of the masses to take power, and take all the country in to their hands. This revolutionary general strike has been the expression of a formidable revolutionary initiative, of the great centralisation of the workers vanguard. It is this which permitted it in a few days, in a few hours, to realise the same revolutionary action simultaneously and to impose itself on its bureaucratic leaderships.

The students have been a very important part of this movement. They have played the role of detonator, but the revolutionary general strike has been made by the working class and its vanguard. They are the new forces of May in which the students are included. And even though the leadership of the PCF, did everything in May to isolate the students from the workers vanguard, it failed.

Some sectors of the student leadership to which Krivine belongs have understood nothing of the reasons for this defeat and understood nothing about this communist vanguard. They have contributed since September to isolate the student movement from this very rich process of crisis, or maturing which is developing in the factories and the workers districts. They have understood nothing of the will of the masses to advance in a centralised way, expressed for example in the growing concentration of votes for communist candidates. They have not seen that the surprise strikes imposed on the government and the workers leadership by the railwaymen, the engineers make up a part of the same process and showed the fact of the ability of the communist vanguard to act as a leadership. Krivine, Frank and their friends called to vote blank, once more failing to understand that a NO was going to be taken by the masses as a new means of centralising itself.

This incomprehension of the communist vanguard isolates them more and more from the student vanguard. The group "ROUGE" which had an important influence among the committees d'action, in UNEF, and among the university milieu and the Lycees, this group did not succeed in taking the lead of UNEF, has lost control of the committees d'action which in most cases disappeared. The CAL (committees d'action in the Lycees) themselves are going through an important crisis if not disintegration.

The Krivine candidature is not the product of an organisation which is developing, which expresses the will of the vanguard to progress, by seeking other forms of intervention, but a flight forward, a new tactical cover to try to give to a more and more critical base the impression of an offensive action to cover up a political incapacity.

The organisation Krivine belongs to, has presented over the last 10 months a series of different criteria for the construction of the Party: The Revolutionary movement (the agreement concluded with Voix Ouvriere and the Pabloites), the UNEF of committees d'action, the UNEF "Mouvement Politique". After the failure of the Marseille Congress, there has been the retreat of the committees d'action, the Alliance with "Lutte Ouvriere", then the formation of the Communist League. ALL this constituting a series of eclectic conclusions, of retreats, of failures, of centrist attempts to answer the objectives requirements of the Revolutionary Trotskyist Programme.

The "Communist League" belongs to an organisation which capitulated in front of the Trotskyist Programme, and this organisation is only busy today in opposing, in fighting Cde. Posadas and the IVth International, and even tries to make use of the authority of the IVth International.

Behind the manoeuvre of Krivine, there are sectors which have an interest in maintaining a centre of initiative among the students, isolating the student vanguard from the communist vanguard in the factories, which in this way, prevents a communication and misguides the student movement away from the centre of revolutionary maturation; the movement of the centralised masses as it expresses

itself in the "NO", and the incessant struggle which the Communist vanguard carries on to impose the revolutionary programme and solutions in its mass organisations.

During the foundation of the Communist League, its leaders were speaking of a vanguard of 10 thousand to 12 thousand youths, mainly students, as if this was the French revolutionary vanguard itself. This ridiculous conception can become criminal when it goes as far as to separate the student milieu from the real maturation of the revolutionary vanguard, which twice in one year, deprived capitalism of its power of decision, smashed the political centre of the bourgeoisie, and imposed its own united front.

The Krivine programme shows clearly the nature of the social forces which support him. There is in it, only anti-repressive and anti-bureaucratic demands. And when this programme takes inspiration from the May 1968 programme it concerns itself only with the demands of the bureaucrats. There is no programme of expropriations, of united front, of factory committees, that is to say there is no anti-capitalist programme put forward.

The forces of May the communist vanguard are organised for this anti-capitalist programme. Even though Seguy or Descamp did not formulate it, it must be shown that the communist vanguard imposed the true forms and points of the anti-capitalist programme throughout the country: factory occupations, attempts to run them, the strike committees, exerting power in the different regions of France and the workers power established in the established in the ORTF (the organisation of radio and television). And it is this genuinely anti-capitalist programme, that the students were in fact supporting and not the reformist Krivine's programme. But it is evident that if he presents this programme, it is in order not to frighten the people he asked to sign for his candidature. This means that such a candidature will obviously not be a Trotskyist, one, but more than that it will not be the expression of the worker vanguard. It will be a political manoeuvre, confusionist and centrist that the capitalist sectors are going to find convenient to use for their own profits.

# Immediate freedom for Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez, Teresa Confreta condemned to 6, 8 and 5 years imprisonment

CONTINUE THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE LEGALITY OF THE URUGUAYAN SECTION, AND THE FREEDOM OF THE SPANISH COMRADES

## MEXICO

The campaign in this country

A demand circulating in the University, Rutherford Technical College, and schools in Newcastle and South Shields, for the release of the comrades drew about 400 signatures, while a similar demand in Balliol College Oxford drew 22 signatures.

## URUGUAY

The campaign in Italy

TELEGRAM SENT BY TULLIO VECCHIETTI, SECRETARY OF THE PSIUP (THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY OF PROLETARIAN UNITY), TO THE PRESIDENT OF URUGUAY IN MONTEVIDEO

The leadership of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity protests indignantly against the law making the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) illegal, and demands the immediate restitution of full legal rights for this party; right of publication, of press, and restitution of all the goods confiscated, and the respect for all the workers and popular organisations of Uruguay.

TELEGRAM SENT BY A GROUP OF COMMUNIST PARLIAMENTARIANS TO THE EMBASSY OF URUGUAY IN ROME.

The communist parliamentary group in the chamber, expresses its indignation and protests against the outlawing of the Revolutionary Workers Party and demands that all rights and liberties be restored to this party and to all the workers and popular forces in the name of the peoples rights of emancipation and progress.

President of the Communist Parliamentary Group in the chamber

The campaign in this country

The Party and the Worker Student Liaison Committee sent a delegation to the Uruguayan Embassy to deliver a protest at the outlawing of the POR(T) and demanding the immediate restoration of legality.

(Vauxhall, Luton)

NUVB No. 6 Branch passed a resolution demanding the restoration of legality to the POR(T) the Uruguayan Section of the IV International, and the return of all goods stolen from it by the police.

L. Daly, General Secretary of the Mineworkers, wrote to the Mexican government demanding the release of the comrades.

Because of pressure of space we had not been able to publish the text of the following telegram, which was sent before the comrades were brought to trial.

TO DIAZ ORDAZ

WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF FIVE TROTSKYISTS HELD WITHOUT TRIAL STOP ADOLFO GILLY, OSCAR FERNANDEZ, TERESA CONFRETA, ROBERTO IRIARTE, CESAR COLMENARES

A GROUP OF LABOUR MPs

E. HEFFER, M. FOOT, P. ARCHER, R. EDWARDS, S. ORME, A. KERR, S. NEWENS

## SPAIN

Declaration from the Anti-Imperialist Front of Malta

Monday, 19th May 1969

Franco, Government House, Madrid, Spain.

The Spanish Embassy,  
24, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.

Sir,

I Emmanuele N. J. Spiteri, representative of the Anti-Imperialist Front in Malta, wholeheartedly condemn the arrests of the four comrades and friends of the IVth International, held in jail in Seville, known to us as—

Comrade, Jose Bellindo Moreno

Comrade, Joaquin Vara Lacharo

Comrade, Gonzalo Toledano Crespo

Comrade, Jose Fernandes Sastre

On behalf of the president, the Executive Committee and all members of the Anti-Imperialist Front of Malta (Malta) and also on behalf of the Branch Committee and members in London. In the name of democracy and humanity I demand the immediate release of the above named comrades, together with the release of all the workers, students and peasant, political and trade union prisoners in the Spanish Jails.

Emm. N. J. Spiteri,  
representative in London,  
Anti-Imperialist Front of Malta

## Declaration of the Political Prisoners of Mexico City

We are publishing the following declaration again, even though it has already been published in No. 88 of Red Flag, in order to give it a wider distribution in the printed paper, and because now we have the full list of signatures of the political prisoners who supported it. It has been signed by 82 prisoners out of 128, and there were many communists signing it. It is significant because it is the first time that there has been such a unification of political prisoners, separated in different sectors of the prison and without a possibility of discussion between themselves.

With respect to the last incidents occurring in the prison of Lucumberry, we the undersigned, political prisoners of different tendencies state the following:—

1. The provocation and aggression which the political prisoners in cell block c. were subjected to—of which we give more information below—is part of the present campaign of physical provocations, attacks, subjugations and aggressions, of which the students of various secondary schools, the Popular Arts Studio, The Independence Library, The Popular Culture Foundation. They have been the object of a campaign organised by the government with the objective of creating a climate of terrorism, to try to impede the development of the struggles and prepare new massacres, as that of Tlaltelolco, and new physical attacks as already have been made by the police in the secondary schools, who have murdered students. We denounce that this aggression in the prison is a preparation of similar attacks against the political prisoners and they have just made a rehearsal of this using the cell block leader and a group in his service.

This provocation as part of the whole repressive policy, has been accompanied by a campaign of slanders by the bourgeois press, and the intervention of the prosecutor of the federal district; making new charges against the comrades and trying to invent new trials.

2. The 'yellow press' has tried to present these facts as a fight between the political prisoners and the common criminals. We reject this statement for we have had no conflict with the criminal

prisoners; on the contrary we have received demonstrations of sympathy from them. The political prisoners of the cell block c. were attacked by the chief E. and his gang, who were directly instigated by the authorities of the prison. This occurred while the comrades mentioned were playing on the sports field; and when they tried to leave the field to avoid the attack, the jailers prevented them, and not only did not intervene to put an end to the beating, but helped the gang by closing the only exit door.

Later various friends of this cell block c. were interrogated by people from the prosecutor of the federal district, who accused them of the events, fabricating a new trial, accusing them of robbing, wounding and other crimes.

3. The relations between the political prisoners and the criminal prisoners are friendly and up to the present there had been no problems between one and the other. On this occasion which is also the first of this type which has occurred, the incident was not with the common prisoners, but with a small group headed by a chief "trustie" of the cell block. The criminal prisoners don't have any motive to do anything against us. On the other hand they are exploited by the authorities of a department of the federal district through the miserable salaries in the workshops in the prison, through the bad food and the other impositions by the authorities, and their overseers—as the chief of cell block E.—who has all sorts of privileges. The political prisoners have even fewer motives to be against the criminal

prisoners, and they have on occasions even shown solidarity with us.

On the other hand these provocations are not new, already previously they have interrogated various political prisoners in this prison on the part of the Federal Direction of Security in some cases, and even by the general prosecutor of military justice in other cases. We recall also that some time ago they took from the prison our friend Luis Servantes Cabeza De Vaca taking him to the military camp No. 1, where he was tortured and where they subjected him to a simulated firing squad.

4. These grave attacks which as in the case of the secondary schools have led to the murder of students, signify the preparation of new attacks, which can lead to premeditated murder of political prisoners. We denounce them and we protest energetically about the above mentioned provocations and aggressive actions, and we make responsible for them and for their future consequences, the government of the republic and its representative, the penal authorities.

We consider that these provocations can only be detained by the mobilisation of the workers, peasants, students, professors and all the oppressed sectors in the struggle for the liberty of all political and trade union prisoners, for the conquest of the democratic historic rights of all the exploited population.

28 March 1969

Lucumberry Prison, Mexico D.F.

SECTOR N

Pablo Alvarado Barron; Jose Lius Calva Tellez; Gilberto Balan; Isa'as Rojas D.; Cesar Catalan S.; Fabio Barbosa; Raul Contreras A. Daniel Camejo Gaunche; Miguel Cruz Ruiz; Carlos Aguilera D.; Adrlan Campos Diaz; Oscar Fernandez Bruno; Adolfo Gill; Roberto Irlarte; Enrique Condés Lara; Justino Juarez Martinez; Gerardo Pelaez Ramos; Eduardo

Fuentees de la Fuente; Luis del Toro y Najer; Cunersindo Gomes Cuevas; Antonio Gorshenson; Francisco Luna Leal; Rolf Me'ners Huebnor; Victor Rico Galan; Oliveira Perez Galicia; Miguel A. Reina de la Cruz; Fernando Arispte Diaz; Mario Rechy Montiel; Hugo David Uriartee B.

SECTOR H

Francisco Colmenares Genar; Luit T. Cervantes Gebeza de Vaca; Zeferino Chavez A.; Amado E.T. Saiki; Rodolfo Echevarria H.; Rigoberto Valenzuela Yépiz; Alfonso Barrios Roman; Fafael Lima N.; Alfredo Cabrera Flores; Fausto Trojo F.; Manuel Marcué Pardini; Manuel Dozal Jottar; Carlos Martin del Campo; Socrates A. Campos; Rafael Villalobos Sauz; Marcos Avila Cadena; Cayetano Orto; Felix Rodriguez Flores; Taurino Urias Jimenez; Arturo Salazar Garcia; J. Talde Aburto; Armando Castillejos; Antonio Perez S.; Hector Mendez Braun; Leonero Torres Sanchez; Carlos Sevilla; Jorge Abarroa C.; Alfonso Bordas R.; Cesar Nicolas Molina; Fernando Ribera Harrera.

SECTOR C

Salvador Zarco; Servando Davila J.; Jesus Gonzales Guardado; Carlos Andrade Ruiz; Gerardo de la Vega; America Saldivor R. Jose; Luis Vazquez B.; Luis Gonzales de Alba; Arturo Lama; Fernando G. Cortes; Agustin Montiel M.; Roberto Ninon Corro; Arturo Ortis Marban; Felix Goded; Jose Antullo Fernandez M.; Prisciliane Perez A.; Joel Arriaga N.; Felix Sanchez Hernandez; Pedro Castillo Salgado; Ruben Valdespino; Gilberto Rincon Caliar-do; Florencio Lopez Osuna.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

Without the Party  
we are nothing  
With the Party we  
are everything

Trotsky

# RED FLAG



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

No. 92

June 25th 1969

Sixpence

*The vanguard must draw the conclusions from the defeat of the Penal clauses and the Leyland victory to push forward the organisation of the new revolutionary leadership in the T.U's and the L.P*

During the past week the working class in this country has achieved two fundamental gains from the ruling class. They have succeeded in smashing the attempt of Wilson to bring in the penal clauses as proposed in the white paper "In Place of Strife", and the workers at Leyland have gained their substantial economic demands after a hard five week strike, in defiance of the employers, and the governments incomes policy. Wilson ruling in the interests of the bourgeoisie was prevented from including the penal clauses in the new white paper by the actions of the working class to oppose these measures, and by the reflection of this struggle expressed as the crisis within the Labour Government and Party. Infact even the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party made it very clear to the government that they would not tolerate these clauses. The strike on the 1st of May which was a direct political strike, the pressure of the workers to force the T.U.C. to hold an emergency meeting to discuss the measures, and the increasing confidence of the working class in this country expressed by all their actions, impelled by the advance of the revolution on a world scale forced the retreat of Wilson. This is a great blow to capitalism in this country which had hoped through these laws to control the enormous amount of unofficial strikes which occur throughout the year. The smashing of the penal clauses will not deflect the ruling classes from attempting to impose a hard line of repression on the working class, but now they will be unable to enforce them through parliament using the Labour Party.

contd. page 11

**CONTINUE THE CAMPAIGN FOR  
TROTSKYISTS JAILED IN MEXICO**

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# "Flying Saucers" The Process of Matter and Energy, Science, the Class and Revolutionary Struggle and the Socialist Future of Humanity

J. Posadas. 29th June 1968

Life can exist in other planets or planetary systems or galaxies in other universes. The organisation of matter from the inorganic to the organic state, can be developed in a different form from here on earth, in such a way that the utilisation of energy is superior to what exists here. Here we scarcely know how to utilise the energy of petroleum in a very limited form, and in its beginning scarcely even atomic energy, the sources of energy which we have, whilst they can be utilising all energy existing in matter, not leaving it as potential but utilising all the existing energy in all parts. What is still not known on earth is how to utilise it; they can utilise it and transform it into light.

The organisation of matter can exist in other planetary systems or galaxies in infinite combinations and under forms totally different to those which we know on earth. We are not able to imagine how it is so but what we can imagine is that there can be a utilisation of matter infinitely superior to what exists here. A new ray has been discovered in the Soviet Union which is infinitely more rapid than light, but they have discovered it only now. In other planets, it could have been discovered millions of years ago and they can be utilising it now. Where we take a long time to go from one continent to another, they may do so in a second, in such a way that the conception of life, of the organisation of matter is determined by this. This energy must have a property and a strength infinitely superior to what we know. In the same way it is conceivable that a being who raises his hand and produces light, attracts, remakes and organises energy. This can be done.

We are all accustomed to see and conceive life on earth in the commercial way of private property, in the feeling of possession which is the base on which society has developed, finally advancing towards the Workers State. This is what determines the notion of existence and its relation with the other planets. Because here when they pose to go to another planet, it is to see how they exploit, how they can dominate because science is subject to what they give or pay out. Science is not independent. It is not like someone having an orchard, planting and harvesting what he wants, because even if it is subject in every way to nature, he can determine what is grown. Science, no, it is subject to what is given or paid out. For example the astronomers or the physicists, from where are they going to find the means to install or have apparatuses to be able to investigate? They cannot themselves do it, they do not have the money. They do not have people or the money to pay them. On the otherhand the capitalist state can do it and the Soviet bureaucracy also. They can install teams but limit their capacity to capitalist interest or to the individual interest of the parasitic caste of society. For this reason the knowledge of physics, of matter or astronomy is still incipient. There is still not a real knowledge, of what exists. The proof is constantly that they are correcting the bases of knowledge, whether of Newton, Einstein, of all of them.

The forms and combinations of matter are infinite. And there are forces in ourselves which we do not utilise and it is necessary to discover the power of what can be done. The force itself which can be found in raising the arm is called "vital energy". Why this energy? What impels the activity within these cells? There is no exterior movement, it is an internal movement and what strength

is that? The strength which promotes this is a source of energy which has to have a primary form, a form of development before raising the arm, because already there exists the capacity which allows the conception through the mind to raise the hand.

There is a Japanese scientist who says what we are saying; that it is a crime to lose such a quantity of energy as in the earthquakes. And moreover that it is possible to have a detecting system - as if it were a type of radar - which observes the movements of the gases which there are in the interior of the earth. This is to say, all the forms which we believe - which are still not known but which exist - whether they be gases or interior displacements, products of gases or movements of rotation of the sun and of the earth which still the scientists do not know. The Japanese scientist say that it is possible, to contain, to divert and moreover to utilise this energy, such as we wrote when there was the earthquake of 1961 in Chile.

The organisation of matter which has allowed on the earth certain forms of life and its reproduction, is limited in scientific capacity, through the capacity of being able to study and the capacity to be able to study from economic capacity. The economic capacity is determined by the force which has the means or the interest, and the interest is capitalism. It is a very great limitation. And moreover the conception of the world which exists is determined through the form of the appropriation of property and its utilisation. This limits the capacity for observation and audacity in observation. Because it is limited through the limitation from social interest and prejudice. In the problem of the heart transplant, this is evident.

When the soviets launched the first sputnik, a socialist idiot of Uruguay wrote a poem called "The Moon Violated". One has to be an idiot to say this. They are incapable and impotent types who say this because they have no conclusion or perspective to be able to advance. As they do not have perspectives, they dedicate themselves to this, because what they see is private property. And to be able to face and study the diverse forms in which matter has been constituted and the forms of the life of matter which is the consequence of the forms of the energy of matter, requires the energy, the conscious organisation as with us. But there is an energy which is not conscious, because if not, as we live, what is the impulse which makes us live? It is one of the forms of energy.

The capitalist energy which impedes the bourgeoisie having perspectives, arises from the fact that they have no interest and are limited in the audacity of observation of the world. Because if they were audacious and resolved, they would see that there were others and then they could not justify their existence. Their interest limits and abbreviates them. Thus they limit physics, chemistry, medicine, all the sciences. On the other hand in other planets, it does not have to be so. There does not have to have been a class struggle. Why? Here on earth it was so, because this history is given. But on other planets, it does not have to be so.

And the forms of the social organisation could be infinitely superior, not to have fights, antagonisms; there is no reason to fight. And if there are beings of planets or universes who are observing us, they would say amazed "and these people fight for a car, fight, shoot and kill". Or with respect to the notion of death, for them death does not exist. Here it exists. There not only does death not exist by destruction, it does not exist. Here the notion of death, the extinction of matter or of the cell is not the same. In the elephant it is about 260 years in the human being up to 100 years and the mean is 70 to 80 years. If the elephant lasts 260 years, it is because the organisation of matter in this form can last for these years. Not in the elephant state, but in the forms of organisation of matter, which can be as in an elephant or better than it, without the trunk of the elephant. Why not? Here it could have been like this.

If there are beings from other systems or other galaxies already constituted, and how they are constituted we don't know, but we believe they can exist. That beings come to study what is the earth, how is life on earth, it could be. And that there are coming, beings who have left their place millions of years ago. For us it is a million years, for them a million years doesn't have any importance, for them it can be a normal measure. Because they need not be subjected to our notion of time. Time has been and is a notion acquired by society divided into classes, which has a need to measure. And needs it for the exploitation of nature, in order to be able to dominate time to be able to exploit it. From there comes this notion of the division of time, otherwise one wouldn't have this division. This doesn't leave aside that there is a necessity to count intervals and the time of the seasons, winter, autumn, summer and spring. Moreover

in other planets why do they have to have winter, spring, summer and winter? Why do they have to have floods? By the side of this, time doesn't have any importance, here certainly it does, because we are submitted to this idea of time. Here the idea of time exists because there is an interest in measuring the relation with nature, for the effects of life, the effect of energy on the organism and the idea of time for I.O.U.'s and repayment periods. The notion of time is measured for all this. In other planets it doesn't have to be like this. For example, no one is subjected to paying accounts and having another heart transplanted into them. A being from another planet comes sees the heart transplant and says "What is this, what are you doing?" The notion which we have of the origin of life, is what we have learnt from what others have said, but all the time they have been corrected. For example the antiquity of the existence of the human being on earth. First it was 500,000 afterwards a million years. Now they say that it was 70 million years from the appearance of the first anthropoid.

All these reports of the UFO (unidentified flying objects) are consistent in different parts of the world. There are many consistent dates which are not all exaggerations. We believe and admit that these beings can exist. The majority of the people who have seen them say that they are normal beings and many of them have declared that they themselves are rather spiritualists nor believing in phantasy. There are now many cases of people who have seen these UFO's. General McArthur, this Yankee assassin said on one occasion when a plane disappeared after having collided with a strange object. "Perhaps we will have to make a war together with the Soviet Union, against an enemy outside earth". It is certain that he was very interested, because he was seeking conciliation with the soviets and it could also be that the divulging that these objects existed was in order to reach conciliation with the soviets but this conciliation has a limit.

The most lengthy life of the human being which is known is 160 years. One can maintain full faculties of thinking up to 80 or 90 years. This can be done here on earth. Certainly an elephant lives for more than 200 years and preserves the memory of an elephant of 20 years. That is to say that the duration of memory can be extended to more than 100 years. And these beings can be more than a million years old. Why can't they be like this? Has not the human being existed for more than a million years?

And then why can't a human being of 1 million years exist living and organised? And which reproduces itself incessantly without destruction. Here matter persists and continues reproducing itself, matter does not disappear, what disappears is one of the forms of matter which is human life. It disappears and is transformed into another thing and helps to be transformed into another thing. In other planets matter can be transformed by itself, without the need of abolishing either its state or its constitution as a human being and without

passing to being ashes and feeding another thing. What does the seed mean? That matter is reduced to a primary state and from there goes to feed other elements and is reproduced in a new form of matter. Not in another life, for there is the need to reproduce without the need of dying. We are not saying that this exists, but that it is possible, it is completely possible.

Still energy is used in a very limited mechanical and rudimentary form. Today the transformation of matter into energy is used a lot but not the energy existing in the natural state. This has to be done. For example, to eliminate all the process of refining the petrol to transform matter into a form of energy. One fine day, they are going to make energy from the air, they will transform it into energy. If electricity has been discovered it is through the structure and behaviour of matter and it is profited from because they have reached this limited discovery. Electricity will not be necessary tomorrow, everything which there is, will be energy. So that a thing, an object exists it has to have energy otherwise it does not exist.

The organisation of the human body, of the head, and the organs and senses, come from here, from the earth. In other planets they can develop in another way. Including the feeding action which we have, ingesting food as we do it, is because the human organism is constituted in this way. And in part, because it is convenient to capitalism that the organism is constituted like this, otherwise we would not have to live as we live now, subjected to this regime of existence.

The scientific capacity of the human being is determined by the social organisation, and the social organisation is determined by the objective which is sought and in all this the capacity of social organisation comes first. Social organisation of private property is very limited, because the range which it can have and the impetus, the impulsion, the heart, the audacity which it gives, is that which is determined by the interest of individual appropriation, nothing

more. Thus the capacity of audacity is very limited, because it is held down by the level of the interest. If it goes further it sees that it is superfluous. Thus its social limitation makes a limit to its social capacity. And with the Soviet bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of the Workers State it is the same. Thus the form of measuring capacity, still doesn't have a limitless basis, as in socialist society which has no limits. Because then the notion of life, of existence and of society is measured by the objective interests of living and progressing. The idea of existence will be existence and progress, will be a single thing. An idea of conservatism, of being static, parasitism, passivity is not going to exist because the only existence is progress as in matter. Matter does not exist without progress without transforming itself. Its form is to develop, develop. It is the same also with the life of society. It is not going to exist without progress. Then the social condition of existence is progress. It is going to give from its foundation, by its existence, an impetus to ability and audacity, which is going to be a million times greater than the ability of the system of private property. Because it doesn't have limits, it is not determined by what interests the individual, and its security and confidence comes from all of society. And it is the common and social thought which is going to change the forms of life. For example all the time it takes to go to the moon, in socialist society fifty or a hundred years from now people are going to go to planets one million light years away. It is a million years today, but it is not going to be a million years.

All the problems derived from the idea of the earth, gravity, atmospheric pressure, pressure due to altitude, all these will be resolved easily. Above all an answer to the essential problems is going to be found; the social capacity organised in a single thought which is society, will be that which will be able to resolve everything. It is not going to be like today with just a number of people thinking, nor are there going to be universities like now, These only exist when it is necessary to make a distinction, a separation so that one person studies in order to subject another. Because the university exists today to prepare some professionals, so that they exploit society to the benefit of capitalism. For this reason there are universities. Tomorrow there won't be any need for them, there will be a single objective and this will be the university. Progress will be common to all. This is audacity in front of nature.

This problem has importance for the marxist formation and Marxist knowledge is limitless, it is not constrained within the bounds of social struggles, nor the economic or political struggles, it is limitless. The understanding of existence gives security to find a solution to any problem. There isn't any problem which is unconnected to humanity. All the problems of humanity have an influence one on the other. When there is more dominion of the knowledge of history, of humanity, of the economy, of society of matter the greater is the security to find solutions and to be audacious and resolved. Even without a previous scientific knowledge and preparation of a particular branch of science, but having a scientific preparation of the instrument, which is marxism, the dialectic, it is possible to solve all the problems. This is the essential aspect. The other is socialist audacity, objective, which marxism really gives. We are not submitted, dependent either on what there is now or on what is going to come. We are objective and our thinking does not have any limit the extent of this capacity is not limited by any consideration. It is limited simply because there is no human capacity to understand. Human

capacity itself is a product of the social relation. Because of this in socialist society, human capacity and knowledge will be the norm of the human being, the norm. There will be scientific capacities superior to Marx but they will play the same historic function as Marx. The development of history has evolved and there exist other conditions which did not exist in the time of Marx. On the other hand in the near future scientific knowledge, scientific proof and social security will give a great social ability. But we are not living in socialism, still we are living in this society.

Marxism has an essential condition, the critical spirit, in order to conserve its inextinguishable historic power until superior forms of interpretation come, which will permit us to understand the process of nature and the dialectic as part of marxism. The critical spirit means a constant sentiment of revision, of analysis, of examination, in order to see how to develop, how to behave what conclusions what effects emerge from the development of nature and society. Marxism in itself is inextinguishable, because it is a method of understanding the history of the world. The method of interpretation of movement will pose forms superior to Marxism, not because Marxism is incorrect, but because humanity is going to reach a better understanding, and

then the dialectic will form a part of this instrument.

A velocity superior to that of light has been discovered, thus there is a process superior to the velocity of light. This shows that all the actual conception of the structure of matter is in question. All! And moreover it confirms our conception. Matter does not have a form in its structure, it has no form. Because of this it is possible to find life in any place, inconceivable forms of existence. Forms from the primary up to all the superior forms of existence. The forms and combinations are infinite. All these people who admit the existence of flying saucers, do not do it with scientific eagerness and a will to develop this knowledge, but impressed and obliged to state a true fact nothing more. But they do not have the objectivity to use the knowledge to apply it to other social knowledge. For example, if life exists in other places it means to say that there are superior forms of social organisation, which do not have to live as here, with wars. All those people who admit the existence of flying saucers simply state, like a man who is projecting a light which is reflected off a wall and he says, 'this is light' nothing more. They don't draw any conclusions from this.

On the other hand we take it as a base to dominate history, and consequently to give security which is the basis of audacity. The basis of social-historic audacity is security, as is shown by the Vietnamese masses. So marxism gives security to our teachers and we ourselves give it, to humanity. It is most important, it is of fundamental importance to be concerned with these problems, but there is no time to be concerned with them. Without doubt it is necessary to dedicate all the head to the problems which are ahead, without eliminating the concern for these problems. We are not indifferent, but what we say is that in these moments we cannot be concerned with them but we admit such an existence through dialectic proof. Thus it gives us the security to be able to dominate any phenomenon which exists and nothing takes us by surprise. It does not divert us, does not confuse us, does not make the dialectic method vacillate, on the contrary, it confirms it, and everytime it is confirmed more and more.

The discussion of these problems has an importance to strengthen the dialectic capacity to interpret all the problems. Thus it gives security and above all gives stability in the historic understanding and in the historic decision to intervene. Historic means to face up to the big problems, not the small problems of the factory, of the trade union, the organisation of the students, but all the problems. Like directing the revolution which requires security and audacity and which a small group may question that it possesses because it feels itself small and does not see the possibility of doing this. The other is to affirm material tests, testing experiences. We affirm, that there can be other beings on other planets and flying saucers from the knowledge which we have which comes from the dialectic of what is matter and the organisation of matter. As a consequence this is unlimited. For example the amoeba which is unisexual. Reproduction does not have to be via couples, there can be self reproduction. And why cannot this be the case in the future in the human being? He will be self reproducing.

These beings who come from other planets come to look at the life here, to see what goes on here and laugh at these human beings on earth who fight to see who has more guns, more cars, more wealth. The possessor of riches is a distortion of the social organisation of human feeling now possible; the fraternal collective feeling. To possess riches is a degeneration of these feelings, because why does the bourgeoisie want twenty cars, ten, hundreded factories, to be general why? What does it give? Possession, social power good and so what? over others, this does not give the capacity to transcend, to elevate and develop existence. On the contrary, it limits it. This class - the bourgeoisie - cannot have an interest nor has a perspective in seeking the objective development of society. They cannot have such a concern because they live exactly by the reverse, preventing development. They develop with the material goods to be useful to them, to maintain private property, the cult of private property and to develop their property of appropriation. For this reason they are limited in understanding and have no interest and give no solutions.

Even if these reports of flying saucers are fantasies, as is possible that the majority may be, many of them, the historic basis is correct. Neither the soviet bureaucracy nor imperialism, nor capitalism nor any scientific bourgeois can reply to this. They do not have an interest because it transcends and surpasses them. And for what they can do, they do not have the capacity and the means, because they depend on the structure of the great scientific institutions and of investigations submitted to and dependant on capitalism and on the Soviet Bureaucracy. 7 -

It is necessary to take this not as an accidental, occasional concern which arises because a person two metres tall arrives, fair haired with transparent clothes, but as a necessity to understand. If it was not so, we would have made this discussion before. Already we have done it before, complete enough, because it was the point of an exposition. This discussion must be a source of scientific knowledge, of scientific security not simply to know more. It is necessary to know this, which means in consequence to prepare dialectically to know. It is necessary to study Marxism, to study all that may be necessary, to dedicate time to understand and apply. The application is an aspect of a branch of knowledge which is fundamental and will be fundamental until the next stages not only with respect to this but to other aspects which exist, for example on thought.

The velocity of thought can be measured with the velocity which the material means of dominion give. Thought is today still limited and weak, very weak and very limited. Tomorrow thought will be infinitely greater, more powerful, quicker, more rapid. Life will express itself in a more synthesised form for the dominion over nature. With the elimination of the class struggle, eliminating the necessity to fight, to live, and on the other hand, feeling the harmony necessary to live, thought then has a field of action and possibilities of development, millions of times more than now. Then thought is abbreviated, the same with the child also.

To draw the conclusions in depth of these problems, it is necessary to follow them attentively, to interest ourselves, to discuss, to investigate, to learn, to study because there are going to be other events like these. There are a series of things, as already I have posed before which calls the attention; why does this being from another universe whom they claim to have seen, have the human structure which we have? What then does this mean? It means that the development of matter is the same as here otherwise it would not reach this form. On the other hand the use of matter is superior to here. It is the organisation of matter, because this organisation allows in consequence **the use of it and the creation of organs. The creation of organs is not arbitrary, it is determined by the composition and the relation of matter.** The organisms is structured like this. It is the relation between the initial base, inorganic matter, its organisation towards the organic form and afterwards the environment and existence in the environment; the organisation of matter. If these beings come and have the human structure or appear to have the same structure, it means that they have a process of organisation of matter which in a certain form is the same as here. Or they can have utilised matter in this way. With the dominion of science they can do it as here for example when they transform a mountain. What today Mao Tse Tung says must be done with pick and shovel, these beings do by moving the energy of the mountain, putting it in action. The energy in repose which is the mountain, they make it function and immediately. This is possible but it is not a problem that we can resolve or that can be resolved now. Not because it cannot be done, it will be resolved, but there is no time, nor the necessary means to do it. A concluding fact is that already life is reproduced, already it is being reproduced and life is being made. And if here now, life is made, in other planets also. It can be that these beings also do it. If here, now they graft lungs, hearts, livers, kidneys, hands, five of the fundamental parts of the human body, if now they do it here, it is possible that in other planets life is so elaborated. Engels said that in his epoch already a protoplasm was made in an artificial form which is an essential base of the components of the cell. Already it can be and was the essential base of existence.

It is necessary to take this discussion as part of the political preparation from any point of view. Politically, from the discipline, from the understanding and of the organisation. Each one must take for himself what is necessary, the political conclusion, the discipline, the organisation and the overcoming of what it is necessary to overcome. It is a good accompaniment to the political discussion.

J. Posadas. 29.6.68.

# PERU

COMMUNIQUE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (TROTSKYIST)  
PERUVIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

Support The Refusal Of The Government To Receive Rockefeller And The Expulsion  
Of The Yankee Missions From Peru

To the Government of the Nationalist Military Junta  
To all the nationalist and anti-imperialist sectors of the population  
To the Workers Parties (CP, FLN, U. Izqu.) to the PDC, the AP (socialiste) etc.  
To all the exploited masses of the country.

Comrades,

The Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) meeting in an extraordinary session, faced with the actions of the aggression of Yankee Imperialism like the restrictions of credits, political actions, provocations by its fishing fleet, the farce of the envoy of Nixon agent of the Yankee monopolies Rockefeller; knowing the reaction of the Nationalist Military Junta deciding on the expulsion of the military, naval and aeronautical missions, and refusing to receive Rockefeller, resolves;

1. To support the measures of anti-imperialist character, in defence of nationalist sovereignty, the 200 miles (of territorial water) and the rights of self determination of peoples, taken by the government.
2. To pose before all the anti-imperialist organisations, workers parties, and currents and tendencies of the left in all the exploited population, the need to give an organised form to the support of these measures.
3. We appeal to impell the political measures taken and to extend them to the social and economic field, by taking as a centre of the Yankee aggression, the economic and social aspects of this aggression, united to the military aspect. We call to the government and all the masses, to launch a campaign of NATIONALISATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL. We call to boycott yankee products, Coca Cola etc, a boycott of all enterprises, monopolies and industries of imperialism.
4. We call to seek, request, organise the solidarity of all the exploited masses of the world, in particular of all the countries of Latin America, by making appeals to the governments, and to all the trade union, political revolutionary and left organisations. We call to all the Latin American organisms and governments to make their support in a material form.
5. We appeal for the organisation of a GIGANTIC ANTI-IMPERIALIST MEETING OF UNITED FRONT OF ALL THE TENDENCIES TRADE UNIONS AND ORGANISATION AND REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES.
6. We put at the disposal of this NATIONAL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT, our Party local and our press "Voz Obrera."

OUT WITH THE YANKEE MILITARY MISSIONS, THE CIA, FBI, PEACE CORPS. ETC.  
OUT WITH ROCKEFELLER, AGENT OF THE YANKEE MONOPOLIES EXPLOITERS OF THE WORLD  
OUT WITH IMPERIALISM FROM THE COUNTRY, OUT OF VIETNAM OF KOREA AND THE ENTIRE WORLD  
VIVA THE NATIONALISATION OF PETROLEUM AND THE ENTERPRISES OF CERRO DE PASCO.  
FOR A PLAN OF NATIONALISATION OF IMPERIALIST ENTERPRISES  
VIVA THE LATIN AMERICAN AND WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT  
VIVA THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT IN THE COUNTRY  
VIVA THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

21st May 1969.

P.B. of POR(T) Peruviana Section of the  
IV International.

# SUDAN

DECLARATION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
(TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE COUP BY  
THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA IN THE SUDAN

We support enthusiastically the measures taken by the revolutionary junta of the Sudan, which objectively opens the way to the establishment of a Workers State. They respond to the mounting elevation of the world socialist revolution, are part of the process of the revolution, war, revolution, the process of the final encounter which will lead to the liquidation of imperialism and capitalism and the bureaucracy all over the planet.

We applaud such measures as the programme of nationalisation without compensation of imperialist industries, nationalisation of the banks, monopoly of foreign trade, support to the struggle of the Arab countries against Israel the recognition of the leading role of Syria in the Middle East, and the proposal for the autonomy of the negro south within a Socialist Sudan. In addition measures have been taken such as the recognition of the DDR (East German Workers State) and the denial of electoral intervention to the bourgeois and feudal sectors which confirm the objective alliance between the world revolutionary nationalist and socialist currents and the Workers States. All this confirms the analysis of J. Posadas, leader of the IV International as made in his document "From the Nationalist Revolution to the Workers State." Despite the absence of a centralised world leadership, a Mass Communist International which could convey to the world masses, precise directives and give massive military, technical and social support, historic experience is assimilated by the masses and the vanguard and each new sector which intervenes in the struggle, bases itself now on the most elevated conclusions of the process.

The coup in the Sudan is part of the whole process towards Workers States. in the "underdeveloped" nations, Egypt, Iraq, Algeria, Tanzania, S. Yemen, Cuba and Syria have become Workers States. The role played by sectors of the army in the Sudan has been foreshadowed by the events in Peru, where sectors of the army responding to the revolutionary nationalist and social pressure have expropriated American petroleum companies and refinery companies without compensation, expelled the American military mission, and nationalised the land. Imperialism and capitalism cannot solve any of the problems of the "underdeveloped" nations and more and more sectors of the army feel this, they also see the tremendous progress of the Workers States economically and socially, despite all the mismanagement of the bureaucracy. They see and observe that imperialism and capitalism are in retreat in front of the revolution, that in Vietnam and the Middle East, in the Argentine, in Italy to name but a few places, imperialism receives blow after blow, defeat after defeat. And in the absence of fundamental organisms by which the masses can express themselves, revolutionary parties, trade unions, factory committees, sectors of the army act to accelerate the process by taking initiatives such as nationalisations etc.

We appeal for the extension of the nationalisations to embrace the whole economy in the Sudan for the planning of the whole economy and the establishment of the closest social, economic, military and trading links with the Workers States. For the expropriation of the land and its functioning under collective control. We appeal for the elimination of all administrative privilege, right of immediate revocability of all officials, the organisation of soviets, and workers and peasants militias so that social progress doesn't revolve simply around the response of the progressive sectors of the army, but around the massive intervention of all the masses, peasants, workers, students. We appeal for the trade unions to act as political centres, to be the bases for Workers Parties, to put forward the programme of the expropriation of imperialist and capitalist properties and the unification of the Arab states from Morocco to Iraq in a United Soviet Socialist Federation. And we appeal to the government and revolutionary

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The failure of the bourgeoisie to get these penal clauses through parliament and made into law in this country is one example of many on a world scale of the blows which the world bourgeoisie is receiving at the hands of the revolution. Another example is France; the failure of De Gaulle to win the Referendum, later the enormous vote which the communist Duros received in the first round of the presidential elections, the fact that in the second round the communist masses abstained whereas in earlier elections they had been instructed to vote for bourgeois candidates like Mitterand, together with the small vote which Pompidou eventually received, all show how in France the lessons of May are not forgotten, the French working class and the poor petit bourgeoisie are increasingly centralising themselves around the C.P. and pushing this leadership forward in every way it can. In Italy, the Italian masses, daily occupy factories, town halls, schools and universities, and there are strikes and demonstrations from the north to the south demanding higher wages, and better conditions of life. The Centre Left government is continually in crisis and although Italian capitalism prepares a military coup it has no social support for it. The fascists are now forced off the streets, by counter demonstrations of the workers and students, who no longer organise counter demonstrations on different days as a protest against the fascists but come out at the same time and place, preventing the fascist meetings.

If, as Cde. Posadas and the International, have analysed interior entrism has forced the leaderships of the Communist parties of France and Italy particularly to present a harder face to imperialism so also does this process affect the leaderships of the Communist parties of the Workers States. Thus in the International Communist Conference in Moscow Bresnev is forced to say that the revolution in the west is inevitable, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable, and the Communist parties who abandon their international obligations will lose prestige nationally and that "conditions are ripe to break all social peace, for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the socialist revolution." In the mouth of Bresnev these remain abstract declarations there is no call to organise the struggle to overthrow capitalism but nevertheless these statements will be an encouragement to the masses in the communist and socialist parties, and will encourage the formation of revolutionary tendencies there.

The desperate and suicidal tendencies of the world bourgeoisie at this stage is expressed in microcosm by the recent referendum in Rhodesia. The policy of the Smith government to maintain "white supremacy" is cutting its own throat. A majority of 200,000 whites who are outnumbered 19 to 1 by the African population vote for a policy of apartheid. Their power to maintain supremacy is minimal, they continue to exist because of the limitations of the African petit bourgeois leaderships, but they will fight to the last to maintain their class privileges, as world capitalism will

against the advance of the revolution.

The failure of the trip to Latin America of Rockefeller as a direct representative of the Nixon administration and U.S. Imperialism, shows that imperialism has lost all its social base throughout Latin America. In Bolivia he stayed for only two hours on an air force base. In Peru the new military Junta which has expropriated the oil wells and refineries from U.S. Imperialism, and have expelled the U.S. military mission told Rockefeller not to visit them. In Uruguay, the factory of General Motors is set on fire shortly before he arrives, and although this is an individualist action, which does not orientate or give a programme to the working class it is an expression of the feelings of the masses throughout Latin America.

In the United States Nixon declares that he intends to withdraw 25 thousand troops from Vietnam by the end of the year. This is not surprising considering the state of moral of the U.S. troops in Vietnam. The facts that desertions occur 1 every ten minutes, that about 90% of the troops take drugs, that daily U.S. soldiers desert and join the Viet Cong, make it clear that ground troops are no longer any use to U.S. Imperialism. The troops see that they are fighting a war against a people struggling for human progress and socialism, a war against men, women, old people and children all united against imperialism and its agents, and they quickly become demoralised. As the U.S. soldiers who occupied Santo Domingo in 1965 had to be rotated every three months, because they became won to the side of the masses, so the soldiers in Vietnam see the futility of the war they are fighting, and hence the increase in desertions the demoralisation of the soldiers, and the announcements that some troops are to be withdrawn. As far as

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imperialism is concerned, it can do the job better by enormous bombing raids where pilots don't come into contact with the Vietnamese masses. The withdrawal of the troops in no way indicates that U.S. Imperialism is going to leave Vietnam. In the Middle East there are daily clashes between the Arab masses and the Israeli Army the agents of imperialism in the Middle East, while with the new coup in Sudan and the revolutionary programme posed by the leaders of this (see resolution in this paper), the shift to the left in S. Yemen, the existence of the Syrian Workers State, and the fact that the guerrilla groups are constantly advancing in a more programmatic form, the conscious level of this struggle is being constantly raised.

It is within this framework that we see the latest developments of the working class in this country, which each day is absorbing more and more the influence of the world revolution. From the Ford strike, the strike and demonstration on the 1st May, to the strike of the workers in the Leyland factories, it has been the working class who have taken the initiative, and the bosses who have had to give in. When the Leyland strike began the management refused to hold talks until the workers returned to work, but basing themselves on the class struggle in this country, and in the world, and pushing forward those local union leaders whom they felt would respond to their demands, the workers in the Leyland factory held firm, and at the weekly strike meetings they voted unanimously to continue the strike. The strike was beginning to attract support from other sectors in the industry, for instance money was given to the strikers from the Hailwood factory in Mersyside, and shop stewards from that factory (which three months ago was in the vanguard of the Ford strike) spoke at the weekly strike meetings. Shop stewards from BMLC factories in the Midlands pledged support to the strike and said that if it was not settled within two weeks they would do all they could to support it. With this threat of the strike spreading and possibly becoming a centre for the car workers throughout the whole country, the bosses were forced to hold talks, and the workers won their demands and returned to work triumphant. There is unrest throughout the whole of the motor industry in this country, an industry of the utmost importance to the bourgeoisie for it is one of the main exporting industries. It is also within the enormous car factories where the workers are involved in mass production, that they feel that they have the strength and the confidence to take on the ruling class. At Fords for instance only three months after the settlement of the strike the TGWU are demanding a new wage increase of £12 a week, and equal pay for women. In this way the vanguard in the car industry is expressing not just a desire for more pay, but is saying

that it wants to attract the rest of the exploited population to the struggle for power.

With the TUC taking on the role of watch dog and mediator in the settlement of unofficial strikes, we will see the crisis which has for so long been centred in the Labour Party apparatus being transferred to the top leadership of the T.U.C, although it will continue and deepen within both the apparatus of the Labour Party and the trade unions. The discussion will continue, the crisis will continue but at a higher level with working class solutions to the problems of capitalism being put forward by a sector of the union leadership more responsive to the pressure of the rank and file. Each day the rank and file of the trade unions are exerting a greater control over their shop stewards and winning over to their side the local and regional officials of the trade unions as was seen at Leylands. Also in the Leyland strike the shop stewards committee exerted a very direct pressure in the talks for the settlement of the Leyland strike at York. Although they did not participate in the actual negotiations they were consulted at every stage and exerted a pressure against conciliation. Now the working class as Cde. Posadas analysed in relation to the French Revolutionary General Strike are beginning to use the unions not just for economic factory demands but for political demands, preparing to use the unions as an instrument of revolutionary political struggle. Thus the resolutions of the unions relate to the political, social and economic problems of the whole of the exploited masses not just to the T.U. struggle. For instance one union passes a resolution for the improvement of the educational system, while the Scottish N.U.M. condemns the "so called socialist government" for the low level of pensions and states that pensioners are dying from lack of food and heating. These demands show in an empirical way how the working class attempts to formulate a programme of demands for all the masses of the country.

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Now more and more the working class is combining its struggle against capitalism with the struggle against all bureaucratic privileges, as was seen during a meeting of boilermakers on Tyneside, where the union leader McGarvey was attacked and a sector of the workers demanded that union officials should receive a union wage. Feelings ran high at this meeting where McGarvey was urging the men to return to work and take a cut in wages, demanding a secret ballot against the wishes of the vanguard workers, and doing all he could to sustain the the privately owned shipyards, although it is the policy of the boilermakers union to nationalise the shipyards. There is constantly a need for proletarian democracy within the unions, for all representatives to be subject to instant recall if they do not do as the members of the union wish, and for the union leaders only to receive the average workers wage. For although the union bureaucracy is now forced to respond more to the pressure of the base so as not to become isolated from it, it still in determined circumstances can and will act against the vanguard or against officials who act in specific strikes in agreement with the vanguard. The expulsion from the National Union of Seamen of one of its leading members for the part he played in the distribution of leaflets in Greece, and the suspension from office of 13 local officials who took part in an unofficial strike at the Stewarts and Lloyds plant at Corby this spring are examples of this, and show the crying need for proletarian democracy within the unions.

The crisis of capitalism is deepening, the conflicts in the Labour apparatus the bad trade figures, the increasing underlying trend in unemployment, the further big loan from international bankers, shows that British capitalism has no perspectives of advance. It strengthens its apparatus of repression, gives more pay to the army and plans in the Maude report to centralise local government into larger units. But all its plans come to nothing against the power of the working class. But in order to carry the struggle forward for the organisation of the struggle, for the nationalisation of all major industry and the banks without compensation and under workers control, for all the profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of shorter hours and higher wages, for a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, equal pay for women and youths, formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme, with the perspective of a workers government, it is necessary to build the new revolutionary leadership. The new revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party and trade unions on the anti-capitalist programme and in United Front with the IV International, must be built in the next period. All the national and international conditions favour this task.

25.6.69

### ANOTHER BLOW TO CAPITALISM AT LEYLAND

As we go to press we hear that the Leyland workers have rejected the interpretation which the management were making of the clause in the agreement relating to piece work rates. This once more shows the tremendous confidence of the Leyland car workers and the desire of the vanguard, as we have analysed in the editorial, to act as a leadership in the struggle not just for economic demands but to bring down capitalism.



# 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 Polarls 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.

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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 all, all, all.

— Trotsky

NO. 93

JULY 10th 1969

SIXPENCE

## Prepare to intervene in the Labour Party and T.U.C. conferences with regional assemblies, union and factory meetings on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme

The consequences of the defeat of Wilson, the defeat of the bourgeois sectors of the Labour Party, who wished to impose a labour discipline on the workers have not revealed themselves with all their force. In the absence of a fully conscious leadership in the trade unions and in the Labour Party, there is a marked contradiction between the historic significance of the defeat of Wilson and taking full advantage of this defeat, and the slow reaction of the cadres in the unions and L.P. The vanguard wishes to take advantage of this defeat, but it has to find its way to the anti capitalist programme and mature in its understanding of the whole course of world events, the advance of the whole world socialist revolution. Fundamentally it is faced with the problem caused by its lack of organisms, in which all the force of the masses can express themselves—proletarian democracy in the factory committees and in the unions.

The proletariat following the defeat of Wilson—which is a fundamental defeat of the bourgeoisie, who lean on the Labour Party to contain the masses—has maintained its persistent struggles, which are not conducted simply for minimum wage increases, but call into question the functioning of the capitalist system. Thus the strike of the dockers in relation to the use of containers fundamentally revolves around the question as to who should decide the use of modern technology, the workers or the capitalists, who should benefit from the latest equipment, the bosses or the mass of the population. Indirectly the struggle of the dockers has raised yet again the question of the slogan, all the profits of automation to the workers. The strikes or the proposed strikes of the Post Office engineers, signalmen etc. show the determination of the masses to defend and advance their own class interests whatever the difficulties for capitalism, and also their desire to impel the vanguard to more fundamental conclusions, the overthrow of the whole social system of capitalism.

On the basis of the defeat of Wilson, on the basis of the victories of the masses at Fords, Leylands, the docks, the vanguard must prepare well in advance for the next Labour Party Conference, and the Conference of the Trade Unions which take place in two or three months. Such conferences are certainly not ideal assemblies from the point of view of proletarian democracy, because there is no genuine democracy, in either the trade unions or the Labour Party, but the enormous indirect pressure of the masses has already led to the defeat of Wilson, and the unions have been used by the masses to effect this defeat. Thus whatever the lack of proletarian democracy within the LP and the unions, in

effect a change in the internal relation of forces has taken place empirically, which allows the vanguard to pose demands fundamentally hostile to capitalism, and put forward perspectives, which can orientate the masses and provide them with leadership. All this can be effected in a united front with the IV International, whose programme of transitional demands is fundamental to this stage of history. In order to advance, the revolutionary wings in the unions and the LP must use this programme, there is no alternative to the anti-capitalist programme, the programme of Trotskyism. We propose that the vanguard prepares well in advance for these conferences, holding mass assemblies, union meetings etc. to put forward delegates mandated on the anti-capitalist programme, who are open to immediate recall. This means placing the accent above all on the necessity for trade union democracy, for a TUC, which operates under the control of the proletariat, represents the class interests and programme of the proletariat and does not act as an instrument of the top bureaucrats in the TUC, who manipulate the unions in their own interests of conciliation with capitalism.

The programme of the LP now includes such points as the nationalisation of the drug industry, and urban land, and now there are signs of greater interference by the state in the running of private industry. The vanguard must propose the nationalisations of all key industries without compensations, and the planning of the economy to meet the needs of the masses. For an immediate plan of public works in all the "depressed" areas, and a plan to solve

all the demands for housing, transport, education and health!

Not only is it necessary to insist on a genuine trade union democracy in the unions, it is of fundamental importance to repudiate all the nonsense perpetrated in the "alternative" scheme to Wilsons, the idea of the TUC acting as overseer to restrain unofficial strikes. All this abject policy of the trade union bureaucrats is alien to the masses and the necessary policy of the unions. The TUC should act as a workers centre orientating the workers struggles with an anti-capitalist programme, not playing the role of watch dog over the various unions to restrain their more militant members. The whole idea of the TUC performing this role in the present situation is absurd of course, because the objective situation does not allow it, but the vanguard must insist that the workers centre must be under the control of proletarian democracy with union salaries and officials controlled by the workers, and should act as a centre for the anti-capitalist programme, and not as a useless vehicle for the manoeuvres of the union tops, who wish to manacle the struggles of the working class. The next conference of the TUC and the LP must be used by the vanguard to the maximum to orientate and give a programme to the working class. And in this respect great importance must be attached to the results of the recent congress of the CGIL. There the Italian revolutionary vanguard registered a great advance, placing their trade union and economic demands very much within the wider perspectives of international proletarian perspectives, condemning the criminal

frontier disputes between Russia and China, caused fundamentally by the two bureaucracies, and calling for the anti-imperialist united front. It is a general phenomenon of the communist and social democratic parties and unions, that the internal relations in these organisations allow a superior intervention of the revolutionary vanguard, at this stage of history. It is the force of interior entryism, which, as comrade Posadas has defined, forces leaderships to take into account the wishes of the masses in a way inconceivable in a previous epoch and encourages the middle cadres to take up revolutionary positions.

It is essential for the vanguard to see these perspectives within the context of the whole struggle of the world masses to liberate themselves from the shackles both of the imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy. The British proletariat has found the strength to defeat Wilson and weaken capitalism, because the world revolution has acted as a constant base of support. The struggles of the masses in Vietnam, which has drained and demoralised Yankee imperialism—and has led to the establishment of a revolutionary government in South Vietnam—the struggles of the masses in the Middle East, which has led to the paralysis of Israel, base of Yankee imperialism, the massive upsurge of the Latin American revolution, with land nationalisation in Peru, civil war in the Argentine, the conference of the communist parties in Moscow which refused to attack China or repudiate the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and reasserted the coming victory of world communism, the inability of French capitalism to find a solution to its social and political crisis, the massive workers insurrection of the Italian proletariat in Turin, led by the Fiat workers, the wish of the German trade unions to re-establish relations with the Soviet trade unions, all these events are solid bases for the proletarian vanguard to take the offensive both within the unions, the Labour Party and the factories.

Imperialism staggers from ineptitude to ineptitude and has no success anywhere. Nixons proposed visit to Rumania shows only the weakness of Yankee imperialism, its desperate need for some "diplomatic success, however insignificant, and the reception for Rockefeller's visit to Latin America is yet another confirmation of how imperialism and capitalism rapidly lose social support in any continent. Within Great Britain, the social fiasco of imperialism, and its vain efforts to gain social support shows itself in the investiture of the Prince of Wales, which finally ended in three deaths, and no increase in bourgeois prestige. And on the other hand the tendency of the bourge-

### Continue the campaign for the release of the Trotskyists arrested in Mexico

In the next issue of the paper we will publish the report of the political prisoners of Lecumberri about the celebration of the 1st of May in the prison, where the comrades sang the International and other revolutionary songs and flew the Red Flag from the top of the cell block.

We appeal to all the working class, to the students, to intellectuals to maintain the campaign for the liberation of comrades in Mexico. We have heard that another comrade Roberto Irarte has been sentenced now; receiving the barbaric term of 9 years. It is necessary to give a new stimulus to the campaign for the release of this comrade and the others; Oscar Fernandez sentenced to 8½ years, Adolfo Gilly to 6½ years and Teresa Confrata to 5 years three months. Send resolutions and letters of protests to:

Mexican Embassy 48, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1  
Mexican Gov., Diaz Ordaz, Government House, Mexico, D.F., Mexico.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

# THE UNEQUAL AND COMBINED PROCESS OF THE ADVANCE OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

We are reproducing this resolution of the Political Bureau of the French Section, because it gives a very important analysis of the changing relationship of forces between the bureaucracy and the Workers States, which obliges Breznev to seek a better relationship with the world communist vanguard. This search expressed itself as this resolution well analyses, in the May Day demonstration in Moscow and still more in the documents which were discussed and approved at the recent International Communist

Party Conference in Moscow, which gave support to the Arab and Vietnamese revolutions, and presented a harder face to imperialism, and were based on the strike movements and demonstrations of the world proletariat and exploited masses. This document permits a greater understanding of what occurred in the International Communist Conference, and we appeal to all the vanguard to study this article and apply the conclusions in their struggles in the Labour Party, the Unions and the Communist Party.

ers State, which it ignored in the past. It acted thus although trying to see that this did not prejudice the interests of the bureaucratic leadership, and tries to run to new formulas, formulas which reflect the changes, which it is obliged to acknowledge.

But there do not exist new formulas in history. New formulas would mean new social combinations, allowing the bureaucracy to associate itself with new layers of leaders without this representing a danger for it or forcing it to appeal for the taking of power. The bureau-

cracy tries to survive occupying itself more and more with the struggle of the masses of the world, although maintaining conciliation with world capitalism. It must continue to arm to increase its military capacity. It tries to maintain itself by yielding in the form, but not in the depth. This is what explains a series of measures which it takes or tends to take at present on the economic or military plane and which even though meaning a progress, remain subordinate to the reinforcing of its usurping political and bureaucratic function.

The bourgeoisie is not able to understand what is happening in the Soviet Union. It is not able to understand for example the behaviour of the army. It expected that the Soviet Army would act in Czechoslovakia as it did in 1945. It expected that the Soviet Army would steal everything up to the door knobs. But the soviets are not only contented not to take anything, but they have paid for every coffee that that they drunk.

The bourgeoisie cannot understand that the present function of the Soviet Army is not determined by a transitory division. The unequal and combined process allows also that in the Soviet Union a small "cultural revolution" has been produced. It is not visible, it is not as spectacular as that of the Chinese, but it is no less real. One measures some effects in the army itself, where the soldiers have distributed leaflets in Czechoslovakia appealing for the masses to publish a journal defending the Soviet conquests. That is completely opposed to its behaviour in 1945, where it smashed the German masses. The bourgeoisie cannot understand this process of history. It cannot see the dialectical process of contradictions, in which what is superior receives and impels the revolution. In the struggle of opposites, it is the revolution which impels and carries forward the process.

To the extent that there is no revolutionary party, a conscious revolutionary life a Soviet life, a series of phenomena do not express themselves politically. There is no programme nor even slogans. But they express themselves in acts. This is what one sees in particular in Cuba. When comrade Posadas shows respect towards Castro, in spite of all the insults, which Castro has loaded on to the International (although he has stopped this for two years), it is because his criterion of judgement is objective. It is this objective necessity for the advance of the revolution, despite all the obstacles, which allows one to understand why Rafael Rodriguez, Cuban delegate to the conference of CEPAL at Lima, of old Stalinist formation receives a Trotskyist delegation, declaring that "more and more each day, more things unite us than divide us".

What does the bourgeoisie understand by all that? Nothing. The soviet army is not an army, which is determined as a function of its military discipline. The bureaucracy tries to impose subordination bureaucratically, but what determines fundamentally the army is its social and revolutionary role in the Workers State. To the extent that there is no organised revolutionary life, a Soviet functioning and no proletarian democracy, the function of the army cannot then express itself in a programmatic form, in the form of slogans, of resolutions. It expresses itself in acts.

It is thus that it is necessary to give a close attention to and give importance to the fact, that the army has not paraded on the 1st May in Moscow. The suppression of the military parade was to impose the pre-eminence of the party and of the masses, to influence the masses of the world and amongst them, the Chinese, Vietnamese, Cuban masses, and the masses of the United States. This is an attempt to express an elevation of the revolutionary objectives. It is a means to seek a contact with the masses of the world, showing that the force of the Workers State lies not in arms, but in the social condition.

The whole concentration of the process expresses itself in the central slogan of the 1 May in Moscow: "Communism will triumph" in the annulling of the military parade and in the pre-eminent character given to the parade of a million and a half workers, of ten thousand members of the militia. It is the hand of the Russian revolution, of the Soviet Union, ex-

tended to the world revolution. The leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy does not have these interests. It is in agreement to overthrow capitalism, but not by means of the world revolution. From there come all these slogans of "peace", the five points of the "peaceful co-existence". But today without abandoning this co-existence, it must put forward the slogan "Communism will triumph"; "Proletarians of all the world, unite" "For the triumph of Vietnam". There are the principal slogans of the 1 May in the Soviet Union.

When the Soviet bureaucracy is obliged to put forward such slogans, it is because it must seek a contact with the world working class, because it must register the fact that peaceful co-existence is each times less "pacific", and always more armed. It must in one manner or another express that the decisive historic moments approach and that the solution will be military and atomic and not pacific. It must register that nothing is resolved by peaceful co-existence and that the atomic war is prepared; hence the slogans of the 1st May. That is why we underline the importance of the parade of more than a million proletarians in the square instead of the military.

The bureaucracy has tried peaceful co-existence, it continues its attempts but it has each time less perspectives and sees itself in consequence obliged to reply with measures closer to the revolution. To the extent that it does not have conscious interests, it finds itself placed far from the interests of the world socialist revolution, without being so cut off from the development of the Workers States. It is in this contradictory process that the bureaucracy must put forward some positions, which are not hostile to the revolution, without making a policy, which conforms to the interests of the revolution. It must act in this way to maintain itself in power. It must advance slogans, which are going to have a repercussion against it, and which are going to exert an influence among the Communist Parties of the world, without there being very evidently a change of social and historic orientation in the bureaucracy. There is no change in its historic objectives.

All these events are an expression that the bureaucracy can no longer maintain itself on the basis of the affirmation of a policy of peaceful co-existence. It must, to maintain its interests to survive, give a support to the social base of the Work-

## ON THE CONVERTIBILITY OF THE ROUBLE AND THE PLANNING OF THE WORKERS STATES

The rouble is not a convertible currency. The bureaucracy tries to render it convertible on the capitalist markets with the object of facilitating commercial exchanges, multilateral exchanges. The present situation of the rouble only allows bilateral exchanges. If the rouble becomes a convertible currency, any country can sell in the Soviet Union and pay for its purchases in a third country in roubles. This is not the present case.

From the point of view of the interest of the Workers State, such convertibility is convenient, but only from a partial point of view. If it is logical, necessary and correct to try to reach a convertibility of the rouble, it is a lot more important to struggle for the planning of all the Workers States. Such a planning is a need, and thus renders the convertibility of the rouble less necessary without it being annulled or disappearing.

The convertibility of the rouble is convenient to the revolution, for it means the penetration of the Workers States by means of the currency into the capitalist countries. Currency is not a symbol distant from what gives its birth. It has power, capacity, weight, authority. In becoming convertible, the rouble allows the economic and commercial authority already acquired by the Workers States to be elevated still more. This authority finds itself considerably increased.

If convertibility is not the result of the planning of all the Workers States among themselves, then it means above all a tendency to seek only more extensive commercial links and relations with the capitalist countries. The bureaucracy has an interest in the universality of the rouble in the measure that it gives it a great margin of competition, but also of authority. This is not in itself incorrect. It is useful in the same way that all the commercial and diplomatic relations between the capitalist countries and the Workers States are useful.

If the convertibility of the rouble is not submitted to the planning of all the Workers States it becomes a measure which tends above all to strengthen the function of the Soviet bureaucracy to give it a greater weight at the expense of the Workers States, for then it as-

sumes through its currency the representation of all the others. It makes its currency the basis of exchange with the other Workers States. The planning of the Workers States means on the other hand the convertibility of all the currency of these states.

But even in the case, where all the moneys of the Workers States are convertible (and the rouble in particular, representing the most competitive industry), if this is not accompanied by socialist measures, this convertibility favours the interest of the bureaucracy and not the interests of the Workers States. The financial power of the bureaucracy becomes very big as well as its possibilities of manoeuvres and relations with capitalism, and in consequence the tendencies and inclinations of this bureaucracy for a fusion with capitalism, equally become greater. If the convertibility of the rouble is on the other hand accompanied by the planning of the economies of all the Workers States, by the development of soviets, then yes, it would become a revolutionary measure.

The concern of the Workers States must not be at this moment, the convertibility of their money. This is necessary, no doubt, but it is not the fundamental concern, for the Workers States are not held back in their development by the level of their world trade. Financial, monetary, economic measures must always go hand in hand with political and social measures, which increase the functioning of the masses in the Workers State, which develop their participation and control, and constantly elevate socialist democracy, the revolutionary functioning of the state. And this is only possible through soviets. If the financial monetary measures are accompanied by such a soviet functioning, then there is not any risk of penetration of capitalist influence into the Workers States. If this is not the case, it is then that parallel measures favour the bureaucratic apparatus, and not the authority of the Workers State.

The bureaucracy does not act in this way because it does not have any interest in this. Its function as a usurper of society does not allow it to play a role conforming to the interests of the Workers State

## THE LAST MEETING OF COMECON, AND THE NEED FOR PLANNING OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES BETWEEN THEMSELVES

In the recent meeting of COMECON the principle of the planning of all the Workers States has been posed. This is not a product of the understanding of one or another sector of the bureaucracy, and in this case of Hungary or Poland, but a necessity. In their economic development, the Workers States damage the bureaucratic structure, and from there also emerges the objective necessity for the planning of all their economies, over the top of the bureaucratic barriers. It is this which explains also the fact that in the Soviet Union they are discussing the experience of Libermann and condemning him in the majority of cases.

COMECON is being obliged to pose plans of overall planning and the Rumanians have had to retreat. All the capitalist press has thrown itself into the battle to support them saying: "The Rumanians want to be independent". This indicates very well where the interests of the Workers States and those of capitalism are to be found.

The Hungarians published in their journals an article in which they criticise the Rumanians, the Yugoslavs and the Italian Communist Party on the subject of the problem of independence. They posed that it is not possible "to have any independence" for it is a question of "the global system of socialism."

This is very important for no longer are they speaking as a bureaucracy. They are forced to pose the necessity of planning.

It is thus fundamental that at the very moment where capitalism is disintegrating, the Workers States advance in their common programme, in attempts at planning. There they express the necessity which they limit, and obstruct, and brake, but this necessity of unification does not remain any less present, and the declaration of the Hungarians indicates that the polemic is situated on a high level. They do not discuss any more about political accusations, but of the necessity to programme the economies of the Workers States. It is very, very important.

## THE UNEQUAL AND COMBINED PROCESS OF THE...

The fact that it was Hungary and not the Soviet Union, who posed it is also important in the measure where this indicates still more imperiously that the Workers States need to plan their economies in order to advance. This indicates on the other hand a progress of the Workers States, which is still not conscious, but objective. The bureaucratic leadership try to obstruct, to limit this necessity, but the simple fact that it has been discussed indicates a progress and advance.

ready exists in the USSR, the things already won by the Workers State. They see the communist parties as an extension of the Workers States. For this reason, the ability of these states is not lost, in spite of the policy of conciliation, and of co-existence of the Soviet bureaucracy. This is why the Workers State is not liquidated. Such a policy weakens it, in its functioning and in its capacity of historic action, but it does not make it disappear. The masses of the Communist Party feel this reality and maintain themselves in their parties, which they see as the prolongation of the Workers State.

This is why any movement in the world, which assumes a revolutionary character and develops with a conscious revolutionary character must sooner or later inevitably call itself the Communist Party. And even in the case where it takes another name it must give itself communist objectives. The most notable case is that of Fidel Castro. He tried up to the last moment to not call himself communist, but finally he had to do it. This is because Communist Party means socialist revolution, which does not mean to say that the leadership wants the socialist revolution, but that the masses give it their own interpretation.

This is why, in spite of the sino-soviet conflict becoming so acute, there is not a more violent confrontation. If this only depended on the leaderships, there would already have been a war. But there is no room for a war between Workers States, because the masses of the world do not allow it. In spite of very serious, very grave, conflicts, in spite of the divergence of interests between the bureaucracies there is no war.

There is, even if in a still bureaucratic fashion, superficial and administrative, a progress in the Workers States; from the point of view of analyses and conclusions, more and more in relation to the needs of the revolution.

Any revolution, even as complete as the Russian Revolution was is an uninterrupted process of evolution. Evolution means, as much internal as external, a process of advances, conquests, of progress previous to leaps. There is no revolution without evolution. Reformism has taken evolution as a fact in itself. It has retained the forms of evolution and not its historic sense.

It is clear, for example, that so that the masses succeed in eliminating the conciliatory leaders of the Communist Party, it is necessary to have a previous internal struggle, an accumulation of experiences, political and theoretical understanding, a theoretical assurance, which they still have not got. It is this, which limits a whole series of sectors, which see that the revolution is the solution, but do not know how to do it. In the

measure that these sectors raise their political understanding, they join in the process of evolution. But this has a limit. It means understanding, elevation, domination. It is a degree of the revolution, nothing more.

The crisis of capitalism, its political disintegration (and not economic, in which it still maintains its homogeneity) goes hand in hand with the political disintegration of the structure of the bureaucracy of the Workers States. The still relatively limited degree of this disintegration, coming from the fact, among others, of the lack of a mass revolutionary leadership, of the absence of revolutionary leadership in the communist parties, allows this process to develop in an unequal and combined way. In certain moments it is the unequal character which takes the lead, but the combined character nevertheless elevates itself and becomes more centralised, even if the measures are unequal in one or another country; Cuba, China—today appear dominant, and as a direct reflection of the political revolution. They are centralised constantly in their combined aspect, everything which elevates the revolution, elevates the revolutionary measures against the bureaucracy, against bureaucratic power, against conciliation with capitalism, and for the progress of socialist planning, the progress of the control of the masses, accentuates the combined character of the advance of the political revolution. Between the unequal and combined aspect, it is the last which is determining.

If in the Workers State, where the most powerful of the bureaucracy exists, the strongest structured, having the greatest economic, social and political power, they pose the principle 'Communism will triumph' it is an expression of how the political revolution is developing, in spite of all the obstacles in its way. It is under one form or another, an attempt to re-impel the alliances, the agreements between the Workers States, determined not by the interest of the bureaucracies, but in relation to the interests of these states.

There is an impulse to the revolution from this. Previously it was going in the opposite direction, the Soviet bureaucracy tried to submit the other Workers States to its policy of conciliation with capitalism. Today it must take account of their interests, and it is not an association of bureaucrats, which are going to be able to do it, above all in this stage of the advance, and of the progress of the revolution.

In all the communist parties of the world, this process is expressed. It stimulates currents, raises their security, and impels them to recover a marxist concern, to advance, to understand, to devote themselves to carry forward the struggle for a change of leadership. All this is still not precise in its form, but it is a question of a process, which is concentrated in relation to the needs of progress. And this progress, this advance signifies trotskyist ideas, the IV International.

### THE KOLHOZES, THEIR REORGANISATION AND THE IMMEDIATE RECALL OF DELEGATES

It is just being discussed in the Soviet Union the reorganisation of the Kolhozes and their democratisation. The democratic election and revocability of delegates was decided. This measure is accompanied by another one on the restructuring and expanding of the Kolhozes, which tend none the less to favour a layer of the Kolhoze workers. But if there is really free elections, free discussions to resolve the problems, which are posed, if the principle of revocability is applied, then this will be a stimulant for the intervention of the base against the leadership.

The solution for the Kolhozes does not reside solely in the revocability of delegates, but in the need for their collectivisation, which is already in discussion. It is a question of eliminating the Kolhozes to the profit of the Sovkozoes.

The bureaucracy is tending to increase the interests of Kolhoze worker in such a way that this increases production, by making this increase depend on the increasing of the material interests of the producers, stimulating their private interest. This is made easier from the fact of organisation of the Kolhozes, which already has reached the stage where they can yield no more than what they have yielded. One can increase its capacity of production by taking measures of the type of those which Khrushchev took and which tended to increase the number of people composing each Kolhoz, diminishing their overall quantity; to make from a hundred thousand kolhozes, forty thousand; from a unit of 180 families to pass for example to a unit of 360 families. This is in part a means of increasing production, because one simplifies it, and because one increases the collective capacity of functioning, industrialisation and mechanisation of production.

The growth or on the contrary the maintenance of a certain amount of land in each Kolhoz is accompanied by an increase of the individual interest, and of

the stimulus of the kolhoz worker, compensated by an increase in productivity. It is in this way that they try to resolve the problem of the Kolhoz and doing this the bureaucracy cannot act with the mentality of the past. In the measure where it is frightened to advance in the soviet form it seeks the subterfuge of these forms.

It is in every way a progress along the road of the necessary elimination of private and semi private forms, which the kolhozes are. There is certainly a collective production, but the exploitation remains private. Progress is made not in the sense of capitalism, but in the impulsion towards the more elevated organisation of the Workers State going towards soviets.

The policy of the bureaucracy is not coherent and cannot be. Even in taking, for example, a position of support to Vietnam, it maintains a strategy of control over it so that it cannot triumph totally over Yankee imperialism. It doesn't give it all the necessary military aid so that it can win militarily. But the problem of the triumph of Vietnam is not military but social. If the soviets call to expropriate the land, if they call the peasants to take the land, to form soviets, the Yankees would be beaten without delay and a quarter of the Yankee army would pass to the Vietnamese side, fundamentally the Negroes. They would pass to the revolution.

The bureaucracy sees itself obliged to progress in the economic domain, but it does it in a manner so that this does not prejudice it socially. It is obliged to progress and discuss on the positions of principle. In the Soviet Union, they progress in a quite pronounced fashion from an economic point of view. The economic structure, but also the social structure progresses, demanding still more the return to the soviet functioning. The bureaucracy sees the final settlement of accounts and tries to respond with these measures, but without organising the revolution.

### THE SO-CALLED INDEPENDENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES SHOULD NOT EXIST

The Communist Parties of the world are a reflection of this situation. None of them in the world has an independent position. It is totally false to say the communists of France, of Italy, or of Chile have an independent position, which would signify that they have a domination over their party, and that they go where they want. But the masses of the communist parties feel more and more the influence of the world revolution, and they are guided by this, trying to exert a pressure in this direction.

The leadership of these parties continue to exist in the measure that they do not enter into conflict with the USSR. When the leadership of the CPI, of the CPF, or of the Chilian Communist Party wanted to take some positions different to

Moscow, it had to correct itself rapidly. Even though maintaining a certain independence, it does not enter into a collision with Moscow. The day that one of these leaderships comes out against Moscow, it would be broken into 20 pieces. To take a position against Moscow does not mean to take a position on one or another point against Breznev—who is not the USSR—but against the historic objectives of the Soviet Union. Moscow is the Socialist Revolution, the soviets. The day when the communist leaderships try to appear with objectives opposed to these historic objectives of the Workers State, to the construction of communism, they will fall completely alone.

If the masses are in the communist parties, it is because they want what al-

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

oisie to seek a brutal solution of its problems was shown in the recent thugery launched by the Redbridge council against the squatters. At the moment this is a mere straw in the wind, a sign that sectors of the ruling class as in Italy and Belgium are preparing for repression. The situation is not the same as in Italy, where the crisis and the tendency towards a military coup particularly after the tremendous crisis in the Christian Democracy with its split between left and right, and the collapse of the centre left government, is accelerated. Nevertheless the vanguard must realise that the more vigorous the anti-capitalist offensive now, the more vigorous the imposing of aspects of the anti-capitalist programme, the weaker the capacity of capitalism to disrupt the strength of the masses by intimidation or repression.

We reiterate our appeal to the Labour vanguard to put forward the programme of nationalisations under workers control without compensation, equal pay for

women, all profits of automation to the workers, all wages to rise with the cost of living etc., and to link these demands with appeals for a European workers centre under the control of proletarian democracy, for the United Socialist States of Europe, appeals for the withdrawal of all British troops from Ulster, the end of all imperialist intervention in Nigeria, withdrawal of all British troops from subject territories and all war alliances. All these and all the other demands of the anti-capitalist programme must be put forward at the TUC and LP conferences, the trade councils, and in the factory committees. We propose that area and regional conferences be prepared to discuss all the points of the programme, that for the LP and the TUC conferences. We appeal for a united front with the IV International on all these proposals. We appeal to the workers, students, intellectuals, technicians to impel this programme, to impel the construction of the new leadership in the unions, the LP and the factory committees.

### PUBLICATIONS ON SALE

- European Marxist Review No. 1 8/6 p.p.
- Document on the French Revolutionary General Strike. J. Posadas 2/-
- Letter to the Intellectual. J. Posadas 2/-

# The monetary crisis is the reflection of the social crisis of capitalism

(Article from 'Lutte Communiste' organ of the French Section of IV International)

The attempt at the revaluation of the mark originates from a sector of German capitalism, which wishes to enter in direct competition with Yankee imperialism, by increasing the financial capacity and power of German imperialism. Such a measure, equally means direct competition with the rest of the European capitalist countries. They want to give to themselves an increased monetary strength, allowing them a greater concentration

of their forces. But this means too, the total undermining of capitalism, the destruction of its financial structure, in as much as, such revaluation would produce a huge crisis.

The revaluation would benefit the financial sector, but would have important negative social consequences, and for this reason, the revaluation does not serve the interests of the other sector of the capitalist sector more directly linked with production. The revaluation of the mark would increase the financial potential of Germany and would transform the country into a centre of attraction for money without the corresponding social and military strength.

When the financial power is not accompanied by the same industrial power in order to impose itself on the world and to have a political authority, it must be compensated by military power. This case, this financial power becomes very circumstantial, in as much as it does not have an historical and social base.

For capitalism such a base is a military one—arms, force and mighty power. Capitalism does not think according to truth and justice, but according to its military power. The mark will only be revalued on the basis of a direct competition with the other currencies.

The direct consequence of such a revaluation would be the partial increase of the power of German capitalism. If the benefits and profits are partial, they are not all that important because revaluation prejudices exports, while increasing their price. So, in order to maintain its competitive capacity on the foreign markets, Germany capitalism must give hidden subsidies. It is easy to do in a 1,000 ways. France knows well this system, by which exports are subsidised although the industrial capacity is not elevated, and the real cost of production does not diminish in the least. Such practices mask temporarily the weakness and disequilibrium of the capitalist economy, but cannot prevent the factors of the crisis accumulating and exploding into other forms, such as the social ones. The sums given to subsidies are taken from the workers, from the working class. The transitory help to the capitalist structure, the protection of industry means at the same time a tremendous weakening of the social base of the regime. The ceaseless strikes of the European masses and May 1968 in France are also an expression of this contradiction. So in Germany any measure of revaluation is going to harm competition and is going to lead to an elevation of measures to protect exporters. The price of the mark, being increased, will lead to an increase in prices of German goods on foreign markets. In order to maintain the same level of competition prices must be reduced. In doing so, the state must give subsidies, although the cost of production, itself does not increase. On the internal market, the consequences are of prime importance. In order to afford the subsidies, a sum is taken away from the budget, away from the national income, which is the monetary expression of the gross national production. In as much as this national production does not increase in the same proportion, this is a burden for the internal economy and social welfare. Hence less and less money is given to hospitals, schools, roads, etc., because the income from the revaluation serves to increase the power of high finance, not that of production, of social investments. This signifies, no supplementary means for the needs of the exploited sector of population. This sector sees its conditions of life worsen to the profit of the more rapid enrichment sector of capitalism.

The revaluation of the mark, would be synonymous with an increase of disorder of capitalism, which is in process of decay beyond all control. Even the central banks cannot control the financial anarchy anymore in the West. The revaluation of the mark indicates the increase of rigidity, sclerosis of the system on the

way to total paralysis. It would not give any impulse to the system. It would make it regress. The essential reason for the revaluation of the mark is the disintegration of the capitalist monetary system. This disintegration means in its turn a new deepening of the crisis of all the other capitalist countries. It is not a question of measures in the abstract, but of social problems, although this crisis takes a monetary form.

If the enormous military budget is one part of the reasons for the monetary crisis, this monetary crisis is all the same the product of the everlasting struggle of the masses for more wages, less work, demands to which capitalism has to yield. Posadas wrote in an article about May 1968 in France, that one of the consequences of the social triumph of the revolutionary general strike is going to be the devaluation of the Franc to the extent that the masses force capitalism to yield to a series of demands, which will lead automatically to the collapse of its economic basis. Five months later the crisis of the Franc developed, and devaluation in effect took place. In order to contain the revolution the capitalists have yielded at the expense of their monetary structure, all of which shows their weakness. The reserves diminish under the growing pressures of endless expenses, of the military expenditures and the conquests that the masses make, rendering the capitalist regime and its system extremely vulnerable. The capitalists have to yield, but they cannot manufacture more currency, so in order to survive the capitalist have to concentrate their productive forces, their financial means, and eliminate the most feeble capitalist sectors, the most dispersed sectors, the medium and small business men, small and middle industry. Hence the new social weakening, which in France expressed itself not by chance with the movement of the "Tour du pin" unanimous and unique strikes in the history of French capitalism, of the small traders and artisans of last March and April.

The monetary crisis of capitalism is the expression of this immense social crisis, and for this reason it is without solution. In spite of all the efforts of De Gaulle, a new devaluation of the Franc is inevitable, above all in the period opened by his fall and the arrival of a man, who has neither his authority or his weight before high finance and before big capital. In one way or another the devaluation is going to take place putting aside the fact that it has already in part taken place. The costs of production increase, because the masses demand and secure wage rises and less working hours. The Bosses increase the prices, to keep their profits and thus reduce the capacity of competition. Then in order to maintain the exports at the same level they will have to devalue. The problem is not only a monetary, or a gold, or a dollar, or a franc problem, but a social one.

The crisis of the mark is only a monetary crisis in form; it is in reality the reflection of the disintegration of the whole financial capitalist system, they lose any sort of stability and the money, the pound, the mark and the franc each time more rapidly, more directly, is affected by the social crisis, the class struggles, the revolutionary struggles in Europe, in Vietnam, in Palestine, in Latin America, and by the social and economic advance of the Workers States. If there were a way of stability, of expansion for capitalism, there would be no discussion of revaluation. These two elements are the consequence of the social crisis of capitalism. It is a monetary crisis only in its form. This form hides the content! the social crisis. It is for these very reasons that capitalism wonders everyday with more anguish, where is it going to invest?

The Yankees themselves find it more and more difficult. In Asia, in Latin America, they cannot be sure of the morrow.

It is comic to see how, every year, Congress diminishes the share of American budget for "aid to foreign countries", in favour of a so called "encouragement to private investments". But private investors are not enthusiastic in investing under the permanent threat of expropriation (mainly after the expropriation of IPC in Peru). So they want to install a system, which would guarantee them against expropriations. As if one could guarantee oneself against rain under a sky loaded with clouds.

The capitalists have no longer any interest in long term investments. They only invest in short terms, except in the industries that they still consider as the most important: oil, steel, iron, mines. Asia, Africa, Latin America are time and time again less secure markets where the nationalists movements and the revolution are in progress. After the Peruvian expropriation of the Yankees, the Venezuelan crisis, their interest in even short term investments diminishes. In Europe, investments signifies a help to competition, and this comes back economically and socially against them.

Nothing is more false than the monetary justification that the German capitalists are giving. All, like the coward Mandel and Co., who have been the theoreticians of the economic strength of capitalism, of its power, saying that it would enjoy at least 50 years of stability, are now rejected by history. The capitalist system is disintegrating, at the time when the Workers States increase considerably their economic power, stabilise solid relationships, and place on the agenda as in the last meeting of the COMECON planning of all the Workers States.

There is nothing like an "abstract" monetary crisis. Money exchange is the reflection of the products exchange, which is in turn the reflection of production and competitive capacity. As the goods cannot speak, it is money, which speaks for them, and the capitalists try to hide this and to give money an independent role, in order to cover up the fact that any monetary crisis is a social and economic crisis.

On the other hand, the non revaluation of the mark is going to lead to a huge concentration of capital in Germany, which is called "hot" capital, seeking for an immediate profit. This money is not invested within industry or the productive apparatus, it serves purely financial and speculative operations, and has no counter-part of investment in production. Hence the non revaluation accelerates the crisis. Hence all the discussions about the necessity to revalue, the confrontation of the different financial and industrial sectors. To resolve the contradiction the 60 experts in monetary problems that they got together will not be enough, because there is no solution within the capitalist system. For the exploited masses of the European capitalist countries it is a new point of support, to elevate their struggles to increase the galloping crisis of the capitalist system in full decomposition by securing new increases in wages and in winning new social conquests. The exhaustion of capitalism is shown in the fact that whether it yields or not, it precipitates the rapid intervention of the masses, who will overthrow it. Hence the necessity to fight for the anti-capitalist united front on a European scale, for the unification of struggles on a European plane to fight for the single trade union centre in order to prepare for the overthrow of the capitalist system, before or during the atomic war, which is the last resort of the bourgeois regime to prevent the revolution.

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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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

Workers of the World, Unite!

Without the Party  
we are nothing  
With the Party we  
are everything

Trotsky

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

No. 94

July 25th 1969

sixpence

The new revolutionary leadership being organised in the L.P. & the Unions must discuss all the experiences of the world revolution. Vietnam, the Arab revolution, Cuba & China.

All the press of the capitalist world has been united in its attempt to give the maximum publicity to U.S. Imperialism's moon shot. The Soviet bureaucracy, the British Communist Party and its organ the 'Morning Star' salute the landing of a man on the moon as a great technical achievement, without even mentioning that this space programme is only a bye-product of the war preparations of imperialism. But the world masses, the working class, the peasantry and poor petit bourgeois, have orientated themselves on this question, as on all others, by their consciousness of the need to overthrow capitalism and imperialism and to build socialism. If the American exploited masses cared about the moon shot there would not have been riots in four American cities while the moon landing was being made, and if it had given confidence to the world bourgeoisie in the leadership and permanence of U.S. Imperialism, (which was one of its central objectives) Mrs. Ghandi the Indian Prime Minister would not have announced the nationalisation of 14 major Indian banks. But the moon shot has failed in its historic, counter revolutionary intentions, even if it was a technical success. Tomorrow humanity having finished with capitalism, imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy will explore the whole universe; but now the problem is to organise the struggle to overthrow the regime of private property.

Undeterred by the moon shot the class struggle continues. In this country after the shattering defeat of the Labour governments proposals to shackle the trade unions, the working class has still not been able to take full advantage of the weakness of capitalism, to press forward an aggressive campaign for all its class demands. But nevertheless, influenced by all the events in the world, the nationalisation of the land in Peru, the banks in

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MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION OF THE JAILED MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

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# The discussion in the Soviet Union about the relationship between consciousness and existence, expresses the need for and the role of Marxism of today, Posadism.

Closely based on an article which appeared in "Lotta Operaia", Organ of the Partito Comunista Rivoluzionario (Trotskista), Italian Section of the IV International. 24th June 1969

One of the most important expressions of progress and the development of revolutionary tendencies in the Workers' States is the discussion that is under way in the Soviet Union about the relationship between consciousness and existence in this phase of history. This discussion is considering the world wide preoccupation about how to build socialism, the influence that the existence of the Workers' States exercises in the world and the struggle for Communist ideas. It is a discussion that is trying to find a Marxist explanation for the way that this phase of history is structured and to draw the necessary conclusions as regards the role of the Workers' State in the confrontations that the world socialist revolution makes with capitalism. This discussion forms part of a process in which the bureaucratic leaderships of the Workers' States, in the face of a relationship of world forces favourable to the revolution, the failure of pacific, reformist politics and the progress of the socialist consciousness of the world masses, must respond more to the objective interests of the development of the Workers' States and the socialist revolution to preserve their conservative interests as a bureaucratic caste. It is a discussion that takes place within the framework of a process of harmonisation of the world revolution which imposes its objective necessities in spite of the subjective obstacles and braking action presented by these leaderships which do not respond to the necessities of the process.

When the Soviet philosophers confirm that Marx never said that consciousness must always come one step behind existence, and at the same time they say that there is need for progress in the structuring of the Soviet Union itself so as to make a greater development of consciousness possible, this discussion reflects the need for a Marxist analysis of this phase of the world revolution - an analysis that neither the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin nor even Trotsky can provide. The political and theoretical analysis of Posadas is needed to understand this reality - the reality of a world in which there are 16 Workers' States in existence and capitalism still survives, but in which the masses have overthrown capitalism sometime ago in their consciousness. The analyses of Posadas are the application of Marxism and its creative development to respond to the need to understand the reality of today and how to solve the problems it poses. And Posadas is the only person who has been saying that today it is consciousness that determines existence now.

This is not in contradiction with Marxism. Under capitalism it is existence that determines consciousness. The consciousness of capitalism is determined by its capitalist existence, that is, its purpose of defending what it has - private property. But the world proletarian vanguard, expressed at its highest level today by the action of the Vietnamese masses, and from the point of view of its theoretical consciousness, by the IV International, can already live according to its consciousness. It was in the same way that Marx organised his life, not on the basis of his existence, that is his bourgeois

## THE DISCUSSION IN THE SOVIET UNION .....

social origin, but on the basis of the consciousness that he had reached of the need for Communism. And today this is the level reached not by a small sector, but by the masses, who act according to the consciousness that they have attained of the need for Communism and the superiority of Communism, and they remain faithful to this consciousness independently of the momentary, circumstantial conditions of their existence. In situations which could have found the working class in such conditions as might have encouraged it to make an alliance with capitalism, it has not done so. In the second world war the Soviet masses who rejected in their consciousness the bureaucratic power of Stalinism, did not take advantage of wartime to overthrow Stalin because this would have put the Workers' State in danger. Instead they remained faithful to their class nature, acting on the basis of their consciousness, keeping themselves within their class field. The masses act not only on the basis of their class instinct or their class consciousness at its immediate level, they respond according to the needs of the struggle against capitalism as a whole. They act on the basis of a secure, stable class consciousness, according to conditions which are more complicated than simply the trade union struggle or even the political struggle against capitalism. In the above mentioned case, it was not the circumstantial fact of the existence of the bureaucracy that determined their behaviour, but their consciousness of the need to put the defence of the Workers' State before any other need.

25 years from the second world war this phenomenon develops at a much higher level. The masses act, as the Cde. J. Posadas analyses, in such a way as to compensate for the lack of a Mass Communist International. They showed this during the Middle East crisis with a concentration of mass mobilisations, both in the Middle East and in the rest of the world to respond victoriously to the aggression of imperialism, and the result was, inspite of the Israeli military success, the social defeat of Israel and imperialism which Cde. Posadas analysed; they showed it in the way that they have responded to the experiences of the French May in 1968 drawing world-wide conclusions from it, transferring the experience elsewhere, clearly compensating for the lack of a world revolutionary centre of elaboration and co-ordination.

Another fundamental thing that shows the role of consciousness in respect to existence is the fact that in both the Workers' States and in some countries which still are not fully Workers' States the masses impose, always in a more accentuated form, conceptions, criteria, forms of functioning and forms of distribution of the material wealth which corresponds - according to Marx's foresight - to the phase of Communism, even if the material conditions for Communism do not yet exist. Thus it is that the existence of the bureaucracy has been able to hold back the taking of power on the part of the proletariat in various countries, to hold back the construction of the Workers' States and preparation for the world-wide construction of socialism and Communism, but it has not been able to put a stop to the progress of the socialist consciousness of the masses who have drawn very great conclusions from the world experience of the revolution and behave not according to the material limits of their existence but according to their consciousness of the necessity and superiority of Communist conceptions and go along applying these conceptions even now.

It is for this reason, as the Soviet philosopher, Kapitza corroborates, that the Soviet Workers' State influences the masses of the capitalist countries, inspite of the block that the bureaucracy tries to put on the process. For the masses act on the basis of the highest level achieved by humanity, the example of the superiority of the Workers' State, and not on the basis of the limitations in their existence or the conciliatory policy of the bureaucracy. What Kapitza says coincides with the thought of Cde. J. Posadas. And Posadas gives a harmonious, global explanation of this phenomenon in his documents.

This evidence of the role of consciousness in this phase of the world revolution

shows that from the start the conditions for the taking of power exist. This is what explains the development of the revolution and the immediate installation of Workers' States in countries which up till yesterday were considered the furthest off from progress and the influence of the Workers' States, like, for instance, Sudan. In countries, which according to capitalism, are the most "backward" in the world, where there still exist feudal or primitive economic relations, those same masses as use bows and arrows know about Lenin, and all about China and Cuba, as Cde. Posadas insists many times in his documents. In Sudan,

if they were depending on the level of productive forces their behaviour would be completely different. But instead their behaviour is not derived from the backwardness of their economic conditions, but from their consciousness of the fact that the Workers' States are an example to be followed.

This is what makes it possible that, as Kapitza says, "Our victorious socialist revolution, due to its very existence" influences the whole world. But it would be able to influence a great deal more if it could express itself through organisms and if this objective influence that exists of itself could develop in a scientific, organic, conscious way through the intervention of the masses and their communication with the masses of the rest of the world, in a word, through soviets. Soviets are needed as they were in the first seven years of the existence of the Soviet Workers' State, in the times of Lenin and Trotsky, when the soviets functioned as the expression of the will of the Soviet masses. With their organ of expression, deliberation, decision, and application, and organisms in which proletarian democracy was practiced and through which the power of the proletariat was exercised they directed themselves to the masses of the world, showing in an unquestionable way the enormous superiority of the Workers' State with respect to capitalism, not only from the economic and political point of view, but above all from the social, cultural and moral point of view. Even without soviets this superiority finds expression, but in a very limited way. Thus the statement made by Cde. Kapitza is very important and must be developed so as to reach all the conclusions that derive from it. He said that it is necessary to improve the structure of the Workers' State to make greater ascent in consciousness possible. Improving the structure of the Workers State to make greater ascent in consciousness possible. Improving the structure of the Workers' State means making the soviets function, eliminating all material incentives, eliminating market economy, doing away with absurd frontiers between one Workers' State and another and planning their economies in common, building the Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Capitalist United Front and the Mass Communist International.

Consciousness is not independent of society. It must have a means of expression. To develop, it must act on society and it must have an organ with which to act. This organ has already been in existence, there exists a historical experience which showed itself to be valid and which is already part of the historical consciousness of the masses; this organ is the soviet. Cde. J. Posadas has analysed the significance of its existence in various documents and particularly in the "Historical Assessment of the 50 Years of Existence of the Soviet Workers' State". If the soviet functioning of the Workers' State during 7 years, 50 years ago, has had so much influence, how much more it could have today, when there are 16 Workers' States in existence! If the USSR has not more influence over the masses of the USA it's because of the absence of organisms, that is, of soviets in the USSR.

We make an appeal for the discussion of these problems. The Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist), British Section of the IV International, makes an appeal to the Soviet masses, cadres, the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party, to the intellectuals who are intervening in this discussion, and to the whole world revolutionary workers' movement to organise a

public world discussion on the development of the Workers' States, the construction of socialism, the soviet, and the policy and tactics needed to make an end of capitalism and imperialism in the whole world and to construct socialism. It must be a discussion on how to influence the capitalist world with the prospect of overthrowing capitalism. The Conference of Moscow is a beginning in the return of the Workers' State to the period of the soviets, a return to the accomplishment of the function of influencing organically through the soviet and the Mass Communist International in the capitalist world. It showed the beginning of a functioning like that of the Mass Communist International for it responded, albeit in a limited and deformed way, to the need for a united leadership of the world revolution.

We salute the progress meant by the discussion on these problems with the intervention of Kapitza from the Soviet Academy of Science, and for different aspects meant by the Conference of Moscow. This is programmatic progress, conscious progress of the world revolution. It is a discussion of the decisive problems of this phase in history. They are problems which demand not just a partial correct comprehension of this or that aspect, but the complete and harmonic mastery of Marxism which means of the Marxism of this historical phase. It is Posadism that responds to these problems; this

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# The role of bureaucracy in the workers states, the soviets and the interbureaucratic contradictions

INTRODUCTION.

J POSADAS. 18.10.68

This document from Comrade J. Posadas is an answer to questions relating to the problems of the Workers States and the Bureaucracy, questions which have been asked in a meeting of cadres. It foresees the future development of the bureaucracy in this stage, the way it is going to react to the masses, to the Revolution, and to Capitalism. This document helps the International, the Communist vanguard and the revolutionary vanguard understand the actual development of the Workers States, their economic, social and political progress.

The bureaucracy is aware that the end is near. It sees that imperialism continues its war preparations and consequently prepares its forces to defend itself from capitalism and the masses. It must pose more and more peaceful coexistence in the form of armed co-existence. The bureaucracy feels that the final settlement is coming and it sees that it cannot hold it back, it cannot oppose the forces of the revolution. But the entire world is already advancing towards the revolution. The Vietnamese masses show it with their determination to create the revolutionary Government of the NLF, The bureaucracy is forced to make anti-imperialist statements; the CP Conference Bresnev says that the conditions are ripe for the Socialist Revolution in the capitalist countries! They also want to show themselves favourable towards the struggle of the masses, while holding them back at the same time. But Bresnev's statements do not encourage peaceful co-existence, certainly not - the communist vanguard is going to use them in order to push them forward in its own Communist Party.

We call for the study of the documents of Cde. J. Posadas to draw the conclusions of the necessity of the functioning of soviets in China, Cuba and the USSR. Even when the leadership of a certain Worker State does not have its own bureaucratic interests, like in Cuba, the lack of functioning of soviets prevents the masses from expressing their strength, their creative capacity, their will to build socialism, and from sweeping capitalism away in the entire world.

The final settlement of accounts with imperialism is approaching - the decision of the NLF in Vietnam to create a provisional Revolutionary Government shows clearly the new balance of power in the world. It shows that, in spite of the bureaucracy the masses are advancing towards power and oblige the bureaucracy to show itself more favourable to the revolution, and to the revolutionary measures. It is fundamental to understand this role played by the bureaucracy now, not hoping that it will change its very nature, but understanding that its internal contradictions are an immensely rich field in which the communist vanguard and the IV International can intervene. And it will be absurd not to take advantage of this opportunity.

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RED FLAG

7

# Can The Bureaucracy Appeal To The Masses

This can happen. It is not convenient to the bureaucracy to resort to it, it is against its interests but in certain circumstances, in order to survive, it may do so. It does not call for taking power, but it can be a stimulus for taking power, still hoping to control and direct things. That is not the case for the bureaucracy actually in power, but it can be so for other sectors who are progressing and hence changing the balance of forces. Before dying, before being overthrown, even capitalism attempts to maintain itself by concessions! Very important ones. The concessions that the bureaucracy make in order to survive is to call on the masses. For example it may appeal to the masses of a certain country, calling on them to take the struggle forward on to "replace capitalism". But the bureaucracy is not going to organise the revolutionary struggle. It acts that way when it is in danger of falling, when it is against the wall and when it loses control. It does not oppose the revolution any more. It tries to lead it in order to put a brake on it. It is what happened in Cuba, in 1960, during the Youth Congress, where Posadas was - the representative of the French Communist Party Jacques Duclos was there - Duclos said that the conditions were not ripe for the taking of power in Cuba, that a united front was to be made with the capitalists and reforms made - Lazaro Pena (leader of the Cuban Workers Confederation) defended the same position. However the IV International posed on the contrary in the Youth Congress "everything must be taken over, and everything must be expropriated." Fidel Castro said to Duclos "Yes, yes you are right" and yet, after a while he expropriated 50 enterprises. Duclos adapted himself and accepted. And the expropriations continued. Once the bureaucracy cannot hold back the process it seeks to control it and dominate it, it tries to keep the process in its hands. One must not expect the soviet bureaucracy or the bureaucracy of the Communist Parties to take decisions, take initiatives to take power. Such things never happened anywhere. But they may happen. The intervention of the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia had, for example, the aim of supporting the Worker State in as much as it was a support to its bureaucracy, but it was not to defend the "October Conquests". Since this military intervention, nothing more has happened, there has been a retreat.

The soviet bureaucracy shows its fear and its tremendous preoccupation. It requires a very profound circumstance for the bureaucracy to appeal to the proletariat because it knows that it is a move against itself, although it can do so at certain moments; for example. If the war breaks out, it can appeal to the proletariat to take arms. The next war will not be like the previous one. It will be a complete confrontation. It is not the present leading bureaucracy which will do it. But changes are going to occur even before it launches the counter revolution. It will strive to keep in power. We must take this into account without waiting for it to change itself. It is possible that this stage will never happen and that the proletariat will take power and throw out the bureaucracy before it is able to do anything. Already internal changes are occurring within the bureaucracy: in the Italian, French and even Chilean communist parties for example. These are the signs that they are more and more conscious of the approach of the atomic war.

In this historical stage there are constant modifications in the relation of forces: a permanent and successive retreat of capitalism, its weakening and the rapid progress of the masses' struggles. The process has got no leadership. Also all the changes have a repercussion in the bureaucracy. Nothing changes the principles, the general conclusions about the bureaucracy. The latter does not have the slightest interest in calling for taking of power by the masses but it has an interest in keeping itself in power for itself.

And with this object it can sometimes support the masses who struggle against capitalism. In 1940 the bureaucracy entered Finland and Poland. It did not give power to the masses but it did not massacre them either - as it did later on in Germany.

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# On The Relationship Between The Soviet And The Equalisation of Wages.

The soviet is absolutely necessary because it allows control and domination over the whole society. If there is no soviet, then it is the bureaucracy which decides, or it is the leadership of the Party who even without bureaucratic intentions has to function bureaucratically. Without even waiting for the soviet to be formed, it is however possible to realise very important changes, Cuba shows this.

There are no soviets in Cuba, but yet there is quite an important progress. Progress is limited because a direct control of society by the base is necessary the problem of the soviets is necessarily posed at a certain moment. The programme and the slogans are the conscious expression of their necessity, not yet realised, and this is why the slogan "SOVIET" arises. Fidel Castro does not yet accept it. But as the process is moving that way, he will have to yield.

Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history. The principles of progress arise from the unconscious process of history. And principles express themselves through concrete objectives. The programme to be achieved is expressed in slogans. In foreseeing the historical process, one can decide the necessary correct slogans.

Fidel Castro's leadership does not have any theoretical understanding. This leadership does not understand, and does not have the preoccupation to understand. That is why it progresses intermittently. This leadership still feels the obligation the impulse the stimulus to intervene. It tries to respond to the process, in an empirical way since it does not have a Party, it lacks the theoretical order and the comprehension. It cannot think and apply in time to progress harmoniously.

The existence of the soviet bureaucracy does not represent a fundamental obstacle to this advance. Certainly the Soviet bureaucracy still controls, but does not dominate. Certainly it can still sabotage the Cuban economy. But it is just as certain as well that the soviet bureaucracy is obliged to help. It cannot just cut its links with Cuba. Contrary to what happened in 1936 when it was betraying Spain, it does not have its hands free to trade in the Revolution. It is prevented from doing this by the elevation of the world revolution. It is compelled to protect and support it. It does not encourage the revolution, it does not impel it but it has to support it as it does in Vietnam.

In Spain the Soviet Bureaucracy spent millions of dollars to prevent the taking of power. In Vietnam it now spends millions of dollars to support the Vietnamese Workers State and by so doing, it impels the World Revolution. Khrushchev wanted to wash his hands of Vietnam. But we analysed then that this meant his fall and this happened a little later on. The World elevation of the Revolution does not permit the Bureaucracy to betray! Somebody said at that time "Posadas has a crystal ball, he plays as if he were someone who can see the future" and the comrades answered: "No, it is not a crystal ball, it is just simply marxism".

The existence of Trade Unions in the Workers States is necessary because distribution is still unequal. It is made in the way "everybody according to his capacity". As Trotsky says; "The Workers State is a contradictory state". It has the base of the Workers State (that is, it is taking an important step towards socialism), but the functioning of society is determined by capitalist relations of capacity to salary.

This contradiction creates a constant struggle of opposites between the Workers State, the state property, the planning of the economy, the state monopoly of foreign trade and unequal distribution "to everybody according to his capacity" that is to say, a relationship inherited from the capitalist regime. Such a functioning, such structures of the Workers State demand social measures allowing the advance in the distribution of wages towards Socialism.

"To everybody according to his capacity" does not stimulate the development

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of the economic structure of the Workers State. It is a contradiction which occurs in a process of interpenetration of opposites. In order to survive the Workers State needs to function with salaries as they are. The salary is the reflection of bourgeois distribution, which stimulates the private interest of everybody to acquire more. This form of distribution is in contradiction with the Workers State functioning. The Workers State still cannot eliminate salaries, because it does not have the economic capacity to do it. In this contradictory process, of the interpenetration of opposites, one of the two must win. Which? The salary or the Workers State or state property? It is the world revolution which decides the course of the process - the USSR is itself part of it. Since there is no soviet, the opposite element, the salary, has a very powerful point of survival. It extends its pernicious effects beyond what was inevitable. The Soviets, workers control, the factory committee, the independence of the T.U. have the role of limiting these effects: They have control over the distribution. In the course of the development of society, without yet reaching the level of equal distribution, the communist consciousness progresses more than the economy and tends toward the elimination of wage inequality. A social instrument is necessary to allow the development of the communist consciousness. It is the Soviet.

The Soviet intervenes in the contradictory process of interpenetration of opposites. It intervenes in a sense favorable to the structure of the Workers State. With the elimination of the Soviet, the bureaucracy allows a gigantic development of the capitalist aspect of the Workers State. That is what allows the bureaucracy to survive, that is what encourages capitalism to intervene in the internal development of the Workers State. If the capitalists have not been able to go further, it is because the development of communist consciousness of the masses has elevated itself above the level of bureaucratic degeneration, and prevented in this way the bureaucracy from selling out the Workers State. Moreover the historical conditions of the Workers State do not allow an unlimited degeneration.

The Workers State has a system of production which will not be abandoned. It can only be modified in part. If its foundations were to be also modified a new class would be created - one cannot invent a new class. The expropriation of ownership does not create a new class. A new class must have a historic justification, must demonstrate its superiority in the economy. But the bureaucracy is not superior to the Workers State. It is not superior to the proletariat, it is not even superior to capitalism. It is not necessary! It is the usurper. It is this which Trotsky rightly named it. By basing itself on the communist party, the bureaucracy usurps the function of the proletariat. Trotsky says that "In the Soviet Union the dictatorship of the proletariat does not exist but a dictatorship against the proletariat." It is correct. The Soviet bureaucracy is counter-revolutionary by its historic nature. Its policies are conservative. This conservatism expresses itself either under a counter-revolutionary form or a reactionary or passive form. The bureaucracy is not necessary for the economy. In its time, the bourgeoisie had some ideas, because the individualistic interest of the capitalists was an impulse to the development of the country, and of the economy. The bureaucracy on the other hand is not. State property has no need of an organ placed above society. State property needs a leading party that receives through the Soviet all the lessons of the creative capacity of the population.

The bureaucracy develops layers, creates currents, and different tendencies. There are intermediary layers, more linked to the proletariat. There are some layers already in the administrative apparatus which are breaking away from their social roots and place themselves more and more above society. But they cannot rid themselves of their historic base which is the communist party. For this reason we have the constant preoccupation to understand the struggles inside of the bureaucracy between the sectors which represent the party and those who represent the technocracy. By its function, the technocracy is separating itself from the party and the state simply because it can manage without collective ownership and function in a system of private property. The communist party cannot do the same because it holds its very justification from the system of state ownership.

The bureaucracy remains welded to state ownership because it historically depends on it. This historical base keeps it subjected to the Workers State,

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through the Party. This is why some sectors of the bureaucracy can even resort to measures of defense of the Workers State and is why sometimes they appeal to the masses. And yet this is not to be found in their programme, in their perspectives or intentions! It resorts to it only when there is no other possible escape and to try to prevent the masses from taking power. That the bureaucracy calls on the masses does not mean that it will urge them to take power! But it can call for a strike, a demonstration..

This is what happened to a certain extent in Bratislava - Posadas then said: "without having wanted such a thing, Bratislava marks the beginning of the functioning of the Mass Communist International. It is the substitution for a concrete appeal. But, on that question, the bureaucracy knew that it would find a favourable reception among the masses. There was no resistance. "We will not permit any socialist state to go back". This corresponded to an appeal. And when Rusk was saying "we are going to make manoeuvres with NATO to defend Yugoslavia" Gretchko answered "what! This is our business, not yours! We will not allow anybody to interfere with this". And then Rusk said "what is the matter? why is this man annoyed with me? I did not say anything". And Rusk went very quiet.

## On The Market Economy

By its very nature, the market economy tends to organise the interests of the different capitalist groups. It signifies the search for profit, disputes and competition. In this way, the Workers State tends to retreat, and to allow the meeting, the organisation the structuring of the planner the factory manager, the administrator the workers aristocracy, and commerce This shows that the bureaucracy tends to create the same phenomena as capitalism. It can do it because the Workers State is transitory between capitalism and socialism with a way of functioning which is still capitalist: distribution of salary ; justice and so on. In the Workers State there is a judicial system quite capitalist. Socialism does not even need it. Justice is still necessary in the Workers States under the form of "Popular Justice". There is no need of Supreme courts of lawyers, of professional judges. All of this is absurd. For example in Cuba there is still bourgeois juridical structure.

All this is possible because the leaders of the Workers States still retain a capitalist conception of society, bourgeois social relations, paternalist and protectionist conceptions towards it.

The market economy leads inevitably to the destruction of the planned production, to the elimination of the state property system. The soviet is the natural enemy of the market economy. It represents control of society. The market economy must eliminate any sort of control. The game of the market is determined by the most capable. And all the arms, all the methods are servants in this game. The water which they add to the wine is a little innocent thing in the arsenal of capitalist swindles. They need 10,000 kilos of cement to build a house and they use only 4,000. They compete together, and in order to lower the prices, they have to lower the quality of everything. The result is that nothing lasts for long.

For the food, it is the same thing. Actually there is no adulteration of food in the Workers States. But the market economy is inevitably going to have this consequence because it signifies more money and consequently lowering of prices, and then a wider market. They pretentiously call that "market economy" they hide their real intention which is the conquest of the market. How can they? Capitalism does not respect anything, its norm is to win at all costs.

In the Workers States as well, the market economy means: to win and win at any price - Yugoslavia shows it -. In Yugoslavia there are 3 shoe factories, one of them closed down. This is "market economy". It re-established competition, it is a loss, a waste of energy, of raw material and social effort. The market selects and reduces the number of those who buy. And the market produces for the ones who can buy. And so, it eliminates production for the population in general and they just produce for those who can buy. The market economy: is to win buyers. It is the market which dominates the economy. but they can determine the market only after having produced, and not before, exactly as in Capitalism. They produce 15,000 pairs of shoes and they can only sell 8,000. Then they close shoe factories and throw away 7,000 pairs of shoes.

When production is planned this does not happen, one plans according to needs and the ability to buy. One does not entirely eliminate the market, but one controls it.

On the other hand, when centralised planning is eliminated competition is stimulated and is developed systematically. Each bureaucrat is going to try to have the best for himself. Between them they swindle. One of them sells raw materials, another one converts it and another one produces the goods. Exactly as in capitalism. Self management, liberalisation produces this even in the Soviet Union! It breaks the centralisation of planning and production and leads to adulteration of the plan. The plan is not determined any more by the domination of the market but by the interest of the producer. And they send to hell the planned economy! Although they do not smash it properly in one go, they damage it enough to prevent the planned economy from functioning. They encourage the beginning of monopolies. A vertical monopoly. That is transformation, raw materials, manufactured product, and sales.

The bureaucracy does not have a capitalist functioning because they cannot accumulate capital but they have a certain monopoly functioning. And in doing so they tend to make a pressure, to establish other norms in the Workers States which permit them to extend such a functioning. Among other things: making it possible to invest capital. They are already doing it in a limited form of the sale of cars and houses. They haven't the possibility of accumulating capital, and so they invest in consumer goods. A bureaucrat sometimes has three cars: one for himself, one for his wife, and one for his mistress.

They are not going to go much further in this road because the structure of the Workers States prevents them. To advance, they must change, to introduce an alteration in the functioning of the system: to employ state property for private use. They still have not arrived at private use; but they are making an individual use. The state still imposes on them certain norms in relation to the problems of the land or of property. If they could survive another fifteen years, they would arrive at private use: they would pay X% and hire the factory from the state and make private use of the property. Thus they would create the links to form new proprietors. But they are not going to succeed in doing any of this. In spite of the absence of soviets, the Workers States nevertheless are developing: this shows all the power of nationalised property of which only a part can express itself.

18th October 1968.

J. POSADAS.

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VIVA THE PROPOSED NATIONALISATION OF  
THE BANKS IN INDIA

FORWARD TO THE OVERTHROW OF  
CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM  
IN INDIA

EDITORIAL: Continued from front page

India, the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in S. Vietnam, the new clashes between the Arab masses and Israeli imperialism along the Suez canal and particularly by the statement made by Bresnev about the need for and the possibility of the Socialist Revolution in the western capitalist countries, the vanguard though not with all the confidence that the situation can give is continuing the task of constructing a new revolutionary leadership in the class organisations; the Labour Party the trade unions and to a lesser extent the Communist Party.

The development of a revolutionary current was able to express itself limitedly in the Conference of the Transport and General Workers Union held last week. Cousins attacked the government for "trying to make capitalism work better than the capitalists could", rejected any form of incomes policy and warned M.P.'s sponsored by the union that they are expected to support the unions policy even if it clashes with the government. Cousins is a bureaucrat, but he seeks to maintain a contact, a relationship with the base of the union which is looking for anti-capitalist solutions and for this reason he speaks in this way. At the same conference a unanimous vote rejected the incomes policy and proposals were put forward for giving more power to the shop stewards movement. A resolution calling for disaffiliation from the Labour Party won only the votes of 6 delegates out of 800. To reject disaffiliation is absolutely correct position foreseen by the International in its analysis of the western European workers movement. The masses are not going to break from their traditional parties but fight within them for the revolutionary policy, the programme of the IV International. This is the process which comrade Posadas has defined as 'interior entrism'. Cousins, reflecting the sentiment of the base put this position when he said after all his scathing criticisms of the Labour Party that he wanted to change its policy not to pull out of it.

In this process of advance of the working class the crisis of the T.U. bureaucracy is sharpening. The "solemn undertaking" of the T.U.C. to the government to curb unofficial strikes is now being tested in the fire of the class struggle. Certainly the T.U.C. did succeed in settling the dispute of 8 women lavatory cleaners (who returned to work with a substantial increase) but now it has to intervene in the four week old strike of the 1300 blast furnace men at Port Talbot, strikers who time and time again at mass meetings have refused to accept the union bureaucrats appeal to return to work. Now the T.U.C. and the leadership of the Blastfurness mens union have issued an appeal to the men to go back to work while discussions with the management go on, promising them that if the strike is not settled in a satisfactory way to the workers in one week, the strike will be made official. This is the significant aspect of this intervention of the T.U.C; it is not using its powers, (such as they are) to discipline unofficial strikers, because they know they have no authority before the working class to do this, but they intervene promising the workers, union recognition of the strike. Thus the T.U.C. will reduce unofficial strikes only by making them official. The working class in this Port Talbot dispute will decide themselves, in their own class interests, whether to return, caring nothing that they have

already lost for capitalism 150,000 tons of steel, and it is this spirit which is transmitted through the union apparatus and makes the T.U.C. adopt a position which is, in part at least, favourable to the strikers. This is the spirit of the whole of the British proletariat which is affecting and attracting other sectors of the exploited masses. Thus we see 5,000 London teachers striking, marching to Parliament and clashing with the police, and we see the conference of the Musicians Union proposing strike action against the BBC to prevent redundancies. All the exploited masses are saturated with an anti-capitalist sentiment, the revolution has penetrated all sectors and the advance of the Workers States and the world revolution is compensating for the lack of an organic organising centre,

As Cde. Posadas analysed in his document on the British elections in 1964, a document we recommend to the vanguard to read and study, that the Labour government, while striking at the vanguard, would at the same time be obliged, to try to contain the process, to interfere with the running of capitalism. To day we see this very clearly with the decision of the government to allow new oil concessions in the Irish and North Sea only to those companies in partnership with the nationalised industries. Naturally the bourgeoisie and their representatives the Tory party are angered by this because it restricts the freedom of operation of the oil monopolies and increases the power of the nationalised sector. The Tories have seen it correctly as an extension of nationalisation.

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Technically to see the National Coal Board drilling for oil may seem absurd, but viewed within the context of the world class struggle, the advance of the masses the weight of the proletariat pushing the Labour apparatus in the direction of interfering with capitalism, such an extension of the power of the nationalised industries (coal and gas) is totally logical.

In the same way Mrs. Ghandi in India proposes to nationalise the banks to try to contain the revolution. But as in Peru with the nationalisation of the land and imperialist oil companies, these measures are going to encourage the masses to increase their pressure on the government, is going to stimulate the formation of left wing tendencies within the Congress Party itself and accelerate the process towards the overthrow of capitalism in India. We make an appeal to the revolutionary currents developing in the Labour Party the trade unions and the Communist Party to base themselves on the rich process of the advance of the world revolution, and in order to do this it is necessary to fully understand this process. Only the documents of Cde. Posadas and the IV International have analysed the process of the nationalist revolution to the Workers State; the process we see today in Peru in Sudan and in a more limited way in India. The vanguard must link the discussions of these questions, of Vietnam, of the Middle East with its own immediate problems of salaries, reduction of working hours, the fight against redundancies the struggle for nationalisation without compensation under workers control etc. preparing to intervene in the coming Conferences of the Labour Party and the trade unions. We appeal to the vanguard to base all their discussions on the documents of Posadas and the IV International so as to elevate the discussion in all the organisations of the class with the objective of forming concretely and organically a left wing with an anti-capitalist anti-imperialist programme in united front with the IV International.

24th July, 1969.

As we go to press it is reported that the Port Talbot blastfurness men have unanimously rejected the appeals of the TUC and their own union leadership to return to work. They are insisting that either the British Steel Corporation should concede the full wage claim (£1 a week for about 130 lower paid workers) or that the union should at once make the strike official. Thus the authority of the TUC is nil when it tries to go against the anti capitalist sentiments of the working class. This will further increase the crisis of the TUC and NUB leaderships because they will now, under the terms of the "solemn undertaking" given to the government be forced to impose fines on the workers and even possibly to expel them from the union. This the bureaucracy will not dare to do.

# N. IRELAND

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRISH MASSES

LINK THEIR STRUGGLE WITH THAT OF THE BRITISH PROLETARIAT

The struggle in Northern Ireland reaches the level of Civil War. Neither the police, the "Paisleyites", nor the leaders of the Civil Rights movement could stop the latest outbursts of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist hatred in Londonderry. The exploited masses of Ireland have had enough; they are not frightened or terrorised into submission by: the force of British Imperialism, because the influence of the world revolution, the influence of the class struggle in Britain and the Republic of Ireland is stronger than the armoured cars and police of the bourgeoisie. The masses of Londonderry and N. Ireland express the anti-capitalist spirit of all the exploited masses of Britain which because of specific historical conditions they are able to express more directly at this moment. It is part of a dialectical process, the masses of N. Ireland receive their confidence from the whole world revolution and in turn their struggle is a constant encouragement and stimulus to the exploited masses of England, Scotland, Wales, and the Republic of Ireland.

No longer does the bourgeoisie try to present the struggle as a religious conflict. The Prime Minister of N. Ireland warns the Ulster Tories and U.S. imperialism that the process in N. Ireland is going towards a 'new Cuba' and objectively that is so, for the masses without a conscious leadership are struggling for the end of private property and all that this entails, they are demanding jobs for all, decent homes for all, for a decent educational system, a decent health service, improved public transport; for an end to capitalist domination and repression.

To counter this the bourgeoisie prepares its repression. Troops have been moved to the outskirts of Derry, several hundred special constables will be mobilised, but they will both be impotent to stop the uprising of the masses.

We appeal to the British working class to hold meeting and demonstrations to discuss the process in N. Ireland, to hold sympathy strikes and demonstrations in support of the struggles of the masses there, and to link the demands of the Ulster masses with demands of their own, particularly; out with all British troops from N. Ireland, full employment in N. Ireland, work sharing without loss of pay, for factories about to be closed to be taken over and run under workers management, for the nationalisation of all major industries, the ship yards for instance without compensation and under workers control, for all wages and pensions to rise with the cost of living, for the cost of living to be determined by committees of workers and housewives, for a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, etc.

We repeat our appeal to Bernadette Devlin to use parliament as a platform for revolutionary propaganda, to use it to push forward the struggle for the organisation of a revolutionary current in the Labour Party and trade unions to finish with British and Irish capitalism.

out with  
british troops  
from n. ireland!

# campaign for the liberation of the trotsk yists in jail in mexico

BULLETIN OF INFORMATION FROM THE COMMISSION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM  
BLOCK 'N' ABOUT THE CELEBRATION OF THE 1ST MAY, IN THE PRISON OF LECUMBERRI.

"We, political prisoners, imprisoned in the preventative prison of the D.F. (Lecumberri), inspite of the fact that we are unjustly separated into different cell blocks, have celebrated in common the international day of the proletariat: the 1st May.

As our first action, we have hoisted red flags on the towers of the blocks which held exclusively political prisoners. The red flags flew while we sang the INTERNATIONAL, all of us together fists clenched. Then we sang other revolutionary songs and shouted slogans in favour of the socialist revolution in Mexico and in the entire world, in favour of the Mexican and world proletariat, against capitalism, imperialism and its government, and also slogans relating to problems of the prison in particular, the unification of the political prisoners in a single cell block, for the defense of those detained under common law who are often maltreated, exploited in the work shops and beaten by the 'commandos' set up by the prison management, and for the problems of the jailers who are obliged to work 36 hours including Sundays and public holidays for miserable salaries.

The three red flags flew throughout the day and on several occasions the political prisoners and the criminal prisoners of several blocks shouted slogans for the proletarian revolution against the government and the "Granaderos" who were present in front of the prison as were the pupils of the police school with their helmets and rifles.

There was a remarkable unanimity in the action of the political prisoners and there was no clash with either the police or the granaderos, who were being shouted at by the prisoners.

At 6 O'Clock in the evening, in the three cell blocks simulaneously, the red flags were lowered accompanied by new singing of the INTERNATIONAL and of revolutionary shouts, to which were joined the shouts and the viva's of those detained under common law in the neighbouring blocks, who equally shouted viva's to the proletarian revolution, and to the political prisoners and 'death to the government'.

In the three cell blocks of the political prisoners meetings immediately took place. In block N eight comrades of different tendencies took the chair, and supported in their interventions, the Mexican and world proletariat and the socialist revolution in Mexico and in the entire world. Some comrades held under common law also participated at the meeting and they took the chair to expose the injustices to which they are victim and to express their support to the celebration of the international day of the proletariat.

All the meetings took place with a very high morale and a very great combativity and unity as much among the political prisoners as those of the criminal prisoners who were in solidarity with the meetings. For the first

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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.
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The violence of the uprising in Belfast marks another step in the concentration of class forces throughout Great Britain, preparing they way, telescoping the stages towards the taking of power by the proletarian and petit bourgeois masses and the liquidation of capitalism. There are still stages which have to be gone through, which necessitate a maturing of the vanguard, the development of a leadership in the L.P. and the unions but it is also clear in the form of the Belfast riots that the pressure of the masses is increasing, increasing, it is in effect demanding insistently a clear and comprehensive programme, a clear and resolute leadership and the united front

of all the workers movement on the programme to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. As the leadership of the IV International, Cde. Posadas has constantly maintained, the violent process of insurrection in Northern Ireland is indicative, not just of the spirit of the oppressed masses of Ulster but the spirit of the British masses, concentrating themselves to smash capitalism, parliament, the monarchy, the fossilised leadership of the L.P., the last feeble weapon of capitalism, apart from nuclear arms to defend itself from the revolution.

In a somewhat confused series of events in Belfast, it is clear that the elements of Catholic versus Protestant

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Viva the visit of the  
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# The Present Stage of the World Course of the Revolution and its Essential Aspects

We are publishing below the first part of a resolution of the P.B. of the French Section of the IV International analysing the significance of the Moscow Conference, and the perspectives it opens up for the advance of the world revolution.

We appeal to the workers vanguard, in the Labour Party the Communist Party, the unions and the student vanguard to study this document, to discuss it with the Trotskyists using it to raise the level of understanding in all the organisations of the class as part of the construction of the new leadership, and to apply its conclusions in this country.

It is necessary to pay the maximum of attention to the actual course of the world events and in those events whose importance comes from a dialectical leap of history. Dialectical leap does not mean transformation, but a leap over towards a favourable advance of the level of the struggles. It is this which marks the Moscow Conference the crisis of French capitalism, the different forms of the crisis of the communist parties. They have to confront some political situations for which they were not ready, and that they did not consciously want. They find themselves forced to do it. Hence the development of the revolution in Latin America, centred in the events of Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, and with the expulsion of Rockefeller. All of this prepares new leaps in the near future.

The central action of the life of our section and of all those of the International must be to know how to co-ordinate the capacity of organisation and the capacity of action, in order to dominate and understand this stage, and in order to develop ourselves. The central objective of all meetings and analysis must be to know how to understand this process, and how to impel its development and the action of the Party. Hence, the necessity to deepen to the maximum the sense of and the analysis of the Moscow Conference - which is in fact a Congress - and of the French and Italian events, the ascending curve of the struggles and their influence inside of the Communist

## THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE .....

Parties, the Socialist Parties, etc..., and the Latin American events. In Latin America three fundamental centres, separate and converging to the same point. The expulsion of Rockefeller, the Peruvian revolution, the restrained civil war in Argentina which seeks to liberate itself. But there is equally the crisis of capitalism in Chile expressing itself through the Christian Democracy. We must examine the consequences of all these events on the communist parties and on the mass movements in Europe and the communist parties.

The organisation of the left in Italy, France, Belgium and Latin America, and the forms that it is going to acquire, its objectives and perspectives must also be made the object of deep domination. It is necessary to know how to measure at the same time the importance of the formation of these left groups, the range that they can have, as for example, with the intervention of Berlinguer the delegate of the Italian Communist Party in Moscow. What are the later consequences going to be? It is not the question in this case of a rigid line but this intervention, detaching itself from the position of the Soviet bureaucracy, is going to have important consequences although without leading to a split or to a separation.

The central axis in this stage of history is to understand how the forces which impel the determining centres of the whole world, are developing. Those centres, press forward in a concentrated way, and in an elevated fashion, and this, in a more and more elevated manner, impels and seeks to impel, demands the formulation of the programme for progress. The world is ripe for socialism. It has already reached a point of saturation, and the conditions for it are so elevated that history, in order to demonstrate it, sometimes uses ridiculous examples in regard to the material power of capitalism. This is the case of the Cuban's expected Embassy building in Vietnam. But it is also the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam. This demonstrates the ridiculous situation in which the most powerful capitalism in the world, which possesses the necessary armament to finish with the whole world, must tolerate the fact that a small group of revolutionaries raises itself to power in a country and makes itself recognised immediately by the forces which control more than half the world!

### THE DETERMINATION TO TAKE POWER EXISTS IN THE MASSES OF THE ENTIRE WORLD.

This situation is not the result of the forces that South Vietnam, and the NLF have, but because history is already capable of crushing capitalism. If it were not, this would not be possible. It is not their own strength which will allow them to find the way out and on the other hand, there are not the forces in South Vietnam which can make them retreat. There are 2 camps. All the notions and progresses of history take place in this stage, in relation to these two camps. Not the camps Krushchev was talking about; Each camp going its own way. All of those who were not his friends were his enemies.

There is in the camp of the revolution a very large differentiation between one Communist Party and the others, between one tendency and the others between one leadership and the others. The camp of the revolution seeks intensely to understand and unify itself. It cannot unify itself in as far as the leadership does not want to, does not have the capacity for it, is not prepared or is not conscious. But in as far as this necessity exists, there are forces, even if there is not the leadership, there is this necessity which maintains itself in a compelling way, and expresses itself in the Provisional Revolutionary Government, in South Vietnam. It is this line which will impose itself, because it is neither the Vietnamese nor the Chinese, nor the USSR who will decide, but the logical necessity of the revolution and its strengths. The Yankees have forces and arms to prevent it but they cannot. Let them launch four atomic bombs and it will be their own end.

They can launch those bombs; but they don't, why? Because they have not got the social capacity for it. To launch their bombs would mean to have to confront the world revolution. Tomorrow, they will, but for the moment they have to allow the revolution to advance. The progress of the revolution does not show itself in the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam, because it is the matter in this case of a small territory, but, in the

fact that one can resort to such measures and acquire such positions, make revolutionary speeches, take power, establish dual power, as easy as that. We can already do all that. This is what stimulates the decision, the strength, the resistance, the determination, to take power in the whole world, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Such is the result of this necessity of the camp of the revolution, which has neither the consciousness nor the strength to express itself, and of which the Moscow Conference is an echo. This conference is not a joke, it is the echo of this necessity. It is enough to see the formidable dissimilarity of the discussion. Bresnev, who was speaking after Berlinguer, stood up to say: "Take power in Italy", and Berlinguer had to deny desperately that he did not want this. Two days before, neither one nor the other knew what he was going to say. One like the other had to come out on certain things because, among other things, there is Vietnam, Syria, Sudan, Peru the Argentinian civil war, the driving out of Rockefeller, things which are objectively impelling forces, hitting this Congress with things that they did not have an interest to discuss previously. All this was neither in Bresnev's head nor Berlinguer's nor in any of their former tests.

It is the first time that the Soviet bureaucracy says, "It is necessary to take power" and for that, we must make a revolution, we must sweep capitalism away. It is the first time that a bureaucracy speaks in this way and Berlinguer must escape it. He acts as if he were not hearing, not seeing anything.

Such events happen when the impulse and the strengths of the revolution are infinitely more powerful than all the apparatuses. Those apparatuses, still, are existing. But in the events of any country whether we speak of Sudan, of Nigeria, or any other country of Africa or Europe everything which elevates the revolutionary struggles is the result of this world relationship of forces, whose power is such that it allows the NLF to set itself up as a revolutionary power.

Rumania, which used a thousand tactics not to break away from Israel, which did not break away, and which still maintains some relations must now recognise immediately the South Vietnamese Revolutionary Government, that is, to confront directly imperialism, and in the last instance, must submit to the resolution of forces directed by the Soviet bureaucracy. Rumania had to vote for the resolution concerning the retreat of Israel from the occupied Arabic zones. Such is the concentrated process of the revolution. It is not however concentrated in a directed, co-ordinated and centralised way.

The revolution unfolds empir-

ically but more and more, it is the programmatic form which advances and elevates in an increasing and overall way, with precise outlines.

These programmatic forms express themselves not in one or other revolution but in a partial way in one or the other. Where the expression of this programmatic necessity is the most concentrated, is in those centres which can discuss, decide, and who have interest in doing so. So it is with the Moscow Conference. This Conference discussed in a concentrated way the existence of the forces, their organisation, and the solution of the final settlement of accounts.

Neither Breznev, nor Berlinguer, nor Rochet none of the Communist Parties leaders had these intentions of discussion. This meeting was held in the worst possible moment for capitalism, that is at a time where it cannot find anything for it to grab hold of, nothing. The initial objectives were in relation to the inter-bureaucratic disputes as the case of Czechoslovakia. But already, in this stage, such disputes are not settled within the apparatus any more.

The Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies must take into account, in their struggles, the world revolution, the communist parties, the Workers States, the will of the masses to take power particularly in S. Vietnam. The discussion, inter-bureaucratic disputes are not decided by such and such a bureaucrat anymore or by China or the USSR. It is the world revolution which decides. We can take the example of the struggles that they began over the boundaries problem which is just the struggle that they use as an excuse to justify a policy of robbery, of regionalism, as a defence of regionalism in the name of socialism, a policy they have had to abandon.

THE BUREAUCRACY CANNOT CARRY OUT ITS  
POLICY OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE ANY LONGER.

The Moscow Conference did not discuss the eventual invasion of China or the eventual necessity to defend Russia against China. The Conference agreed on a programme of struggles against imperialism. For the first time in history since the Communist International they discussed in the name of socialism, even if this discussion consists of a consiliatory policy, conciliatory attempts, in the framework of "peaceful co-existence". But this peaceful co-existence becomes every time more armed and less peaceful. It is the struggle for socialism. At the previous stage peaceful co-existence was the means to seek to contain strikes, revolutions, the mass movements. There was the base for peaceful co-existence. It was conciliation. Now this co-existence is becoming armed, Berlinguer himself has been obliged to declare that the presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, prevents new aggressions against the Arab states. This is "armed co-existence". Previously it was not so.

In the past, on the contrary there were the orders given to the Communist Parties. "Stop, do not do that; do not frighten the ally, do not impress him!" All this is not the result of a change in the communist leadership, but of the level attained by the world revolution. This level obliges the bureaucratic leaderships, starting with bureaucratic considerations and manoeuvres, to take this level into account even if the bureaucracy does not have the strengths necessary to direct and decide consciously. The bureaucracy without abandoning its intentions, cannot carry out its policy any longer.

The most significant fact consists in the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. This position of the Soviet bureaucracy obliges it to defend the revolution, the governments and the revolutionary movements that confront imperialism, and they are emboldened to constitute themselves as the power. It is a direct stimulus for them. Although Moscow does not want it, and although the Soviet bureaucracy does not intend to spread and generalise the struggle, yet, it insists on the struggle by such an attitude. There is an impulsion there. Breznev does not propose the taking of power does not intend to declare, does not intend to stimulate the taking of power in Italy and in France. In order to maintain his authority and dispute it with the Italian Communist Party, in order to seek for alliances with the Italian masses and pressurise Italian capitalism, and in order to present himself as an alternative, he had to take such a position. Previously it was working the other way. For example, they were openly seeking for an alliance with De Gaulle. This decision of Moscow indicates that the policy of blackmail, of agreements, of exchanges and links does not work any longer, and that it is finished.

If they call for the taking of power in France, it is because they are breaking with the previous policy. It is not that they are disposed for such a change. It is clear that there is there an element of blackmail. But what blackmail? Formerly, the blackmail was serving the maintenance of an alliance with one sector of capitalism, in order to crush the Communist Party of France, and to prevent the vanguard from taking power. But this time they must blackmail by calling for power!

The historical conditions have not fundamentally changed. They are the same as one year ago. We can even say that one year ago, they were better than today; mainly in France. But one year ago, the Soviet bureaucracy intervened to crush the masses. And now in less favourable conditions than then, it says: "take power." It is not that its intentions have changed but it is obliged to do so.

The revolutionary forces seek to give a programmatic impulse in a more concentrated way every time. In a programmatic and concentrated way means that the decisive centres are going to be where the forces are most concentrated. The NLF, Peru, Rockefeller, have a local importance, a regional one, and are in a very important way useful to impel and develop, at a local, regional scale, by zones, the revolutionary forces. But all this has its response immediately in the centre. And the centre must respond in recognising the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the NLF, making the Moscow Conference play the role

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that they are making it play. Before this, there has been the 1st of May in Moscow.

Any important event which impels the revolution is not dispersed in the hands of a small group any longer. It impels immediately and organically and programmatically the revolution. This necessity of the programmatic forms of the revolution expresses itself in the Moscow Conference. Neither the Soviet bureaucracy nor the Workers States nor the Communist Parties of France or Italy, intend to impel the revolution. But this necessity expresses itself in Moscow. It becomes more and more necessary at this stage of history to co-ordinate, to unify, to plan the Workers States and the Communist Parties. There, is the base for unification, for alliance, for the relations between these in order to get ready for the final settlement of accounts. This is an inescapable need. The Soviet bureaucracy has neither the capacity nor the interest nor the preoccupation to answer it, to the extent that its own interests do not urge it to do so. But the interests of the bureaucracy are not independent of the development of the revolution and of the Workers States. The development of the Workers States, is a part of the world revolutionary process and this in a fundamental manner.

### THE NECESSITY FOR A PROGRAMMATIC CENTRE OF THE REVOLUTION

Moscow reflects and expresses, not the decision of the Soviet bureaucracy or of the communist parties, but the necessity for a programmatic centre of the world revolution. Nobody spoke in this conference as an agent of conciliation with capitalism. Nobody! The conciliatory positions put forward have been within the framework of the camp of the revolution. This is different to the previous stage. It is quite clear that the bureaucracy has not developed nor proposed any revolutionary policy. It is enough to see the final document. It has not proposed any revolutionary policy, but it has been forced to propose revolutionary solutions for France and Italy, for example. This is also what the German delegate proposed.

One of the essential bases of this discussion has been to establish in a clear way that the bureaucracy is disposed to confront imperialism and all those tendencies conciliatory with capitalism. It has done it in a distorted fashion, but it has had to echo the necessities of the political revolution, in the struggle against the tendencies which have emerged from and been developed by the bureaucracy itself and which today separate themselves from the Workers State, which preach for a market economy, for self management, autonomy of enterprises, for direct relations with capitalism. This is a result of bureaucratic management, bureaucratic functioning, the existence of the bureaucracy. This has given birth to this social base which today speaks for the market economy, for autonomy, and self management for the enterprises which become more and more capitalist.

But apart from declarations against this policy, in particular by the German, Bulgarian, Polish, Czech, Soviet, Cuban and also the French and Italian delegates, they have not put forward any real political resolution, any programme, or brought out any text destined to combat these sectors.

Such a struggle in defence of the Workers States, against the pro-capitalist tendencies, against pro-capitalist measures, has not been present, in any other Conference. But nevertheless they have not brought out the least programme to oppose these elements. In Czechoslovakia the Soviet bureaucracy wanted to fight against the right wing tendencies; they did it by the sending of troops. But the most important result is that it has given birth to a process of discussion which is gradually rising, and which cannot be controlled, either politically or socially. All this is in process of escaping from their control. Also they must maintain the troops there, which is not convenient to them for they are also partly escaping from their control. They are not there solely for Ota Sik, but also to prevent and foresee any development of revolutionary tendencies. The troops are no longer in the country to oppose the right wing tendencies, but to reinforce the team which has been put there and reinforce its alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy, to prevent the development of forces which they don't control and which will stimulate the left tendencies.

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The bureaucracy cannot in any way, control all this any longer. This process escapes all their possibilities of dominating it. It has given birth to a situation which they cannot control. The only means which remain to them to try to contain, is to oppose it with the programme of socialist development and of proletarian democracy, the programme of the soviets. There are no other means. If proletarian democracy - or as they say in an erroneous fashion, socialist democracy - existed in the Workers States, there would not be the need for any repression, either police, or military. It would be sufficient simply to be based on the functioning of this and of the Soviets.

To speak of socialist democracy is not correct. Lenin, and Trotsky and we ourselves today, sometimes employ this term, as a means of vulgarisation, of propaganda. The correct term is proletarian democracy, which indicates the democracy which comes from the proletariat. It signifies that one can speak, discuss, resolve, and approve everything that suits the progress of society towards socialism, and oppose all that does not suit it. Proletarian democracy does not allow, does not accept any force, any movement, any organism, any intervention, verbal or written, which goes against the Workers State. But contrary to the capitalist state, it does not oppose anything by the strength of weapons, but with the massive intervention of the population, through the soviets.

At the base of soviet functioning, there is proletarian democracy which allows all the population to intervene, to decide, to discuss and to resolve. There exists in Poland, a Catholic movement which got 5 seats in the last elections. It is a movement which accepts socialism because it cannot avoid it. The government accepts them providing they agree with the socialist structure of Poland. We say that this is a real lie, and that, they do not agree. This has nothing to do with proletarian democracy. It is an alliance with one sector of capitalism. The Polish bureaucracy associates itself with those groups, allows them to associate themselves to the Workers State, to participate in spite of their particular agrarian interests, conciliating with the defence which they make of the small agrarian type of exploitation.

Such groups do not bring anything to the Workers State: not a single idea. All their interests are against it. Their way of thinking, of deciding of orientating is against the Workers State. They have group interests, and are in no way useful to the Workers State, neither economically nor socially nor politically. None of their ideas, their judgements, their preoccupations suit it. All that they say and do is in relation to their group interests. They only exist in alliance with the bureaucracy, which uses them as a social weight. Because if the bureaucracy were eliminating them, it would open the way to the intervention of the masses. But the bureaucracy is frightened of the masses. It feels that these, supporting themselves on proletarian democratic functioning, are against it.

In a proletarian democratic functioning, the masses have 1000 ideas, judgments, and bring about forms of social, economic, political and trade union relations that are favourable to the Workers State. The sector of the type of the Catholic one, are in no way a gain either theoretically, or economically, they have nothing, no value, not the least importance. And the Workers State, moreover does not need the capitalist economic, technical or scientific judgments in as

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far as those that the Workers States gives are superior. The Workers State create technical, economic, and scientific forces that are superior to capitalism. There is today not a single reason to associate with a series of types originated in capitalism, contrary to what has been necessary in the first stage of the Russian revolution. The Soviet Union on the other hand, could do it at that time in the extent that a real proletarian dictatorship was functioning. The social weight of the masses was preventing these gentlemen from having any social consequence, any economic functioning.

Nowadays, it is not the same thing. These groups are used as allies, while they do not allow the proletariat to function, to give ideas, to formulate judgments and to propose organisational forms that can impel society towards socialism. The bureaucracy opposes this because it goes against its interests. It does not want the critical judgment of the proletariat, in the extent that it signifies the condemnation of the economic, social and political usurpation of the bureaucracy. But the proletariat does not accept to be left aside, and does not let itself be eliminated.

It is because of this that there is

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no free functioning of the trade unions in any of the Workers States. Only in Yugoslavia, there exists a certain union movement, imposed by internal struggles and by the conditions in which this country had to organise itself. In Cuba also there exists a certain union functioning; but in the rest of the Workers States, there is no independent life of the unions. The proletariat has "factory committees" but they have a totally bureaucratic functioning. It is the bureaucrats who decide, in the name of the committees. There exists no real proletarian functioning. The proletariat does not have any political life, any assembly, any conference, any means to weigh, any means to make its opinions, its thoughts felt, to exchange ideas. It has no means to control and to oppose, to propose economic and political measures favourable to the global interests of society. There is nothing. All the function of the bureaucracy is to draw the proletariat aside from its social and directing role in the society.

## THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE HAD TO DEVELOP IN THE NAME OF THE WORKERS STATES

In spite of all these brakes, and all of this situation, the Moscow Conference had to be held not in the name of the allies of the type of those of the Polish bureaucracy, but the masses of the Workers States. Such a conference does not suit any of the actual allies of the bureaucracy. It is a meeting which intends to try to deal with the essential problems of the preparation of the final settlement of accounts and of the development of the Workers States, but in a bureaucratic way, empirically and superficially. Then, why does it happen in the way it does? When in the same time there is no proletarian life, the proletariat cannot weigh, and its organisms cannot function? How does it happen that in spite of the fact that the proletariat does not participate, does not weigh, does not decide, the Moscow Conference does not propose to discuss how to maintain the relations between Workers State and capitalism? Does not discuss how to ally itself to capitalism? How to deepen the already existing relations? Because these were in fact the objectives of this Conference. It did not occur for the benefit of the proletariat and the revolution. What are the conclusions then? The bureaucracy cannot act in supporting itself on the Libermann's sectors. This meeting had to be made against him.

Without having accepted any conclusive resolution or any revolutionary one, without having launched any appeal for the smashing of capitalism, the bureaucracy, in order to survive not because it transforms itself - finds itself obliged to maintain some relations with the communist parties of the world. It is conscious of the approach of the final settlement of accounts; and under the internal pressure, its boldness may consequently increase. It can increase its audacity, but not transform itself. Exactly like capitalism in Peru, showing that it can go very far, through what the military junta is doing. But it does not transform itself either. It is not going to be this government, as it is, which will take the next measures. A qualitative change is needed. Up to now, it occurred in quantitative changes, gradual changes, as much in relation to Peru as to the Soviet bureaucracy. But this means a stimulus to forces that they cannot control any longer.

The world pressure of the revolution weighs upon this conference. The bureaucracy cannot act and decide any more as it wishes. Its divergences and internal struggles are the index showing the lack of support, of strength, of immediate perspectives. The problems of the internal crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy cannot be solved with such actions as the criminal attempts against the cosmonauts, or the burning of Palach in Czechoslovakia. It is all to the contrary. It is impossible to overthrow the bureaucracy with military conspiracy. The bureaucracy feels that it must defend itself with new means. This is the meaning of the 1st May and of the poster: "Communism will triumph", and of the elimination of the army in the parade and its replacing by the participation of 4 million proletarians and tens of thousands in the workers militias.

One of the slogans of the 1st of May has been "Imperialism must be crushed", when in the other 1st of Mays, the central slogan had been the one of "peaceful co-existence". This determination of co-existence did not disappear, but they must add to it the necessity of overthrowing imperialism. Two slogans and contradictory orientations, that face each other, question each other about their respective chances to triumph. The same for what Breznev said to Berlinguer

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about the necessity to take power in France and Italy. This has nothing to do with Liberman and Co...

So, all the contradictions of the bureaucracy are accumulating, and their content acquires such a structure that it is already impossible to control them. This is why the bureaucracy is obliged to yield. Other bureaucratic layers are arising in this contradictory content, directly linked with this stage of history and, which are impelled to recognise the Provisional Revolutionary Government in S. Vietnam, to send the Soviet fleet along the Middle East coasts. This process of concentration does not yet express itself globally in the policy of the bureaucracy. It is hardly the beginning of this process. The discussions in the Moscow Conference are an index of the power of the movement that impels this crisis.

A high expression of the world scale dual power is the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in S. Vietnam. It is the armed dual power, in the middle of a war. Such are the forms that the revolution takes at this stage. This is why comrade Posadas insists so much on showing that the revolution does not have definite forms. It has principles and objectives, but no forms. In South Vietnam it is presenting itself under armed dual power. And the Soviet bureaucracy is obliged to support this duality. It does not even support a certain people, it does not simply defend the Vietnamese people against North American imperialism, it directly supports the sort of dual power that signifies the advance towards the overthrow of capitalism in Vietnam.

Even if the Provisional Revolutionary Government in S. Vietnam speaks of democracy, of neutrality, of peace, it is not this which can decide, but the masses who have arms in hand. It is not an established bourgeois government that speaks that way, but a government originated and immersed in the revolutionary and armed struggle of the masses, having revolutionary popular committees for points of support. These words of peace, neutrality, democracy, cannot be translated into capitalist deeds. Power is in the hands of a thousand small local governments, arms in hand! It is the gun that will determine the kind of democracy that will be applied. This attitude of the Provisional Revolutionary Government even though it is a conciliatory one, aiming at co-existence with some layers of the bourgeoisie in order to try to break the capitalist front, is not an illicit manoeuvre, but, nevertheless it holds the revolution back, in as far as it is not necessary, and makes imperialism win time.

If it directly called on the masses to occupy all the lands, all this would be over. Imperialism would be definitively crushed and without delay. Already it begins to distribute lands and share them out. This is the type of democracy that is in process of being set up.

The revolutionary policy cannot accommodate itself to the policy of "market economy". They clash with each other. It is the first time that, in the Workers States, the bureaucracy calls for the overthrow of capitalism, for a united front against imperialism, and that it celebrates the struggles against it. It is the first time since the time of the "Communist International". This turning ones back on the market economy. The political and social forces which impose such a policy, neither support nor impel any sort of market economy. There is an antagonistic contradiction and not simply a positive contradiction rooted in a process of accumulation from quantity into quality. One must elim-

inate the other, because they are incompatible.

Or else, the market economy must prolong itself in a policy of alliance, in conciliation with the capitalist system, or else, it must give room for the policy of struggle against imperialism letting the forces develop that go against it. In order for the market economy to maintain itself, it needs a social expansion and the corresponding political extensions. It is what Engels theorised when he wrote. "Politics, are concentrated economy", this, to the extent that politics reflect economic interests and develop them.

This Moscow Conference expresses in a concentrated form that forces other than those expressed by the planners, the market economy promoters, are developing. The forces that turn their backs on capitalism and imperialism. All those bureaucrats have no interest to impel the world revolution, but in order to maintain themselves at this stage, they have no other remedy than to take

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this solution. This indicates that there exists inside the Soviet Union, and in all the Workers States, forces that are capable of impelling the layers and the sectors of the bureaucracy most linked to the working class, to the proletariat, to the base of the army, to the unions, to some layers of the union apparatus, to some intellectuals, who feel the war coming.

These sectors see the preparation of the war and, instead of ignoring it, as before, they elevate, on the contrary their decision to confront it. They reflect a confidence which is coming from below them, from the working class and from the world development of the revolution that penetrates as far as Moscow. They feel, among other things Peru, the Italian strikes, France, the French "May". This Moscow meeting is an index, not the representation, but an index of the existence of forces very superior, that are not represented in this meeting.

The last world meetings which they have arranged discussed how to conciliate with capitalism. The Rumanians, have they not obtained loans directly from imperialism? Have they not direct contacts with it? They continue moreover to have them; the best proof is the trip of Nixon. The Yugoslavs and the Poles also. All have direct relations with capitalism which marks a rupture of the monopoly of foreign trade. All have taken and take economic measures which tend to break the structure of the Workers State. But so that the measures can affirm themselves, develop their effects, they must be accompanied by a corresponding policy. Now this Conference defines a contrary policy which destroys it.

THE BUREAUCRACY MUST DEFEND ITSELF FROM TROTSKYISM TAKING  
IN SPIITE OF ITSELF MEASURES WHICH IMPEL THE REVOLUTION

There is no appeal to the mobilisation of the masses, an appeal to the soviets, but the measures taken stimulate such conclusions. There is to be found an expression of the existent maturity and demands for a maturing even more superior. These necessities have existed already for years but today there begins to exist the possibility that they can express themselves through groups and tendencies. A first expression is given through the inter-bureaucratic disputes and in the Communist Parties. There appears constantly the name of Trotskyism, not as an enemy or someone accused but as a danger against which the bureaucracy must defend itself. Not as a danger from the other camp but from the camp of the revolution.

The Bulgarian delegate who made one of the best interventions in the sense of its anti-capitalist character - which does not mean to say that all that he said was good - in the sense of revolutionary conclusions, has said accusing the Chinese "these are Maoist Trotskyists". A short time afterwards in a broadcast of Radio Peking addressed to Latin America, the Conference of Moscow was accused of "betraying the Russian revolution made by Lenin and Stalin against Trotsky and Bukharin who were wrong". This was all, no insult, attack or culummies.

When they must defend themselves from Trotskyists in a meeting it is because they are aware that Trotsky is at the centre of the discussions, that tendencies, develop, forces develop towards Trotskyism.

All that they are in process of discussing does not favour the policy of the market economy. The Conference does not give it either political or social base, is far from sustaining it and makes it on the contrary retreat. Such a policy goes directly against the line of the autonomous planning of the enterprises, of the autonomy of enterprises.

If this Conference must beware of Trotskyism it is because the discussion that they are undertaking in one way or another, sustains promotes, impels the struggle of tendencies in the Communist Parties, and in the Workers States, a struggle which they cannot control or dominate. And the bureaucracy finds in process of stimulating what it wanted to block! It has thrown to capitalism a series of bridges with the object of containing the mounting wave of the political revolution and these

## THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE .....

bridges fall now in the void, in the measure that a series of forces develop themselves that they are not able to control. We are no longer in the time of Stalin or of the line to Kennedy. The bureaucracy already cannot control or dominate the forces which advance towards the revolution.

After all the efforts which have been made to reach negotiations between the Yankees and Vietnam, they have taken a historic decision in this Conference; out with the Yankees and this without concessions unconditionally. That goes against the line which they have held for years where they were going to accept that the troops remain in Vietnam. Today they must do quite the opposite. Why? What is it that has worked the change? Certainly not the fact of a new understanding or maturity on their part. It is the force of the revolution, it is the decision of the Vietnamese masses to continue the struggle until the end without concessions. Thus the process and the structure and the camp of the revolution, can now no longer be submitted to or dominated by the decisions of the bureaucracy. It is on the contrary the latter which must adopt such resolutions, which it is not of course disposed to support with a revolutionary policy.

It cannot do so, it has no interest. It is no less obliged to take this type of decision which favours and impels the revolution. Before, it did quite the contrary. It cannot control or dominate what is going to express itself in the formation of left wings in the Communist Parties. But differently from the past, these left sectors are going to feel what was said in Moscow: "Maoist Trotskyist; " that is to say the necessity of the programme, of the policy, of the revolutionary security which they do not have. And it is also for this reason, that until the present the left has not been present.

We must insist again on the character of this process: this conference of Moscow represents a force infinitely superior to all the speeches, to all the objectives already proclaimed, and to all the resolutions that it will possibly take. The organisation of the Conference had the discussion of the interbureaucratic divergences as an objective, but it transformed itself into a discussion against imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucracy and the Chinese confronted each other at the

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frontiers, but they weakened each other. They showed to the working class of the world which type of socialism they presented. They disputed their frontiers like any capitalist country and the world proletarian vanguard intervened to say "stop it". The confrontation ceased, not because Breznev and Mao Tse Tung decided so, but, because in one country as in the other, the masses refused such a conflict of boundaries. Thus the participation of the masses was shown.

In this process of participation of the masses Trotskyism appears, not as a simple mention but as linked to China, which represents in the eyes of all the bureaucrats assembled in Moscow, the left wing, the ultra left wing. They do not link Trotsky and Mao Tse Tung in order to threaten, but in order to underline the danger of a living reality.

At the same moment when they must take measures that make the revolution advance, they must say in order to hold back; "look out for Trotskyism". Such is the contradiction in which the bureaucracy is. It is the same contradiction as capitalism, which, in order to advance must hit imperialism, but on the other hand, cannot stay at that stage, as shown in Peru. The masses do not want to stay at that stage, they want to carry on, they have the bad idea not to want to remain seated! These are the contradictions of the bureaucracy at this stage.

One of the most beautiful moments of this stage of history is to see that the revolution, without a centre, without centralised direction, without centralised forces, has the power to oblige them to centralise themselves. This Conference obliged them to meet. They did 1,000 manoeuvres to evade and escape it, to give 1,000 excuses, as many as they are, but they had to meet. Neither imperialism, nor they themselves really knew what was going to happen in that Conference. At the same moment, the same week, there happened the Rockefeller trip, the Peruvian revolution, where we see police chiefs saying that Socialism is a good thing. The bourgeoisie will attempt to say to those people; "watch it, we did not place you there to speak like that", But they answer, "it is not you who placed us here, but the people."

The civil war unfolds in Argentina,  
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has been decisively replaced by all the masses in a united front against the Ulster bourgeoisie. One can speak of "interior entrism" among people who were attracted by Paisely and now ignore him, concentrating on attacks on private property. The violence of the police against both Catholics and Protestants shows their realisation that the religious card is played out and there is a confrontation of the masses against the bourgeoisie; hence the brutal frenzy of the police. In the last issue of Red Flag we referred to Chichester Clark's speech saying Ulster could be a new Cuba, we repeat that, to say that Ulster could be a new Cuba is to say that Great Britain as a whole is on the way to the obliteration of capitalism, to the erection of a WORKERS STATE. But this process still requires the necessity to develop the leadership in the Labour Party, the necessity to build the united front of the masses on the anti-capitalist programme. VIVA THE ULSTER MASSES. FULL SUPPORT FOR THE ULSTER MASSES IN THE FORM OF A 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE ON THE BASIS OF THE DEMANDS FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME, THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL BRITISH TROOPS, WITH APPEALS FOR THE UNIFICATION OF IRELAND, WITH APPEALS TO THE TUC, THE LABOUR PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, TO SUSTAIN THESE DEMANDS.

Impelled constantly by the world revolutionary process, the course leading to the final encounter between the forces of imperialism and the forces of the world socialist revolution, sectors of the proletariat constantly intervene, this can be seen in the Port Talbot strike whose class content greatly extends beyond the form of wage demands. It is an expression of the workers constantly seeking to impel the struggle of the masses as a whole against capitalism, seeking for the anti-capitalist programme, seeking to impel the revolutionary tendency in the unions and in the LP. In the absence of the maturing of these currents the proletariat uses industrial struggles as a means of constantly centralising and fortifying the will of the class. Extremely important aspects of this formidable strike are dealt with in another article in this issue. The confidence of the proletariat is sustained by its consciousness that imperialism and capitalism are weak. A relatively small union such as the Postal Engineers go on strike and they win a 10% wage increase. Recently in face of the possibility of evictions by the GLC of tenants who refused to pay rent increases, a spokesman of the tenants said that they would receive the support of the unions and a general strike would be launched in the event of evictions. All this shows the spirit of the masses; and the line of the general strike is the line of Trotskyism, the Posadista line of the IV International. But all this massive accumulation of class feeling, this rapid process as in Ulster, of confrontations, the

actual content of the process, requires the appropriate forms and this is the central problem for the proletarian and petit bourgeois masses won for the revolution. The central problem is to impel the political life in the Labour Party, and to organise the factory committees, to give an answer to the demands of the masses. For years the life of the LP determined by the bureaucratic inertia of the apparatus, has blocked the aspirations of the masses but now with the defeat of Wilsons policy of wage freeze and control of the unions, and the changed relations within the unions, it is necessary to envisage a policy of impelling the political life within the Labour Party, to impel it so that it responds to the needs of the masses who will not abandon their party but will seek to impel it to push the revolutionary wing. To achieve this a variety of methods are necessary, We appeal to the current which is developing in the unions, particularly noticeable in the TGWU, to put forward an extensive anti-capitalist programme to be taken up within the Labour Party. The demands for greater participation of the shop stewards in the discussion of wage demands and the need for mass meetings of workers is indicative of the tremendous proletarian force at work in the unions - predicted by Cde. J. Posadas - but it is necessary to give this pressure for proletarian democracy a programme of demands which impel the revolutionary current in the Labour Party, demands for the overall planning of the economy on the basis of the nationalisation of all the key industries without compensation, and under workers control, all the profits of automation to the workers, all wages to rise with the cost of living, appeals for the unification of the struggles of the Irish and British masses to prepare the way for a revolutionary

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general strike supported by the revolutionary currents in the Labour Party and the trade unions and the communist party etc.

In this process the revolutionary sectors of the communist party impelled by the recent Moscow conference have a key role to play. Sectors of the Communist Party can impel the process in the Labour Party, particularly now with the collapse of peaceful co-existence. We appeal also to the petit bourgeois currents who seek a revolutionary solution, although repelled by the low level of political life in the Labour Party. In these groups, the capitulators of Trotskyism intervene, enemies of Trotskyism, of the Posadistas, but they do not represent these groups, they simply confuse and distract them. Just as in France, a buffoon such as Krivine, in no way represented the petit bourgeois revolutionary sectors. The majority of these were seeking Trotskyism, not a pseudo Trotskyist who put forward no revolutionary programme, indeed called a programme "metaphysical". We appeal to all these groups to examine the ideas of the IV International led by Posadas to impel the revolutionary current in the Labour Party and in the unions. And in this light we renew our appeal to Bernadette Devlin who objectively plays a Trotskyist role in this situation. We appeal to her to put forward an elevated anti-capitalist programme to realise that the spirit of the British masses is identical with that of the Ulster masses but the conditions of expression are different and it is necessary to impel the revolutionary current in the Labour Party and in the trade unions and in this sense it is possible to combine extra parliamentary appeals with appeals within parliament to impel the political life within the Labour party. We support her appeals for unity between Catholic and Protestant workers but it is necessary to give a clear revolutionary perspective and programme and we appeal to her to act in a United front with the IV International.

All the process of the polarisation of forces within Great Britain is in line with the course of the process leading to the final settlement of accounts. The

Workers States become increasingly aggressive in relation to imperialism. The Soviet fleet enters the Caribbean, Nixon visits a series of capitals with no other objective than to prepare the way for the nuclear war - the trip has no other conceivable perspective. And without doubt a sector of the Red Army is prepared to take preventive action against imperialism at any moment by pressing the button. Castro's support for the measures of the Junta in Peru shows the maturing of the Cuban leadership, its readiness to advance to seek links with the whole world revolution. And Castro's readiness to advance is impelled by the direct intervention of the IV International in Peru and Cuba. Rodriguez one of the leaders of the Cuban communist party expressed many points of agreement with the Peruvian section of the IV International and through him the ideas

of the International were present in the Moscow Conference of Communist Parties. We reiterate these points because they show the enormous concentration of the world revolutionary process which demands the revolutionary leadership based on the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme. The initiative lies more and more with the masses. In this country as we have explained above, it is necessary to take advantage of this favourable situation by concentrating all the revolutionary forces to impel the current in the Labour Party and the trade unions. The British masses are preparing to take power, as are the masses in Italy and France for example. Forward with the anti-capitalist programme united to the factory committees and the revolutionary current in the LP and the trade unions.

FOR A 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE TO SUPPORT THE ACTIONS OF THE MASSES OF ULSTER:

OUT WITH ALL THE BRITISH TROOPS FROM N. IRELAND

UNITE THE STRUGGLES OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH WORKERS ON THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.

6th August, 1969

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VIVA THE SUPPORT OF THE CUBAN  
WORKERS STATE TO THE MEASURES  
TAKEN IN PERU.

# 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 Polar's 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 PORT TALBOT STRIKE Contd from page 13

cess going on throughout the working class; a renovation of the organisations, or the building of new ones, without ever breaking from the unions but replacing old conservative shop stewards and delegates by younger more aggressive ones.

We salute this new leadership which has emerged but at the same time fraternally criticise its limitations. There have been no appeals to other sectors for sympathy strikes etc. no attempts to elevate the demands and extend them outside the limits of the blastfurnacemen's struggle. Thus programmatically they isolate themselves from the rest of the class when they could have acted as a leadership for all the masses of the area. In the sense that they encourage and impel the struggle, and show what possibilities exist, they are acting as a leadership, but not consciously with a programme.

We appeal to this leadership to elevate their demands, demanding workers control of the factory, all profits of automation, equal pay for women etc. demands that can be adopted by other sectors. It must appeal to the working class for support and appeal to the L.P. the T.U.'s and the C.P. for support because this will be a stimulus to the construction of revolutionary wings within these organisations. This strike has shown that the bureaucracy can be defeated. The left in the L.P. in the unions must use it as a point of support in their struggle against the bureaucracy. All this must be discussed in the L.P. putting it in the context of the world revolution, in order to construct the new revolutionary leadership.

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# Viva the new offensive of the Vietcong

Without the Party  
we are nothing.  
With the Party we  
are all, all, all.

— Trotsky

## Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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



NO. 96

AUGUST 25th. 1969

SIXPENCE

## Resolution of the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International

# Out with British Troops from Ulster

## For a 48 hour General Strike in support of the Irish masses.

The present uprising of the exploited masses in Northern Ireland marks a new leap forward in the advance of the world revolution. It is another phase in the approach towards the final settlement of accounts between imperialism and the world masses. Stimulated by the advance of the masses of Vietnam, the Arab masses in the Middle East, the Negro masses in the U.S.A., the proletariats of France and Italy, and by the increasing confidence of the British proletariat after the Ford strike, the Leyland strike, the Port Talbot strike, and the failure of the Wilson government to push through the 'penal clauses', the riots break out in Ulster, not as an old quarrel between protestants and catholics, but an example of the world exploited masses, showing their hatred for capitalism and the bourgeoisie with the most violent methods possible. As Cde. Posadas has analysed the revolution does not have definite forms, it has principles and objectives, but no definite forms. And thus the struggle, which is taking place in Ireland now is the struggle for the taking of power, and the reunification of Ireland on a soviet socialist basis. The process has passed the stage of simply a struggle for better housing, of equal voting rights, full employment etc., these the masses still demand, but more and more they become conscious that all their problems will only be solved by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and the setting up of a Workers and Peasant government in a unified Ireland, and thus it becomes clear, that now it is a battle for who controls Ireland, the bourgeoisie or the masses.

Capitalism and imperialism have lost their social base in N. Ireland, and the old system of divide and rule, setting the catholic and protestant masses against each other has failed miserably, and even though sectors of the bourgeois press still try to maintain that it is a religious struggle, they are forced to report at the same time that all the major clashes have been by the masses against the police. It is clearly a battle against the bourgeoisie and its agents in Ulster, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) the 'B' Specials and now the army of British Imperialism.

In all the battles throughout Ulster

But even though they show that they assimilate the experiences of the world revolution, the main problem, which faces the masses of Ulster is that there is no conscious revolutionary leadership of the masses nor are all the masses organised into any mass workers party, as for instance the Labour Party or the mass Communist Parties of France and Italy. The need in Ulster is for a conscious leadership with a revolutionary programme with demands, which will take the struggle from the stage which it is at now, to the taking of power, and the unification of a Soviet Socialist Ireland.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International appeals to the Peoples Democracy movement, to the working class and student vanguard, to the NILP, ILP, the nationalist and I.R.A. leadership in the South to discuss a programme and act as a leadership in this stage. For an overall understanding of the world process it is necessary to read and discuss all the latest documents of Cde. Posadas and the IV International, and we urge all these organisations to form a united front between themselves and with the IV International on the basis of a programme of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist demands, which will unite North and South, catholic and protestant workers.

The intervention of the government of Eire in this confrontation is another stimulus to the masses of Ulster, despite the intentions of Lynch and the Southern Irish bourgeoisie who hoped in this way to maintain their authority and control over the process; previously Lynch and his predecessors had done everything possible to conciliate with the governments of N. Ireland and Great Britain, particularly over the question of partition in order not to arouse any unrest both in the North and South. But now obviously pressed by the masses of Eire

the masses have shown vivid examples of revolutionary ingenuity; the improved and speedy construction of barricades, the additives in, and the improved aiming of the petrol bombs, the methods of combating the tear gas, all show how once the masses are mobilised, all their creative capacity comes into play with suggestions being put forward, and discussed by all sectors of the population, from the children helping to make and throw the petrol bombs to the so-called old people and the women playing as active a role as the men. Obviously the experience of May in France has been well absorbed by the masses of Ulster.

he is forced to intervene, to interfere directly in the situation and make statements, which will have revolutionary repercussions. Although his proposals are bourgeois, an intervention by the U.N. peace keeping force etc., the mobilisations of the army, the setting up of field hospitals, and the proposal to begin talks on the reunification of Ireland are acting as an enormous stimulus to the masses. These proposals come directly as a result of interior entrism, which as Cde. Posadas and the IV International have analysed is a process where the masses

of the workers parties, the nationalist parties put forward revolutionary proposals, make revolutionary demands, demands of the IV International, and push the leaderships of their organisations to accept and adopt these demands.

The masses of Eire must give all the support they can to the masses of Ulster; and they show that they are ready to give this support. Demonstrators in Dublin have demanded arms to go to

fight in the North, and sectors of the student population have called for the final settlement of the problem of partition. The I.R.A. is opening up recruiting centres for volunteers to fight in the North, and when the I.R.A. say they are not against the protestants, that there are protestants in their ranks, and when they say that they want a 'United Socialist Ireland' this is yet another proof that the struggle is not religious but social.

We appeal to the revolutionary nationalist currents in the army of Eire, not to limit their actions to the opening of field hospitals, but to put themselves at the service of the revolutionary masses of the North, giving all Military, Scientific and Technical aid possible, organising the occupied territories, passing over arms and ammunition, and giving the masses tuition in using these.

We appeal to the masses of Belfast, of Londonderry and to all the anti-capitalist anti-imperialist masses of Northern Ireland, who have taken part in the riots to; maintain their forms of organisation be they formed in their areas of works, of study, or their homes, to keep their arms, their gas masks, to maintain their techniques of making petrol bombs, and erecting barricades, and to form themselves into organised WORKERS MILITIAS.

Militias which will continue to function, linking these with the trade unions and the organisations of the students and Peoples Democracy as a way of elevating and making more permanent the struggle on the basis of the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme. It is essential that they make appeals; to the masses and the army of Eire for all aid possible. To the Workers States, to the U.S.S.R., to China and Cuba in particular for arms, money and technical resources.

An appeal by the masses of Ulster to the Soviet Union would be an enormous impulse to the political revolution in the Workers States. It is also very important for the Ulster masses to make an appeal to the base of the army of occupation of British Imperialism: appealing to the soldiers not to fire on the working masses of Ulster, but to join them in their struggle to win a superior way of life for the masses in the only way possible; by getting rid of capitalism and imperialism, and going forward to a Workers State.

With the indiscriminate shooting by the R.U.C. and the 'B' Specials, which has resulted in the killing of at least 8 people, a new demand is raised, for the setting up of popular tribunals to try those guilty of the assassinations. We appeal to the masses of Ulster to bring revolutionary justice to bear against these representatives of the bourgeoisie. Just as in Pakistan recently, justice was meted out to the old feudal land owners, so now it must be made to function in Ulster; the agents of the bourgeoisie

must not be allowed to get away with these crimes.

We appeal for the organisation of an unlimited general strike in Ireland with occupations of the factories by the workers and their running under workers control. It is necessary to hold mass meetings in the factories to discuss the uprising in the North, the question of partition, the quickest way to achieve the socialist unification of North and South, how to give all the aid possible to the masses of the North, issuing appeals:

To the army to join in the struggle; demanding the immediate disarmament of the RUC, the disbanding of the 'B' Specials; for a crash programme of rehousing to house those made homeless in the fighting, linking these with demands of the working class and poor peasantry, in a programme of The nationalisation of all the main industries without compensation and under workers control; for a national basic living wage to rise with the cost of living; for the expropriation of all the large landowners, the forming of co-operatives, and the collective farming of the land with products to be sold directly to the working class.

We again repeat our appeal to Bernadette Devlin, who has shown in the past days that she is a revolutionary militant. We appeal to her to elevate the programme of the struggle, to reject completely the British troops sent in only after the repressive forces of the Ulster bourgeoisie had failed to uphold bourgeois law and order and the masses were winning. We appeal to her also to use

her seat in Parliament, to make constant interventions in Parliament, not speaking on the rubbish they discuss there, but on the problems of the masses of Ulster and of this country, using Parliament as a platform for revolutionary ideas directing herself at the masses with a programme to satisfy their demands;

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# The social crisis, the basis of the Financial Monetary crisis of capitalism, the process of concentration of capital and the growing weight of the 16 Workers States and the World Revolution. J. Posadas 8. 10. 68.

The Soviets make an extensive plan for agriculture. The Soviet Union and Canada utilise 40% or more of the land to increase production. There is an increase of production, but not of productivity. On the other hand the United States, France and Germany have reduced agricultural land by 30%, and have increased productivity.

If there was in the Soviet Union, Soviet planning, productivity would increase by 100% in five years, 100% simply by changing the planning. Soviet functioning would allow the doubling of production. If there is an increase of production in steel, it is because the bureaucracy is forced to prepare for war.

The Yanks must import steel. Not only special steels. They import them from Japan, where American capital is invested in steel. That does not come to them any less dear. It is done to maintain imperialist politics, political and economic domination.

Today even, by planning the economy, there would be super abundance in the United States. When Trotsky wrote "The living thoughts of Karl Marx", North American capitalism was 90% less in strength than it is now. But in the United States, there are 2½ million unemployed. According to the statistics the number of unemployed has been reduced by a million in three years. These are phoney statistics. For example they do not count the people who are in Vietnam. In Vietnam there are 700,000 soldiers of whom 500,000 are infantry. These statistics are false. It is necessary to consider that there is no reason why they should have reduced unemployment. There is no increase in consumption, which would mean an increase in production. There is a stagnation, because the policy of war devours everything, everything.

All the increase of productivity in the United States is absorbed by the policy of war and by the competition among them. In Europe what is interesting to see is the reduction becoming more and more evident of agrarian properties.

In France one foresees 230,000 families, who will be thrown out of the countryside. Out of 1,900,000, 230,000 are to be thrown out. Everything is concentrated. In France twenty years ago there were five million peasants. In Germany equally, there is a very important reduction of the centre of peasant exploitation, and they bring together peasant plots; a sort of private kolkhoz.

There are no great differences between these systems. The same for the Kibbutz. They are in the last instance a co-operative association, although the co-operative carries a different system of exploitation. In France five years ago they were going to stop importing meat. At the moment France imports meat and wheat. Before she exported it. But this export from France was the most costly in all Europe. A kilo of meat was worth about five dollars. This was ten times more than in the Argentine. The crisis of France is that it does not know where to export wheat. France is in conflict for the moment with Canada, the United States, and even the USSR, which has been exporting wheat for two or three years. The crisis in Canada is expressed by its haste in recognising China. Behind this recognition of China, there is certainly the purchase of five years of wheat harvests.

The agricultural exploitation of the Common Market will enter into crisis in a few years. They are obliged to lower the cost of production, the markets of agricultural production to maintain wages more or less in equilibrium. They charge the peasants to arrive at that. They want also to practice a policy more favourable to commercial exchange; not to depend on purchases in Latin America or Africa. They want to increase more and more the sales among

them, and reduce the commerce with the countries external to the common market. That is going to create for them a serious problem, because they will not be able to go outside it. They concern themselves to manufacture products destined simply for the Common Market. In Germany, on the other hand, they launch themselves towards the external markets in competition with the Yanks, with the USSR.

During this time, the external markets of Africa, Asia, America diminish their purchasing capacity. That creates for them a terrible complex. The capitalist countries are forced to make each year a series of readjustments, to eliminate competition, to concentrate industries, to lower prices for competition, to increase productivity for competition.

That poses in a short stage tendencies in the governments towards military dictatorships. France would seem to be a perfect democracy compared with what is preparing. Their economy leads them to that in a brief delay of five years.

All that leads inevitably in the capitalist countries to an elevation of the crisis in a short stage. They must dismiss people, diminish the labour supply, and as a consequence diminish the market. They must increase production, increase productivity. But who is going to buy from them. It is necessary that they seek markets. The latter are going to be reduced each time more. They must each time more reduce prices and increase sales. Who is going to buy goods? To that is added at present the monetary crisis. They try to resolve it: for example, they all make an agreement; certainly those with the money, can arrange matters. But they have competition among them. The monetary system must serve in every way for the operation of commerce. Money is their way of exchange; it is this which shows their crisis. Money legalises all; their profit, accumulation, the accounts at the bank, all.

Even if the bureaucracy wishes or is able to make concessions, the biggest concessions to conciliate with capitalism, it has only very short perspectives. It is sufficient to see the statistics to realise that the revolutionary general strike of the French proletariat, the strikes of the Italian and British proletariat, have sent to hell all the capitalist plans. They made their plans without taking the masses into account.

Another expression of the crisis is the Italian state, which intervened as productive agent. It intervened each time more as competitor in the private enterprises. The process of dislocation and contradiction within capitalism elevates itself. At the same time as it increases its state power, it weakens private property. Capitalism is without force. There is a dispersion of the capitalist structure. It cannot last much longer. They are forced to go to the war, towards military dictatorships or governments. No one will support a civilian dictatorship. They have to organise directly military dictatorships, to make military coup d'etats.

At the moment where the capitalist economy is going to explode, Mandel writes the "Treatise of Marxist Economy", giving confidence to capitalism. Capitalism is going to collapse soon. But Mandel writes these volumes.

German capitalism, in a short time will have need of a new reconversion to concentrate still more. The agricultural population in Germany is very feeble. But it is a terrible conservative factor. It is composed entirely of small proprietors with a backward mentality. The capitalists try to maintain that, but they do not succeed. They must liquidate and liquidate.

The French are the champions of this policy. Their productive apparatus was among the most artificial and costly in

this stage of history, where they must compete, and lower the costs of production. They have no other way out. The objective of French capitalism is not only to compete in Latin America and Africa. It must urgently lower the costs of production. It cannot do it in spite of all the technical means, which they possess, because their enterprises are small, and do not adapt themselves to technical means. Then follow the crises. The French exploitation is of those who employ the technical means more. However, the reduction of the cost of production is still feeble. They must regroup them to have a better yield: the same tractor can work 40 hectares instead of ten. The machine can work all the time, without interruption, whilst otherwise it remains immobile half the time... These are all the problems, which pose themselves to European agriculture.

European agriculture is intensive whilst in Latin America it is extensive, in the USSR equally. That of Europe has a better yield, thanks to the system of manufacturing; for example also there is only necessary to have ten to twelve days in Europe to harvest wheat, whilst a month is necessary in the Argentine. One eliminates labour, and one avoids the waste, resulting from the fact of leaving the grains for many days exposed to the intemperance of the weather.

## THE EFFECTS OF THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL AT THIS STAGE, AND THE LOSS OF THE SOCIAL BASE OF CAPITALISM

Before, the accumulation of capital meant the increase of the market and of consumption; now the accumulation of capital means a reduction in the market for consumption. There is the increase in the cost of living, the war expenses in particular. It is not a question only of inter-capitalist competition or competition with the Workers States, but the fact that a very great part of the contribution of capitalist enterprises is destined to foment war expenses, the preparation for repression, the counter-revolution, to increase the apparatus of repression, the police, the spies, the arms, the studies, and scientific knowledge for war. It is all that which leads to their increase in productivity, eliminating competition, lowering consumption, unemployment, and thus they weaken themselves socially, even if they develop themselves militarily. But the military power itself does not develop to the same degree that the social pressures elevate themselves.

Such are the consequences of the last stage of capitalism. They will be each time more important. Two years ago we said that production would increase in Italy; but employment and consumption increase very little. It is necessary to see that this increase in production is made in industry and not in agriculture.

Output and productivity increase in the industry, because of the concentration of capital; in particular in a series of steel products. Exports increase also. But the internal market does not increase. They have to do this, because there is a stagnation of the market. Any export policy is limited in time; where are they going to export? The Common Market has already reached its limit. France is the proof of this.

France shows that the Common Market has reached the limit of its internal expansion; it must "reconvert" some industries. It concentrates textiles, steel, car factories, glass, electronic factories. It is continuously, concentration, concentration. This is what it does in the face of this crisis; it does not increase the market, it diminishes competition. And consequently it diminishes the market as well. There is not even any stability

In the Common Market, they work with a very great speed to lower the prices of production in agricultural production, to increase production, to lower prices. They do not increase consumption, because this is not possible for them. They have surpluses of butter, meat, milk, cheese, wheat. For example, for the moment they have a surplus of butter of 40,000 tons. Soon it will be 400,000 tons. They do not know to whom to sell them. They are going to have surpluses in all the milk products. They even propose to kill two million cows in five years, milk yielding cows. That shows the insanity of the capitalist system. They suppress cows, because they must lower the costs of production. They increase the yield of the cow. They give to it a system of particular feeding, and even put it to music. They stimulate production.

But they cannot diminish the prices of production, they cannot do anything more than concentrate. Technical domination no longer serves them. It is the same in industry. The increase of technical means does not succeed any more to diminish the costs of production. They concentrate and eliminate the market, and thus lose one of the social bases of support for capitalism, without increasing the market for consumption.

in the market. These are the perspectives of the capitalist system.

Capitalism in Europe makes plans to reduce the agricultural population. It is doing what it calls "reassembling". It is joining together groups of 4 or 5 families, if they are making good money profits. It is a step to their expropriation in the name of capitalism. They need a great concentration in Europe. All the exploitation in Europe is capitalism. There is not a system of slavery. Everything is capitalist, but the family unit is very extensive; France, Belgium, Italy, Germany; with the exception of England. These little exploitations were one of the bases of support for capitalism. Now they must liquidate it. It has to act empirically; it eliminates what it has in front of it. And now it must suppress this base of support, and this is going to rebound against it. There are some hundreds of thousands of families in this case.

Capitalism is forced to arrive at this because it does not have any other solution to protect the system. And more and more, the most decided sectors of capitalism, the most concentrated, those which dominate the apparatus of the state and the economy, orientate themselves towards the war. These are the perspectives of capitalism.

The development of all the economy of all the capitalist system in Europe, finds its most characteristic expression in the monetary crisis. There is not a strictly monetary crisis. Basically, this is an expression of the economic and social crisis of capitalism, because the relations of capitalism are expressed through economic relations, through money. Capitalism wishes to hide the sense of this crisis. It speaks of the monetary crisis, as if it was a question of the phenomenon of the superstructure, which doesn't reach the base, but is only a small wave, which scarcely touches the surface of the system. It is lie.

The capitalist system shows all its distortions, when they arrive at open public discussions on the crisis of gold, and on the crisis of the Franc, and when the two principle currencies are preparing to be revalued and devalued.

## The social crisis . . .

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This distortion is provoked by the march of the world socialist revolution. And they are not succeeding in opposing it in an adequate fashion, in a united front. They cannot realise this united front, from an economic point of view. The natural contradictions of the capitalist system are still accentuated, deepened by the advance of the socialist revolution, which they do not succeed in containing.

Without the revolution of May in France, there would not have been this monetary crisis, no necessity of devaluation of the currency. We had already foreseen it in June 1968. In our last article on the revolutionary General Strike in France, we said: "This will have as a consequence, an alteration of all the economic relations in France. The strike did not end in a great triumph. It did not overthrow the capitalist system, but it has affected it profoundly. And one of these consequences in a brief delay will be the devaluation of the franc. In fact it was like this. Four months later the devaluation occurred. The accumulation of capital has strongly diminished.

This monetary crisis, which is an expression of the crisis of the capitalist system, and also of the inter-capitalist competition would have provoked the war in other stages. It would have been a sufficient basis for an inter-capitalist war, a war between French Imperialism and Yankee Imperialism, who are in more and more open competition. There is not a declared military war, but there is a price war. They do not make an open war, because they have before their eyes, the Workers States.

This is why the confrontation between them is attenuated. It does not disappear, but it is attenuated. It does not disappear, because there are still some effects in the economy, in the social relations of French Imperialism with the French masses. The French franc is not devalued in the world market, but it certainly is in the internal market. Everything has gone up for the workers. The capitalists must maintain their profit at the expense of; increase in the cost of living of the masses, a greater concentration of capital, of production. There is a perspective of a great concentration of enterprises, of capital, and consequently of sackings, and greater demands on the working class.

This is the consequence of this process. What it is important to demonstrate in all this, is how capitalism is preparing for the final settlement of accounts; all this process of confrontations, of competition and of crisis sharpens in the capitalist system, and does not lead them to damage themselves militarily, but to prepare themselves, with atomic arms to launch themselves against the Workers States and the World Revolution. This is the fundamental conclusion of this crisis. Because of this they invest much more in the preparation of atomic arms, than in economic means, economic competition.

It is obvious that this blow was going to come. One could see it. It has forced capitalism to compress itself more and more. De Gaulle has had to confront a double crisis; the crisis which the liquidation of capitalist enterprises means, the competition with the rest of the Common Market and the Yankees, and the lack of capital to invest, to concentrate the big factories. This constantly creates bases of economic and social pressure, which capitalism is in no condition to confront. They need a minimum of gold reserves, so that the franc remains a convertible, currency, reducible, and accepted currency on a world scale. They need gold reserves and industrial capacity. One can have plenty of reserves, and this money remains without value, if there is no commercial exchange. The Swiss Franc has a great value, because it has a great gold backing, but this currency is not the basis of commercial interchange. It has a financial power, but not a commercial power. On the other hand the French Franc is one of the great currencies with the dollar, the pound, the mark, and the yen.

All this shows the constant crisis of the capitalist system. Even if one does not consider the social crisis of capitalism, this shows the depth of the powerlessness of the capitalist system. It is fundamental to consider this fact; it shows that the Soviet bureaucracy, and

the bureaucracy of the Workers States has no basis for peaceful co-existence or for a policy of conciliation with capitalism. This base is narrowed more and more. It is the same in the United States. The situation of Yankee imperialism is no longer that of the dominating boss of the economy, even considering it from the purely economic point of view. Its investments are directed more and more to the developed countries and less to the colonial countries. It is not only because they are frightened of the revolution, it is because capitalism itself does not have any perspectives.

The capitalist system, is leading, by its logical and natural necessity to reinvest and accumulate, doing it where the capitalist system insures to it a functioning, where there is a stronger government, or certain capitalist perspectives. It does not see any perspective in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is why the larger investments of Yankee imperialism, are now made in Europe or in Canada. In Europe alone there is something like 50,000 millions of dollars. This shows their lack of perspective. This goes against all the tendencies, of the Soviet Union, of the socialists, as of the christian democrats, who are hoping that capitalism could still have a perspective, of development and extension.

On the contrary, on the Soviet side, there is no problem of investment, or of accumulation of capital. But the Soviet bureaucracy as such, not as the Soviet Worker's State, which is the centraliser of the Workers States, which decided in the last instance, is losing its control, its domination, over the other Workers States.

Capitalism needs the large concentration, in order to diminish the price of production, in order to face the competition with the Workers States, the World Revolution, the struggle of the masses and the war expenditure. It must concentrate, concentrate. Everything is concentrated in the hands of a small nucleus. Then the Communists launch themselves towards all those bourgeois sectors that are being displaced. They say to them; "Hi, we are here!" But in the same time it pulls them away from the bourgeoisie. It is not the same thing as "the 4 classes", of the Chinese. The bourgeoisie, can no longer have the same pretension as before. The communist leaderships are conscious of its decomposition, and say; "We are trapping them, we are manoeuvring and we are destroying them all at once.

Today the concentration is enormous. According to the statistics of the Yanks, in ten years time half of the medium size enterprises are going to disappear. In fact they are mistaken, because all of them are going to disappear. The policy of the Communist Party in defence of small industries, can no longer have the same effect as in the period of the Chinese. Today there are 16 Workers States; capitalism is in dissolution, and the masses are advancing. Thus all the sectors have infinitely less weight than before the revolution. The policy of the communists remains a reformist and conciliatory policy. But the damaging effects are much less than before.

The crisis of the capitalist system means that Yankee Imperialism does not control the capitalist system. It is US Imperialism which commands, which has more weight and which, in the last instance, determines; but it does not control the functioning of the capitalist system. In the competition with the other capitalist states it has to give way. It is no longer the one which dominates. The arrival of the US 'Green Berets' hasn't an importance, because of their number, but because of their objectives. US Imperialism sees that the revolution is coming to Europe. They don't have confidence in the European bourgeoisie. Their arrival is a blow against the European bourgeoisie. They feel the approach of the Revolution. If they want to come with their 'Green Berets' that is their affair.

No capitalist country of Europe has any economic or social stability, even in Holland, where the queen seem to be capable of crushing everything in her way, and not letting anyone breath, a

very great crisis is prepared. Yet this is one of the most stable capitalist countries, more stable than Germany.

The problem is that capitalism on a world scale, under the leadership of the Yankees needs greater investments than those which it is actually making. This means a collapse of the currency. They are forced to devalue the price. It is the world expense of the war and the normal crisis of the capitalist system. But to this crisis is added the war expenses.

The Yankees and the British can force the Germans to invest in the war expenditure. The stability of the German currency is completely fictitious. At any moment the Yanks and the British can force them to invest. German currency is going to the devil.

The polemic is about money. The latter accomplishes a fundamental function in the capitalist system. The currency crisis signifies an economic instability which provokes a malaise, an explosion, and social commotions. All this provokes in them a situation, which they cannot dominate. They wish to maintain a certain control over it. The consequences of this are not fundamentally economic, but social. They spend 40% of the national revenue, and there is a series of world expenses, which they can no longer put up with. The Argentinian bourgeoisie, for example, which says to the yankees; "You want to force us to make expenditures for you. But we, we want an anti-communism that would be in our interest, not in yours." When the Argentinian bourgeoisie dares to confront imperialism, and competes with it in this aspect, it is because it feels that the economy goes to the devil.

"Clarín" declares that they need a greater economic freedom, and attacks the O.A.S., in full crisis. In full crisis with Czechoslovakia, they declared: After all, we establish relations with the whole world, we want to trade with everybody. Costa Mendes was saying that "he was disposed to trade with all the countries of the world, Cuba and China included!". Equally, Brasil posed the maintenance of commercial relations with Cuba, saying: "Commerce has nothing to do with ideology. There are many ways to conceive the world, but trade is trade." "If one respects the self-determination of nations and if one does not intervene in the internal problems of the countries, one can trade with anybody. Do not others do it Why not us then?" This means that they are going to do it openly.

The crisis of the franc, expresses the social decay of private property. They cannot maintain in the same time military expenditures and a relative social quietness. In spite of the revolutionary General Strike in France, capitalism succeeded in going through this stage. But now this monetary crisis sends again everything to the devil. In the United States, it is the same. For the first time in history these occurred in the same day, a strike of 2000 policemen, a strike of the road sweepers, a strike of the teachers, a strike of the workers of the oil industry. In the same stage, there is an elevation of the tendencies in the negroe movement, who have a class revolutionary programme. This is where the crisis is going to be situated. It is not the question of a financial crisis, but a form in which the social crisis that they cannot contain is showing itself. This is going to express itself in Europe with a great strength.

J. POSADAS

8 October 1968

## Resolution of PB on Ulster

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

**The taking over of unoccupied properties, office blocks, luxury dwellings to house the masses; The opening up of factories, which have been closed, to be run by workers management; for the nationalisation of all major industries under workers control and without compensation; for work sharing without loss of pay to absorb the unemployed etc.**

There is a necessity of building a new revolutionary leadership in this country and Ireland, which will be built amongst the middle and lower layers of the trade unions and the Labour Party to take the masses forward, and an intervention in Parliament discussing these demands would be a great impulse to this new leadership.

We appeal to the left wing in the Labour Party to completely reject the sending of the troops to Ulster, which was only to prevent the revolutionary uprising of the masses, and to demand

their immediate return. The left wing in the Labour Party and the trade unions must organise immediately for the withdrawal of the troops, organising strikes and demonstrations in support of the masses of Ulster, and by sending resolutions etc. to the Labour Party Conference, and the Conference of the T.U.C. both of which are to be held soon, to force a discussion within the L.P. and the T.U.'s on the problems of the masses of Ulster, on the battles going on there and linking these to the problems of the masses in this country;

**For full employment, work sharing without loss of pay to absorb the unemployed; a basic living wage for all to rise with the cost of living; all the profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of shorter hours and higher pay; for the nationalisation of all major industries without compensation and under workers control, etc.**

These discussions in the L.P. and T.U.'s will be one of the steps towards the formation of a new revolutionary leadership within these organisation.

We appeal to the working class of Britain to organise a 48 hour General Strike, with occupations of factories, holding mass meetings of all the workers and their families in order to discuss the revolutionary situation in Ulster, and the repercussions it will have in this country, demanding: **The immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, and linking this discussion with the demands of the working class in this country; All profits of automation to the workers; No unemployment work sharing without loss of pay; A basic living wage to rise with the cost of living; For the nationalisation of all the major industries without compensation and under workers control, etc.**

It is necessary to send delegates to Ulster to discuss with the masses there, and to send all aid possible, the struggle in Ulster is the struggle here, geographically it is separated, but it is the same. As the I.S. has constantly maintained, the violent process of insurrection in Northern Ireland is indicative, not just of the spirit of the oppressed masses of Ulster, but the spirit of the British masses. The masses of Ireland and Britain are preparing to smash capitalism, imperialism, and all their allies. The bourgeoisie is preparing to repress in Britain as savagely as it has already done in Ulster, but it does not have the strength to crush the masses. For the masses of Ulster the revolution/war/revolution has already begun. It will end with the establishment of a Soviet Socialist Ireland as a part of the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

**Out with British Troops from Ireland! Disarm the R.U.C. Disband the 'B' Specials! For a Workers Militia in Ulster! All Aid from the Workers States to the Masses of Ulster! Unite the Struggle of the British and Irish Masses against Capitalism and Imperialism on the Basis of the Anti-capitalist programme!**

P. B. of the RWP(T) 18. 8. 1969

This resolution in the form of a leaflet was distributed at Fords, Vauxhall and the Newcastle Shipyards, and the factories of Manchester.

A Resolution of the Political Bureau of the French Section of The IV International  
THE CONFERENCE OF MOSCOW AND THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

# The present stage of the World course of the Revolution and its essential aspects

(Contd. from Red Flag No. 95)

In 1960 the conference of the 81 communist parties was held around the five points of peaceful co-existence. In this conference they speak also of peaceful co-existence, but no more as the centre, accordingly they have had to pose "united front against imperialism". Co-existence today is one of struggle against

imperialism, armed and no longer peaceful. They thought that the Sino Soviet dispute was going to be the centre of the conference, but they have to discuss how to smash down imperialism, and not how to push away the Chinese. Here is shown the power of the revolution. This change in history is the product of all that happens in Peru, of the defeat of Rockefeller and his return to the US, of the civil war in the Argentine and in Uruguay, of the general strike in Italy, of Bratislava, of Battipaglia and of Cordoba. All this process is world wide, and effected the conference, and forced it to change in midstream, to speak of the taking of power in Italy and France. This was not foreseen originally. Where does one find that in the original text? Nowhere.

The conclusions have not emerged from the preparatory texts, but from the course itself of this conference, held under the world pressure of the revolution. This effected them and forced them to change. Formerly similar events were produced, but they succeeded in avoiding them; today they can no longer do so, because they happen also in the Soviet Union. They know an immense crisis in their relations. The general advance of the masses makes them feel that if they do not yield, they are going to be pushed on one side. There is to be found one of the forms under which is expressed the vivid force of the revolution, and the immensely dynamic process, which it reveals. Thus the masses force such an organism, which represents 16 Workers States to change, which has such a weight and capacity for action, such an economic and military apparatus as to be apparently inaccessible to them. Why? What is the force, which allows the violent action of the masses to impose itself as a method? Their action alone? No. But the communication which established itself from the fact that in all the Workers States there is the same preoccupation, the same will as in the capitalist countries; in France and Italy in particular.

How did this pressure penetrate the interior of the conference? How? These apparatuses are seemingly inaccessible, apparently inaccessible. They have all power to discuss, decide, resolve, and the masses have no right to participation. How have the masses forced them, in spite of all that was imposed, forced them to change? The changes have been real. In having to impel the revolution, they have also to defend themselves. Thus Berlinguer had to defend himself by saying, that the problem was not the taking of power in Italy, but further on explains that the struggle in China against Imperialism is necessary, and that it is necessary to unite with China in this sense: she plays a necessary role. Thus they have to defend themselves and to do this, to impel the Revolution. This is what Berlinguer has done, among others, but all the others also. This is not, sensibility or naivety on the part of the bureaucracy, but the fact that they are not able to control or dominate.

That does not mean that the pressures are going to impel or to lead them to actions, which organise consciously the revolution, the world anti-imperialist united front, but there is nothing more certain than that all the measures, which were before taken in the sense of containing, must be taken in the sense of impelling. And this always with the same object; to defend themselves. Berlinguer, for example, has to defend himself and to defend the PCI from the policy of Moscow, while to maintain his authority and support in the Italian masses, and in the vanguard, has to speak of making such a policy of anti-capitalist struggle. And do that inspite of maintain-

ing conciliation with Italian capitalism. It is because of this that the great part of his speech was addressed to show this will of conciliation with Italian capitalism. It is because of this that the greater part of his speech was addressed to show this will to conciliate with a wing of the Christian Democracy. But he has had to make in this way, a speech not in the name of capitalism, but in the name of socialism, which has different consequences, as to the possibilities of "democratic agreements" to construct socialism. He has had to reject the affirmations of Breznev on the maturity of the conditions to pass to "socialism", on the pretext that the "conditions in Italy were particular" and that "socialism will arrive in Italy by particular ways".

The declarations of the delegates of Poland, Bulgaria and Germany were with those of the Soviet bureaucracy more to the left. The German and Bulgarian bureaucrats, are however, among the most accessible to the alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy. They pronounce, however, speeches more to the left, which does not mean to say, obviously that they are disposed to defend and push forward a revolutionary programme or to take power. These declarations, all as those of Breznev, indicate simply that the bureaucracy takes account that peaceful co-existence sees its possibilities reduced each day, and the armed confrontations increase.

Three fundamental principles have been announced in this Conference without being given revolutionary objectives, a programmatic revolutionary base. But the fact that they have to formulate necessary principles, indicates a progress, which does not come from them, but from the progress of the revolution. The first is that the principal struggle of the masses of the world is to smash capitalism. (They do not speak of capitalism but of imperialism; but the struggle against the one is not isolated from the struggle against the other). Capitalism can exist today thanks to Yankee imperialism. If the latter is conquered, capitalism loses 70% of its forces.

Even if the bureaucracy does not want the struggle against capitalism, the action which it accepts to advance against imperialism leads inevitably and logically to a united anti-capitalist world front. Yankee imperialism is nothing else than the world master of capitalism. Is it not imperialism which holds the determining economic and military forces?

The second principle formulated is that of planning of the Workers States among them and with the CPs. The common declaration recognising the provisional revolutionary government in South Vietnam, and the declaration against Yankee imperialism in Vietnam is a true united front, whose consequences are going to surpass, and by a long way the intentions of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy has arrived to make such declarations to reply to the necessities; to enfeeble and contain imperialism, which is preparing the nuclear war. Formerly the bureaucracy replied to these two necessities in an opposite fashion with peaceful co-existence. Today it must appeal to the world anti-imperialist united front.

The third principle is that the revolution elevates itself in the forms and the content in all the capitalist countries in the Workers States and in the communist parties. The same bureaucracy, which in the past year condemned the French May and the students, must say now "the students are included in the process of the revolution".

Last year it said "adventurers, assassins, Trotskyists". Today, no, and it is always, however, the same bureaucracy.

Then it came out in defence of the CP, against the revolution, now it must say "take power". And it is the leaderships of the French and Italian communist parties, who must avoid making a declaration. Is this to say that the Soviet bureaucracy has become revolutionary? Certainly not. It has not the least interest in the revolutionary struggle, and the taking of power. It must today draw the programmatic conclusion of the necessity for the overthrow of capitalism, and put on one side the possibility of transforming it, of replacing it through the electoral and parliamentary ways.

Breznev came from it to make make such declarations as the immediate and direct consequence of the pressure of the Soviet masses, of the masses of the capitalist countries, and because all the possibilities of alliance with Imperialism, of co-existence with capitalism are in process of being eliminated. Before, the masses of the Workers States, as those of the CPs, felt isolated. They were more timid to pronounce, to show, and to make their revolutionary will, weigh. They did not find the means to do it, except through very weak means, through intellectuals, writers, poets... but the latter were only protesters. But to the extent that the process develops itself, that the masses of the colonial and capitalist countries elevate their struggles, create organisms, the masses of the Workers States win confidence.

Before they felt themselves to be enfeebled by the apparatuses, which dominated them. Today they feel they can dominate these apparatuses. The bureaucracy has wished in vain to augment its domination over the communist parties in this conference and through them over the masses. But this is no longer now possible. They have to make some arrangements among themselves, and launch appeals to the United Front including with the Chinese. In this sense the attitude of the Chinese in not having participated in the Conference is incorrect. They must appear and discuss openly and directly.

The recognition of the revolutionary provisional government of Vietnam is one of the blows, among the hardest, given to capitalism. The bureaucracy has not taken the initiative, it has had to submit itself whilst it is only a short time ago that it put at the centre of conciliation, the five points of co-existence. It did not pose the unconditional retreat of the Yankee troops. The constitution of the GRP established a new stage, a new form of process of dual power. This was not in the head of the bureaucracy, neither before or after. Such was the dynamism of the revolution, which demands each time more consciously, the programme, the objectives, the policy of the IV International, forcing the bureaucracy to retreat and to take measures in favour of the revolutionary process.

French Section of the IV International

Political Bureau of the PCR(T)

CONTINUE THE CAMPAIGN

FOR THE TROTSKYISTS

IN PRISON IN MEXICO

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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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
20. For a workers government.

# Viva the new strikes of the W. German Proletariat

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 all, all, all.

— Trotsky

NO. 97

10th SEPTEMBER 1969

SIXPENCE

## Strikes & demonstrations throughout Britain in support of the Free Zones in Ulster. For a Workers Militia in Ulster based on the trade unions to defend the Free Zones.

We send our revolutionary salutes to the masses of the free zones of Londonderry and Belfast, who for more than three weeks have maintained areas of N. Ireland outside of the control of the bourgeois state, where the workers are organised into a Soviet type of functioning. The elected representatives of the Belfast Citizens Defence Committee one delegate per street, meets three times a week, and is responsible for all civil administration, and keeps in touch with Bogside. The committee is responsible for maintaining a 'police force' and reports that since the barricades were put up crime has virtually disappeared. They shut the public houses at 8.30 in the evenings and say that two people who were found 'breaking and entering' were tried by an ad hoc committee and expelled from the district. The people themselves keep the drains and pavements clean, and are in fact relaying the pavement stones, which were torn up to throw at the police RUC and 'B' specials. The Committee is also responsible for organising food and medical attention for the people inside the barricades. There is dual power in N. Ireland, dual power as analysed by Cde. Posadas in the document "The Intellectuals and the Professional Workers, the Development of the Socialist Revolution and the IVth International" is "when the population substitutes itself for capitalist power, and carries out the functions, which correspond to the capitalist regime, or does what it wants against the capitalist system." This is what is happening in Ulster, and what appalled Callaghan, when on his recent visit there, he said, that even the police couldn't enter these areas, and this is why there is talk of sending even more troops. The Irish bourgeoisie and British imperialism cannot allow this situation to continue indefinitely.

It is a beautiful experience for the masses of this country and of all Europe to assimilate, the masses who are all disputing with capitalism basing themselves on all the revolutionary actions of the world masses in Vietnam, the Middle East and Latin America. It is the level of the world revolution, and particularly the level of the class struggle in England, Scotland and Wales, the successes of the Ford and Leyland strikes, the success of the strikers of Port Talbot, the defeat of the 'Penal Clauses', and the most recent example of the successes of the left wing in the T.U.C., which give the masses in Ulster the confidence to continue their offensive. The existence of the free zones in N. Ireland is one of the highest stages which the world class struggle has reached since the revolutionary General Strike in France last May. It will have a tremendous effect on all the world masses as did that strike, the lessons of which were absorbed and are put into practice again in Ulster.

As we predicted in our resolution which was published in the last issue of R. F. British troops were sent to N. Ireland in order to smash the uprising of the masses, and now with the latest speech of Chichester Clark this is being prepared. We appeal to the workers, who live in the free areas, and to the committees who represent them to appeal for all aid possible to keep the barricades up and maintain their free areas. They must form permanent workers militias, based on the trade unions and workers areas, appeal to the I.R.A. and to the masses of Eire for arms and volunteers. They must appeal to the Workers States, U.S.S.R., China, and Cuba for aid and support, and appeal to the working class here for solidarity strikes and demonstrations. They must completely control all committees involved in the organisation of the free zones, the Belfast Citizens Defence Committee etc., by ensuring that all

delegates are elected democratically, and that if they fail to carry out the wishes of the people they serve, they must be instantly withdrawn and replaced. All conciliatory tendencies must be eliminated and only those willing to take the struggle to the end must be allowed to represent the masses. Above all the free zones must be defended by the armed workers, formed into workers militias.

The army of British Imperialism went into Ulster to protect the interests of imperialism and to maintain bourgeois order, which the Irish bourgeoisie was incapable of doing. It has been a blow to the social authority of the Northern Irish bourgeoisie to have British troops on their soil and to have to disarm their 'B' Specials. But the aim of the troops was basically to maintain bourgeois order, to repress the masses, to get the barricades taken down, and take the free zones back into the camp of bourgeois law and order. It would be wrong to see the use of troops by the bourgeoisie as peculiar to Ireland; given similar circumstances, the same thing will happen in this country. The struggle is the same one, working class against the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie will use every means possible to defend itself before being overthrown.

We again make an appeal to the British working class to link up with the masses of N. Ireland, to hold mass meetings and assemblies to discuss what is going on in Ulster, and the lessons which it has for the working class here, to organise strikes and demonstrations in support of the masses and the free zones, to discuss the process in Ulster in their Trade Union, Labour Party and Communist Party branches, and to send resolutions in support of the Irish masses to the L. P. Conference in order to impose a discussion on Ulster at this conference. We appeal to the working class in this country to link the struggle of the Irish masses with their own struggle in this country,

linking the demands of the Irish masses to their demands and calling for:

No more unemployment, working sharing without loss of pay to absorb the unemployed.

The taking over of all luxury property and unoccupied dwellings to house the unemployed.

All the profits of automation to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.

For a national basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living.

For the nationalisation of all the basic industries without compensation under workers control.

We appeal to the British and Irish vanguard to fight for this programme with the perspective in a short period of overthrowing capitalism in Britain and Ireland, and installing workers and peasants governments.

### The Vanguard which made itself felt at the T.U.C. Congress must organise a struggle to implement the resolutions taken there

The 101st Trade Union Congress held last week, showed that the revolutionary vanguard in the unions, encouraged by all the world process, has been able to make itself felt even in this bureaucratic assembly. The Congress did not express all the force of the class, which has shown itself in the riots in Ulster, in the big strikes in the car and steel industries, the rent struggles and all the other mobilisations, but it has shown very clearly, that the vanguard is influencing in the apparatus of the unions, is winning over the middle and lower officials, and forcing the left sector of the leadership to respond to what it, the vanguard, wants. The left sector of the union leadership, expressed particularly by Scanlon of the AEF and Jones of the TGWU, are forced in this period, in order to maintain their authority in the unions, to make manoeuvres which favour the revolution, and this in turn encourages and facilitates the advance of the revolutionary vanguard, and the organisation of a revolutionary tendency.

This process was expressed in the Congress by the icy reception given to Wilson by the delegates, and in a much more important way, by the success of the left resolutions. The resolution calling on the government to abandon wage control legislation and do away with the Prices and Incomes Board, was passed against the recommendations of the General Council, the demand was made for equal pay for women, but any idea of restraint by male workers to pay for it was rejected, the demand for a £15 a week minimum wage was reaffirmed (although it was said that this must now be £16-10), and a motion of the General Council, which said, that it was no use continuing contact with the unions of the Warsaw Pact countries, was defeated. Thus the left triumphed in all the important resolutions.

Nevertheless, as this was a bureaucratic conference, the resolutions (like those of the recent Moscow Conference) were left as abstract declarations hanging in the air, and there was no discussion and no decisions taken on how to gain equal pay for women, how to gain the minimum wage, how to smash the remnants of the incomes policy. But even remaining at this level, the resolutions will be an encouragement to the workers at the base of the unions, who themselves will organise to implement the resolutions.

We appeal to the vanguard in the unions, the L.P., and C.P. to draw all the conclusions of this Congress, using it to measure the degree to which the relationship of forces between it and the bureaucracy has changed in its favour within the unions, and to begin at once, without waiting for the union leaderships to organise a campaign to implement the resolutions. A campaign of strikes, occupations, and demonstrations must be started

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

# THE JOURNEY OF NIXON TO RUMANIA 4. 7. 69.

The Roumanian bureaucracy has invited Nixon in order to defend itself from the consequences of the policy recently adopted in the Moscow Conference. It is not an isolated or superficial expression of the inter-bureaucratic struggle, but a consequence of this struggle, that tends to be situated at a superior level to the traditional forms of the inter bureaucratic struggle.

The recent Conference of Moscow, called for a world anti-imperialist front. The realisation of such a front is going to make the Soviet bureaucracy prevail, obliging it to go further than it wanted, which is going to influence the Chinese, and the struggle of the world masses. The Roumanian bureaucracy feels that consequently this is going against it, in as much as it does not intend to develop the anti-imperialist struggle. Haven't the Roumanian bureaucrats been those who refused to condemn Israel, and who maintained some relations with this country? All the time Roumania has been seeking for the maintenance of some links with Israel, opposing the sanctions, accepting only the diplomatic resolution of UNO about the retreat from the occupied territories. In spite of such a position, Roumania has been forced to participate in the Moscow Conference, where the organisation of a world anti-imperialist day has been decided, and it does this, in as much as there exists in Roumania forces, which oblige it to do so, within the bureaucratic apparatus included, among the middle layers of the Army, of the Unions, of the Party.

The policy of the Roumanian bureaucracy is not consistent, not through fear, (because it showed enough boldness at the moment when all the Workers States, except Roumania, were breaking with Israel) but because it is caught in its own contradictions. In front of Israel, exactly like today it confronts the Yanks, Roumania shows, just like Tito did, it has its own policy. Also, one must see, in the fact that it is obliged to go to the Moscow Conference, to accept the Warsaw Pact, and the manoeuvres of the troops of the pact, the existence of important sectors, including the army, which are in agreement with the policy of Moscow. If such tendencies are existing in the army, it is because they are also existing elsewhere.

The military apparatus of the W.S.s, different to those of the capitalist countries, does not have the life of an independent group. It is this that capitalism cannot understand. If the military apparatus of the W.S.s is concerned to defend its careerist interests, it is not less forced to defend the structure of the Workers States. Be it the army, or the Unions, or the Party, or any other sector, they all have to defend a policy that is corresponding to the interests of the Workers States, and not their own caste interests. And this they must also do in order to defend their own caste interests. This is the actual example of Brezhnev.

The army does not have, as in the capitalist countries, a concentrated power of decision. In the capitalist world, the army retains such a power, because it is it, which, in the final instance, solves the problems of capitalism, when confronted with its class enemy: the Workers States from outside, the exploited masses from inside. In the Workers States, the army does not have such a function, since it exists against capitalism. It is for this that it has been organised. Its structure comes from this. The feelings, the consciousness, and even the mechanisation of the soldier, all this goes against capitalism. There may happen, as in the capital-

ist countries, some conditions of the threat of a military coup. Even when certain conditions are created, like in Czechoslovakia, or in Yugoslavia, the army cannot succeed in making the Workers States retreat. On the contrary, it is it, which must retreat, as in Yugoslavia for example. This country said in the midst of the Imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union, through Czechoslovakia, that it would allow nobody to intervene in its problems. This was directed at Imperialism, that was offering itself to intervene and to aid at that moment.

The crisis of the Roumanian bureaucracy, of the Soviet bureaucracy, and of the ones of all the Workers States, is presented by the bureaucracy itself, as well as by capitalism, as a crisis that can be solved by discussion. The crisis, which is developing with the Roumanian bureaucracy, has not reached yet its full range, but it shows that some sectors of the bureaucracy are seeking to conciliate with Yankee Imperialism in order to defend themselves from the conclusions of the Moscow Conference. And this, on other hand, indicates that this conference is very profound, and that the Roumanians have felt the importance of the decision to organise a world anti-Imperialist campaign, and that this is a question of a very real measure and not simply a diplomatic one. They have felt that the decision goes to the depth, not because the bureaucracy had the intention of organising it to the depths, but because the masses had this intention. It is necessary to see the Soviet bureaucracy in a historical function, determined by its unchanged historic interests. The historic nature of the bureaucracy does not change, but what can change is the course which it gives to its policy, and which can be favourable to the revolution. It is in the same way that the recent crisis of the Italian Socialist Party favoured the revolution. It is the expression of the triumph of elements who are exerting a pressure, and who want to decompose an apparatus entirely at the service of capitalism.

## IN THIS STAGE, IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN ITSELF, THE BUREAUCRACY HAS TO YIELD

The bureaucracy does not have any other remedy, to support itself, to defend itself, than to yield. It is no longer the apparatus, which dominates, be it in the economy, culture or the state, but it is the world revolution. The Soviet masses are intervening with more weight, more decision, and more possibilities. More numerous layers are now intervening. To contain, the bureaucracy must yield; this does not mean that it is prevented from preparing itself for the counter-revolution. It is going to have to make great concessions, and always in the sense of defending itself. It cannot be consistent, through its lack of historic interests, historic legitimacy, though its historic imbecility, in the measure that it does not have any legitimate interest,, it does not represent the needs of the Workers State, it has in fact usurped them.

Even though Brezhnev said "take power in Italy and in France" when he was addressing Berlinguer, he said to the Syrians, "stay quiet, don't do anything" and contained with all his force the Egyptians, at the moment when they felt capable of confronting Israel victoriously.

In the Workers State, as in the Capitalist state, the soldier obeys orders. In the Workers State directed by the bureaucracy, there are no cells, of assemblies

in the army, save in China. A mechanisation of the soldier exists as in the capitalist states, but this mechanisation is developed in a military structure, which defends the Workers State, nationalised property, and so this doesn't lead to a retreat of the soldier. The army defends the Workers State, not capitalism, but it doesn't lead forward a revolutionary policy. It is the same thing for the trade unions, which are also mechanised.

The nature of the bureaucracy doesn't change. It continues to defend its illegitimate interests, but what changes is its social base, force and its social possibilities. The development of the revolution, of industry, of culture, of technique, of the struggle of the masses, raises up new layers of the population, new sectors, which limit the power of the bureaucracy, does not eliminate it, but limits it. The bureaucracy can increase its social weight, but not its capacity and political force. It can increase numerically, but not in comparison with the increase of the concentration of the proletariat, with the social weight of it, with the development of the revolution, with the conviction that it is necessary to be liberated, in the Workers State from the forces, which prevent socialist planning. The bureaucracy retains its historic function, and its nature,

and its counter-revolutionary interest, but it sees itself more and more each day, obliged to yield, to make concessions, in order to maintain itself. It can, different to capitalism, make concessions, which do not enter into direct conflicts with its interests, for a great part of these are the same as the Workers States. Also it can only make concessions up to a certain limit. It has an interest in the existence of the Workers State, and the masses defend the Workers State, and from there comes the possibilities of certain concessions in so far as they don't put in danger its leading position. Capitalism cannot do this for between it and the mass there is not any identity, their historic objectives are diametrically opposed.

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia show the limits of the concessions, which the bureaucracy can make. It has retreated quite a long way in Yugoslavia, but it has not been able to permit a return to capitalism, even if in every way it is preparing for the counter-revolution. The bureaucracy can and must yield, but it cannot suppress itself, it made some very important concessions in Bratislava, and the Moscow Conference, to defend itself, and not to develop the revolution, for this is its historic nature. Because of this, one cannot credit it with intentions and possibility, which it does not have.

One year ago, no more, in full rise of the revolution in France, there, where there was proletarian power, the bureaucracy washed its hands of it. In August, some months later, in Czechoslovakia, it had to make the Conference of Bratislava. Then later it showed itself against the Syrians, against Al Fatah, and the development of the revolutionary struggle of the Arab masses. It attacked, prevented, sabotaged the Syrians, the Egyptians, El

Fatah, from leading forward the revolutionary struggle, in Latin America, in China itself, and in the rest of the world. The Soviet bureaucracy has been opposed to the development of the revolution, demonstrating the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy. One cannot expect any other consequences.

This is expressed in the Communist Parties, which by their nature, have an interest in common with the bureaucracy, even though different possibilities, different conditions. The C.P.s are in a certain way freer than the Soviet bureaucracy, but at the same time much more submitted than it. They are freer, because they are not dependent on the Workers State, but on the contrary they depend more on the masses, but these oblige them to go further than they want, which influences the Soviet Union itself, and the masses of that country, as well as the medium layers of the bureaucracy, which did not intervene, did not participate before.

The bureaucracy has in this process a direct interest. Cde. Posadas, has said an infinite number of times, that the Soviet bureaucracy could not remain insensible, could not remain indifferent to the problems of Italy or of France; for they are also problems of the revolution, which are not convenient to it. They are problems, which touch two fundamental bases, two fundamental centres of capitalism and imperialism, Yankee in particular. The Soviet bureaucracy cannot but feel that this is its concern, that it cannot permit a counter-revolutionary process without intervening, it cannot even permit a counter revolutionary attempt without intervening. It is going to try to intervene. Already it has done it, but in a very limited fashion; by giving arms, technicians, in the Middle East, in Africa or in Latin America.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE WORKERS STATE INFLUENCES THE REVOLUTION

Latin America shows how the Soviet bureaucracy seeks, without delay, to establish contacts with the Nationalist Revolution, to try on one hand to make the influence of the Workers State weigh, while, on the other hand, it tries to contain the revolution. But what is the most important of the two, is the influence which the Workers State exerts, for no longer does the bureaucracy have the power to prevent the masses from advancing and influencing, even up to military layers. This influence is not the fact of the bureaucracy, but of the structure of the Workers State. But in return this exerts an influence on the cadres of the bureaucracy, on the political, economic cadres, the cadres of the army, on the trade union cadres, on the trade, cultural juridical apparatus. This elevates the weight which these layers exercise.

The final decision will not be the result of parliamentary reforms, or through peaceful means, in the course of which, the middle cadres of the bureaucracy are going to evict Brezhnev and company... The latter are going to oppose this. They will be evicted by armed force, because they are not going to give up their position. But one must see that in the measure that this process develops, that the bureaucracy contains the revolution, the bases of the political revolution in the USSR are spreading ceaselessly, obliging

the bureaucracy to take some measures of the Bratislava type, to hold the Moscow Conference, to call for the struggle for power in Italy, and in France, to make analyses which, on certain points, are correct mainly in the characterisation of capitalism. It must call for the preparation of the atomic war without saying that it will be the end of the world.

The changes are not the product of a new consciousness of the bureaucracy, a new capacity, but the product of forces that oblige it to advance. All this we are going to see more strongly in the next stage. For our part we must see up to which point we can take advantage of the concessions that the bureaucracy is still obliged to make.

## EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW NO. 1.

Contents:  
All the political documents of the VIII World Congress of the IV International  
Editorials by J. Posadas  
Activity of the International  
8/6 P.P. or 7/6 Collets or Dillons

## T.U.C. Congress . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

to apply the resolutions, for equal pay, and the minimum wage and against any attempt to curb the trade union movement.

The revolutionary vanguard, which is in the unions must draw the conclusions, that the balance of forces is completely favourable to them for their task of organising the revolutionary tendency. It must in the next period be more audacious both organisationally and politically. To organise itself as a national leadership, it must have an understanding of all the national and international situations, it must discuss in the unions the question of Ireland (it is absurd that Ireland was not discussed at the T.U.C. Congress) of Vietnam, the Middle East, the crisis of the bureaucracy in the Workers States, and the class struggle in the rest of Europe, basing their discussions on the documents of Posadas and the IV International. It is necessary for the vanguard to impose proletarian democracy in the unions, so that all the force of the working class can be expressed there. In this way the possibilities opened up by this T.U.C. Congress will be taken full advantage of.

750 party leaflets were distributed at this congress, and were well received. 18 Red Flags were sold.

# THE JOURNEY OF NIXON TO RUMANIA

When we spoke of the mechanisation of the Soviet Army and of the soldier, we spoke relatively wishing to express an historic truth, showing how the soldier must obey without discussion. He cannot give any opinion. He becomes a robot. But in any case he continues to defend the Workers State, and this is different to the capitalist soldier. The Soviet soldier has a direct link with the state that he defends. This is also why he is in a better position to rebel against the one who orders him to do something contrary to the interests of the Workers States. There, are the bases to elevate the role of the soldiers, as the very consequence of the Workers State.

The attitude of the Roumanian bureaucracy may be reproduced by others, by the Yugoslavian bureaucracy for example, which has the same interests, and which is in the same situation. The behaviour of the Roumanian bureaucracy indicates that it saw and felt what the consequences of the Moscow Conference would be. Its effects are still not completely expressed. The Roumanian bureaucracy is right now preparing to defend itself from the consequences, which are coming. This is why it comes out and seeks the support of Yankee Imperialism. It then confirms all its policies. It is the announcement of new and deeper crises in other sectors of the bureaucracy of the Workers States. Roumania gave the first signal. Other bureaucracies are going to follow, and the internal struggles are going to develop in still more pronounced forms.

But the fact that this crisis appears only for the moment in Yugoslavia, and more particularly in Roumania, indicates on the other hand that the structure of the Workers State is strong and solid, and that the other sectors of the other bureaucracies find themselves more linked to the interest of developing and maintaining the Workers State. It is then only in Roumania and Yugoslavia that the links are weaker. In Poland, in Germany, in Bulgaria, in Hungary etc., the bureaucracies have certainly, some national, bureaucratic interests equal to that of Roumania, but different from the latter, the process does not have the same characteristics, concerning the concentration of power. These bureaucracies are far more dependent on their agreement with the USSR, on the common planning with the USSR, but also on the masses that sustain them. All this shows, the diversity of the process, unequal and combined, and expresses the diversity of the forces, of the interests, of degrees of bureaucratic power, and that which can weaken it. All this is going to facilitate the next stages of the political revolution.

es that it must take into account the interests and the demands of the masses. This is what indicates, consequently, an internal concentration of the class in the Workers States, which is waiting for the moment to intervene. Bratislava has been an announcement of this, but before this, there has been Cuba. Posadas had already analysed the significance of the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy had not been able to surrender Cuba, as the expression of the life, the demands, of the masses of the Workers States who were saying; "no, we will not surrender Cuba".

One must expect that the layers which intervene little in the Workers States: trade unions, workers, soldiers, intellectuals, are going to intervene much more rapidly. The bureaucracy begins to reflect this elevation in their intervention, with the policy that it must adopt at present. If the Rumanian policy had an echo, a success, if it had its own base of social support, it would have already expressed itself. The contradiction of the policy of the Rumanian bureaucracy is that it does not find, as before an interest in the Socialist camp, in the camp of the Workers States. It does not find any basis to confront the Soviet bureaucracy in as much as the latter cannot as in the past, rob the other Workers States, submit them to its own interests. Today it sees itself obliged to act in relation to the interest of all, and not any longer in the name of only one. This is a boost to the revolution, in spite of the fact that the bureaucracy tries to the maximum to hinder it, avoiding any conscious policy that can be favourable to the masses. But the bureaucracy is in any case in a process of elevating the conditions towards the final settlement of accounts; this is favourable to the revolution.

The effects of such actions are going to be much less than before, the consequences are going to be much less unfavourable; this will not prevent in any case the bureaucracy from taking counter-revolutionary measures. Even if its hands are tied, it will still at least deliver some blows.

In Italy, there are now some comrades who talk in the branches of the Communist Party, and some high leaders of the CP are treating them as comrades, as equals, saying to them; "We are going to discuss, I agree with what you say", and they offer a whole programme of struggle.

Such a relationship is not only a fact of Italy. In the Soviet Union, the masses have decided to do the same thing, but they still don't have the opportunity to do so. The security that the masses are winning, which obliges the bureaucracy to advance, is going to give a boost tomorrow, and go from there to the taking

ambassadors to it; all have normal relations with it.

But to call Nixon at this moment, to invite him to Rumania is nothing else but to seek a protection through him. It is not a simple visit of an ambassador, but the seeking of the direct protection of

## IT IS NECESSARY TO DRAW THE MAXIMUM CONCLUSIONS FROM THE CRISIS OF THE BUREAUCRACY

One must try to draw the maximum possible profits from the difficulties of the bureaucracy, whose efficiency is limited, as all that the Italian CP can do is limited, which still has more freedom of action than the bureaucracy, and consequently can go further in the extent that it does not have the organic interests of a constituted government. It has potentially an interest in taking power, in forming a government in alliance with some sectors of the bourgeoisie, and preventing the revolution. The bureaucracy must, for itself, defend directly the material interests that keep it alive. The leadership of the French or Italian CPs, does not have the structure or power that the bureaucracy has.

The event constituted by the invitation of Nixon to Rumania, indicates the depths of the crisis of the bureaucracy, but also the dynamism, the aggressivity of the confrontations, which are soon going to be produced. In order to answer to this situation, the Soviet bureaucracy is going to be obliged to support itself on the Moscow Conference.

The balance of forces is more and more unfavourable to the bureaucracy, and to the advantage of the revolution. Also without losing its historical nature, it is obliged to use some means that do not signify the same support as in the past, until the moment when it will have no other solution than to deliver blows. The policy of the International consists in understanding up to which point one can use these difficulties. Not to wait to see if it yields or not, but understand the moment to launch the slogans of expulsion of the bureaucracy: "Out with the bureaucracy". Such is the stage that we are living in.

It is illustrated by the journey of Nixon to Rumania, by the imperialist's intentions to take direct advantage of Soviet-Rumanian differences, from the fear of the Rumanian bureaucracy to have to lead an anti-imperialist campaign. Imperialism uses all the direct and indirect means to intervene, and take advantage of the inter-bureaucratic struggles, and oblige the Rumanian bureaucracy to go further.

It is at the same time an attack on the Soviet bureaucracy, because it is the first time that imperialism puts itself so directly in relationship with the bureaucracy of a Workers State. The reaction of the Soviet bureaucracy must be and will be deep, because it is a matter of an attack on the part of imperialism to introduce itself in a Workers State. If it reacts as it did over Czechoslovakia, in the case of Rumania it will have to react more politically than militarily. If it does not the base will do it, and this, in spite of the fact that the bureaucracy will try to hide, to avoid a public struggle. The bureaucracies of the other CP's and the Workers States are saying nothing in order to try to draw, for themselves, advantage and profit, blackmailing the Soviet bureaucracy. Only their bases are against, wanting to stimulate the class struggle, and the struggle to push forward a revolutionary policy inside the C.P. It is also true inside the Workers States or the army, which is one of those sectors which at the top is most animated, and is going to intervene and demand more, and behind it there are the masses.

This is going to have as a result, to spread and to render more dynamic the opposition to the bureaucracy, the opposition to imperialism, and impel the struggles to overthrow capitalism. The bureaucracy cannot, as previously, prevent and contain the level of the struggle; it is constantly superseded. The simple fact that imperialism launches itself in a new attempt to intervene with Rumania indicates that it certainly sees the possibility, but it launches itself in a desperate policy. It must exercise the maximum blackmail against the Soviet bureaucracy, saying to it; "do not interfere in my business, and I will not interfere in yours". The conditions are not the same as in the past, where they could succeed in agreeing. The masses are superseding them.

imperialism. They also want to give to the others layers of the bureaucracy a certain security in as much as these are losing all their points of support. It is the same phenomena which occurs in Yugoslavia, but Tito has already much less possibility to command than before.

It is not correct to say that the bureaucracy is revolutionary; it is not, it will never be. Even if it takes revolutionary measures, its objectives are not revolutionary. It can, as the Soviet bureaucracy, did in the case of the forced collectivisation, take some measures to save itself. This measure was criminal, but it had a necessary aspect. It was criminal in the form, not being followed by any development of the revolutionary policy, on the contrary, immediately delivering blows to the left to prevent it from taking any advantage from it.

The bureaucracy can go as far as making an appeal to the masses, but at the same time taking all measures to contain the masses. It is what Stalin did in 1945. He called on the masses to support him, and when they wanted to take power, like in Germany, he crushed them. In the Middle East he surrendered the revolution. The bureaucracy can go as far as taking measures which impel the revolution, but without taking a revolutionary character. All the revolutionary measures that the military junta in Peru are taking, do not give to it a revolutionary character; it remains nationalist revolutionary. It takes measures which affect the capitalist system, but within the capitalist system.

All the same the bureaucracy takes measures, within the framework of an order, which it can control. The difference between it for example, and the military junta of Peru, is that the latter takes measures, which remain capitalist. They affect the capitalist system, given the historic conditions, which exist now. To take such measures for the military junta of Peru, or for any other nationalist revolutionary government, signifies a progress. This is not the case for the bureaucracy; this bureaucracy does not progress. It can take revolutionary measures, but it cannot be revolutionary. So now, when it calls to take power in France and Italy, when it calls as well for a world anti-imperialist front, it takes these revolutionary measures in order to survive. This intention expresses itself in the fact that it does not organise these calls, and sustains the other aspect of capitalism. The lack of any consistency indicates that they are defensive, preventative measures.

Formerly, the bureaucracy surrendered Spain, today, it cannot do so. This is the difference. It cannot do as it did before. Its historic nature is not changed. Today there exists within it some sectors of the cadres, some lower sectors of the bureaucracy, which can by their action, ease the ascent of other groups, other sectors, of the bureaucracy, which will go further. It is a matter of sectors not directly linked to power, but more linked to the masses.

But even so, the maximum that they can do is to facilitate the intervention of the masses. If they were capable of making the political revolution, history would have changed long ago. They can only facilitate. The more the balance of forces is advancing in favour of the revolution the smaller their field of action.

A very clear case is the one of the German bureaucracy which, at the same time as it was defending the German Workers State against the capitalist system, at the time as disputing with capitalist Germany, it extends its commercial relationships and interests with the capitalist world, to the disadvantage of the Workers State. Such is the bureaucracy which, in order to survive, takes any road. And if some aspects of its counter-revolutionary function are being eliminated, it is because the weight of the revolutionary masses, of the revolutionary sectors, the extension of the revolution, and of the Workers States are advancing powerfully.

The bureaucracy is counter-revolutionary and reactionary, but can in this context adopt revolutionary measures. Some measures, not objectives or a programme in order to overthrow the capitalist system. It can go up to support some revolutions, but at the moment at which it feels that

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

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History shows and has shown, and Marxism interprets it very well, that the revolution cannot triumph in the absence of leadership. In the Workers States, not only is there not a leadership, but this bureaucracy is opposed to the revolution. But if the bureaucratic leaderships and the communist parties' leaderships are opposing the taking of power, it still remains that a series of forces are accumulating, which are going to explode in the next period. This force, is above all, the increasing participation of the masses and the security that they acquire. One must expect a very dynamic development in the intervention and participation of the masses in the leadership of the Workers States, in the next period.

In the actual process, the life of the trade unions, the trade union meetings, the party meetings, the factory meetings, do not appear. A superficial observation shows that the masses have neither a trade union, nor a political life, that they are not preoccupied, that they have no activity. But if the bureaucracy must take the positions that it is taking, this indicat-

of power. They will not have the need to go through a series of democratic periods; of apprenticeship, of development, of exercise of power, they are already prepared for all of this. In any process where the force of power cannot express itself, cannot exercise itself, it does not simply disappear, but on the contrary it tends to concentrate itself. What is not gained in extension is gained in depth, in order to attain in the future a larger extension. Such is the process of history.

Rumania is an expression of this process. When the bureaucracy sees itself obliged to have recourse to an enemy, as an ally, to oppose itself directly to any anti-imperialist campaign, it is because the internal crisis is of an immense depth. If the Rumanian bureaucracy has recourse to an enemy, it is because it feels its possibilities of existence getting narrower every day. It makes itself strong and powerful in appearance; but it must resort to Nixon! You imagine this, Nixon, an enemy! All the bureaucracies have some relations with Yankee Imperialism, recognise it diplomatically, and send

# The journey of Nixon to Rumania

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

these revolutions are dominating or are escaping from its control, make it lose its authority, it does everything to regain control, not to be superseded. It does not have any political thought, not any political coherence, and when it shows some, as in the recent resolution taken in the Moscow Conference, it is because it takes directly the Manifesto of the 1st. of May of the IVth. International, or some other previous texts of Posadas. Read and compare! There are entire sentences of the IVth. International, and some concepts and some forms directly taken from the texts of the IVth. International. The bureaucracy can reach that point, but always its aim is defensive; it does not organise the taking of power.

If it launched some appeals for the taking of power in France and Italy, for the maintenance of a link with the masses, it is because, this does not endanger it, and it is its own way to weigh on the leaderships of the left, and because if it does not do it, the lower sector of the bureaucracy, and the army are going to pressurise and demand more. The army is not alien to the Workers State, it is part of its structure. The communist parties

can as well be called upon to take some measures of such a nature.

It is necessary to launch a campaign, calling the communist parties, to make a united front to celebrate the 20th. of July, in order to organise the world anti-imperialist conference, the date of which has not been fixed in Moscow. One must call for the prevention of the Nixon visit to Rumania, and characterise it as a counter-revolutionary measure, because it is willing to support itself on Yankee Imperialism in order to defend itself from the consequences of the Moscow Conference.

The anti-imperialist Conference shows the progress of tendencies in the Workers States, and is a stimulus to the progress of the tendencies in the struggle against capitalism, and in consequence to the progress of similar tendencies in Rumania itself and Yugoslavia. They want to defend themselves from the Soviet bureaucracy, but they have not their own strength to do it.

The Soviet bureaucracy offers on the contrary an anti-imperialist pact, an anti-imperialist campaign, which puts it in contact with the Rumanian masses, and with the masses of the entire world, and among them the masses of the Workers States. Also the Rumanian bureaucracy

is frightened. In order to give itself value, to find points of support, so as not to yield, to decompose, it has to resort to imperialism. It resorts to the rope, which supports the hanged man. One must see there a stage, an episode, an aspect of the process of development of the political revolution in the Workers States.

The Soviet bureaucracy cannot on its side, respond simply by seeking to dissuade the Rumanian bureaucracy. The ascent of the revolution is going to impose something else on it; it is going to have to respond by launching appeals to the Rumanian masses; perhaps not now, but later. These are consequences which the Soviet bureaucracy cannot avoid.

It is necessary at the same time to appeal to all the communist parties of the world, so that they make demonstrations, meetings, so that they make an appeal for the overthrowing of capitalism, imperialism, and for the taking of power, and for the unconditional support to Vietnam, Cuba, Korea, China, and to call to resolve the problems of the Workers States on the basis of the programme, policy and the objectives of socialism; planning of all the Workers States between themselves, eliminating frontiers, making an economic, political, and military united front. A single front, a single programme! Down with Imperialism! Down with Capitalism! Unconditional support to all the revolutions, support to the nationalist revolutions as in Peru, that is unconditional support to the measures and not to the government.

It is necessary to give a technical economic support. If at this moment, the Soviet bureaucracy gave, for example, a loan of 50 million dollars to Peru, sent technicians, increased the commercial exchanges, this would be an enormous encouragement to the socialist tendencies within the junta. This would not be a support to the capitalist tendency, but to the socialist one, and this would have repercussions in all of Latin America, particularly in Argentina and in Chile, which have the same problems.

It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet Union to aid the military junta with measures, which tend to influence the socialist sector: economic and technical support and commercial exchange. This is going to stimulate the socialist tendencies, which are going to see that the Workers State comes to their aid. This is a correct and just policy in spite of the risk of

giving credit and authority to capitalist sectors. This is a correct policy. It is certain that they are going to try to remain within the limits of measures of capitalist reforms, but this stage of history does not allow that this will last for long. One cannot take measures that they have taken without being influenced by socialism, taking into account the lack of authority of the capitalist system, and this is going to impel the tendencies which want to go beyond capitalism.

It is necessary to appeal for demonstrations, for meetings in the entire world against Yankee Imperialism. Out with Nixon from Rumania! Unconditional support in all the Workers States to the discussion to eliminate the dispute of territories, of frontiers, of commercial interests. It is necessary to discuss in the world workers movement the programme to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system! Planning of all the Workers States in the economic, political, military field, in relation to their common interest, with the objective of impelling the small Workers States.

Unconditional support to all the revolutionary nationalist revolutions. Unconditional support to all the countries where the revolutionary is developing, Sudan, Guinea, Syria, etc. A single centre of the trade unions of the Workers States starting from an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme! Appeal to the masses of the world to overthrow capitalism and give them unconditional support.

P.B. FOR(T) BELGIAN SECTION  
OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

4th July 1969

VIVA THE  
COUP IN LYBIA.  
FORWARD TO  
A SOVIET  
SOCIALIST  
LYBIA

## Continue the campaign for the release of all the imprisoned Trotskyists

We publish below the text of a letter sent by the Portuguese students in Britain demanding the release of the Spanish Trotskyists, and a letter sent by the Party demanding the release of the Portuguese student E. Cruzeiro.

TO THE SPANISH MINISTER OF JUSTICE  
COPY TO EMBASSY

4th August 1969

Dear Sir,

We, the Portuguese Students Association Committee in Great Britain, demand the immediate release of the three militants of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (T), Dionisio Gomez Sainz, Rafael Marquez Caballeiro, Francisco Velasquez Lopez, who were sentenced at the end of last year to seven, three, and one and a half years respectively by the Spanish fascist court.

We further demand the release of the other comrades of P.O.R.(r) José Bellindo Moreno, Joaquín Vara Lacharo, Gonzalo Toledano Crespo and José Fernandes Sastro, who are being held in a Seville jail.

We feel sure that the imprisonment of these comrades will not terrorise those who are seeking the liberation of Spain from the fascist regime of Franco, and the financial oligarchy, which supports him.

Yours faithfully,

José Laranjo; Secretary

TO FRANCO  
COPY TO EMBASSY

RWP(T)  
British Section of the IV International  
24 Cranbourn St.,  
London, W.C.2.

Sir,

As part of the campaign for the liberation of our comrades in prison in Madrid and Barcelona, and for the release of all the workers, student and peasant anti-capitalist prisoners in Spain, the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International, makes the following demand.

That the Portuguese student Eduardo Cruzeiro, arrested by your government's police on the 19 Aug 68, and now held under the threat of extradition to Portugal, be immediately released, and allowed to go to any country of his choosing.

This militant, who is not a trotskyist, has only done what thousands of other Portuguese youths have done; refused to participate in the brutal war of the Portuguese colonialists against the African masses. We know that if he is returned to Portugal, he faces the threat of death, because the regime will want to make of him an example to terrorise the Portuguese masses in their struggle against the regime, against the colonial wars it is fighting, and against the capitalist system, which it defends.

We demand also the release of the Trotskyists and all the political and T.U. prisoners in Spain.

Yours

John Davis

For Political Bureau RWP(T) British Section of the IV International

## 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 Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
  20. For a workers government.

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# Workers of the World, Unite!

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

# RED FLAG



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

No. 98

25th September 1969

Sixpence

THE LESSONS OF ULSTER MUST BE  
ABSORBED BY THE VANGUARD IN THEIR  
ORGANISATION OF A NEW REVOLU-  
TIONARY LEADERSHIP.

GENERALISE THE EXPERIENCES OF  
THE FREE ZONES THROUGHOUT  
THE COUNTRY

The struggle in Ireland has not finished, but has only passed to a new stage with the decision to take down the barricades in Bogside and Belfast. This is the consequence of the lack of a revolutionary leadership which could have brought the experiences of the free zones outside Bogside and Belfast and extended it to the rest of the exploited population of Britain and Ireland. Such a leadership could have united the urban and rural populations of Ulster, united the Catholic and protestant workers, united the north with the south, the Irish workers with the British, on a programme of anti-capitalist anti-imperialist demands. But such a leadership did not exist, the leadership which does exist has shown that it is honest and courageous but not conscious, and so the dual power which had either to decay or be extended, decayed. It is not the result of the intervention of British troops, this has not terrorised the masses nor have they fought and been beaten. But the leadership in Belfast and Bogside, not understanding that the soldiers had come to defend the overall interests of British Imperialism, lacking theoretical and political security, lacking confidence in the tremendous creative capacity of the masses, conciliated, nothing more. On the other hand it is the Northern Irish government which is demoralised, it is the Royal Ulster Constabulary which now feels smashed in spirit, which saw itself impotent to defeat the masses. But the vanguard in Ireland and in Britain feels that at this moment no more can be achieved because the leadership is lacking, and it looks for ways and means to remedy this deficiency, to construct a new revolutionary leadership as soon as possible. At any moment the masses of Ulster, encouraged by the experiences of the functioning of soviet type power in the free zones can erupt again against the repressive regime, and against the police and soldiers who defend it. We appeal to the defence committees of Bogside and Belfast and to Bernadette Devlin to apply these conclusions.

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# The Process of the Nationalist Revolution in Peru and the Role of the IV International

P. 1

The process in Peru shows how it is possible, beginning by timid progressive measures, to be impelled to proceed rapidly, with socialist or socialising measures, which prepare the conditions for the next leap forward. It is important to take the process in Peru as an example, in the extent in which other processes that are going in the same direction, are going to follow it. The Peruvian process is not a particular thing, but the expression of the course that the social struggles are acquiring in this stage in any part of the world. They may begin in the most elementary forms, the most limited but, cannot remain there.

The Peruvian leadership is bourgeois, military, far from the civil movement, but it is influenced by ideas, by the struggle of the masses and their political and trade unionist positions. These military types are very isolated from civilian influences, their contacts are bureaucratic contacts, and their confidence is above all in the dominating power of arms. Their confidence is in arms not in society. They are not linked to society, to the masses and to their trade unions and parties; this is a link which the civilians have, on the contrary. The military, no! So, when the latter launch themselves forward it is because they have confidence in the military apparatus, in the fact that it is it which will decide, within the frame of capitalist forms.

When these military launch themselves forward in such actions, using the military apparatus, it is because the conditions are very ripe and that they perceive, they feel the influence of the revolution, the influence of the socialising positions and they see the helplessness, the degeneration, the incapacity, the inertia of capitalism. This is why they launch themselves in interventions. If they saw capitalism as capable, they would use the army to impel this or that wing. But when they act as a leadership themselves, when they adopt a programme that corresponds to a conscious organised movement, with anti-capitalist positions, or others which remain in the bourgeois camp as the nationalisation of petrol, or the agrarian reform, it is because they have no confidence in the capitalist regime.

However, at this stage, and in the manner in which they have been taken, these measures directly affect the capitalist structure, the social base on which capitalism rested in Peru. Without leaving the capitalist framework, these measures are limiting, weakening and destroying the political and social structure on which capitalist domination rested.

If the military launch themselves in taking such measures, it is because they feel the strength, the weight and the progress that occurs in the world, based on ideas, on positions that are not capitalist. This is why they launch themselves in taking such measures, in leading a fairly large internal

political struggle that has been lasting for eight months. The agrarian reform that has been proclaimed eight months after they took power indicates a sharp internal struggle. It is only recently that left-wing measures began to be taken, that the left wing is showing itself. They decided to appear as an armed power because they support themselves in the confidence of the world process and not only on the Peruvian process. They are the expression of the world ascending course of the influence of the socialist revolution. By themselves they have in fact no security of their own.

There is not in Peru a unified trade union centre of the masses. The trade union movement is very weak. The workers are organised, but in a very limited way. The miners are better organised but they remain separated from the rest of the population, Cerro de Pasco is located about 480 miles from Lima and Callao. This mining region is at an altitude of 13,500 ft. and living conditions are very poor. The miners are isolated from the rest of a very poor population. They do not have any weight as a permanent movement, as a political trade union movement. But a centre remains which is influencing the rest of the country, by their weight in the economy but not by their functioning. Their situation in the economy gives them very great power and the miners movement is now acquiring a great power in Peru. The best resolutions that they took have been proposed through the Party as a party and accepted by them at three miners Congresses.

But this influence is not alive, does not reflect itself daily in the life of the parties; and this, because the miners movement does not have any life, is not in direct and constant contact with the life of the towns. There is not a workers party which acts as a bridge, as a transmission channel. This is why the influence of the miners remains weak in spite of a great social weight and a great concentration. There, there was one of the tactics and strengths of the oligarchy, the power to impede a real and great influence of the miners in the rest of the population.

On the other hand the military support themselves, among other things, on the resolutions of the miners' trade unions which during the course of the three congresses, have taken some positions, have adopted some measures of the greatest importance; expropriation without compensation of the mines, expropriation and distribution of the land to the peasants, the united soviet socialist states of Latin America, and support to Cuba. That is to say a series of measures that are not of the concern of a trade union but of a revolutionary political leadership. But, yet they have adop-

ted such resolutions as a mining union. This was indicating the maturity of the revolutionary process in Peru.

The mining unions were in the hands of the 'apristas' (Bourgeois nationalist party), then in the hands of the communists, then in a combination of both and of some members of the Belaunde Terry's party. 'AP' They have never been organised in order to be prepared to take some revolutionary positions and yet they have adopted them. The adoption of these positions has been the direct result of the action of our party. But when these trade unions are adopting in a consistent way such positions in the course of three congresses, it is because the influence of the world revolution transmitted by the Trotskyist party, is already in the head of the miner, and that he is at the level of the world process of the revolution. Otherwise he would not accept it.

Such revolutionary positions have also been taken at the other end of the country, in Callao, which is situated twenty minutes away from Lima and which is the industrial centre of the country the industrial zone and the fishing port, where is concentrated the textile, engineering, fishing proletariats and the dockers. The manufacture of fish meal gives to the fishing proletariat a very great importance. Eight or ten years ago, the sale of this meal was the first currency earner of all the country. And in the same way as the miners of the north who have adopted revolutionary positions the trade unions in the south, (the S.U.G.T.A.) that is the General Trade Union of the Agricultural Workers, adopted the same positions as the miners. There also, it is the Trotskyist party which made the alliance with this movement.

NEW PUBLICATION OF THE SECTION

The Study of the Texts of our  
Masters Marx, Engels, Lenin and  
Trotsky, the Applying of the  
Marxist Method, and Marxism  
Today. J. Posadas 8.10.69  
1/- p.p.

THE PROCESS OF BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN PERU

With the support of the Soviet Union the Peruvian C.P. can develop; but it will not be the same C.P. as before. Such a development will not be on the political line of the past, and a pro-trotskyist tendency will mature at the same time, in its midst. Its chance of development consists in being capable of supporting itself on the U.S.S.R. and on the conciliatory wing of the military. Consequently they can develop as an apparatus but not as a mass party. If it is a mass party it will already cease to be a communist party. It will still continue to call itself a communist party, but it will be a party on our line. And this is what we mobilise ourselves to strive for.

The most important is that, from there, a new movement is going to emerge in which we are going to exercise a great influence, in as much as the C.P. is very weak. In the military junta, there is a socialist wing which is taking socialist measures, but the struggle remains still very great. The communist parties are walking behind, trailing while the communist base is feeling the influence of our action. It is like this, if the C.P. develops itself it will not be as a Communist Party but as a revolutionary tendency that we are going to influence and to win. For the present, the Communist Party has no possibility to develop as a mass party.

This party has two deputies, one is Genero Ledesma, who appears not as communist, but as belonging to the government party, the Popular Action. They have some strength in certain trade unions, and above all some professionals who do not work, dedicate themselves to propogandising, giving money, travelling with the support of the Soviet bureaucracy. They have a very large apparatus of paid agents.

But they did not succeed in influencing any mass movement and this Genero Ledesma, went as far as to support us, to defend us. He is not with a team of intellectuals. All the process is going against the C.P., not in an antagonistic way, but against its policy, in as much as the latter seeks to abolish capitalism in a reformist and conciliatory way.

The base of the C.P.-which is very weak- is being influence by this process. It is also true of the leadership which is forced to recognise that our analyses are well founded, as has also a pro-Chinese group which today directed itself towards our section. Reality in effect demonstrates that it was not as they saw it.

While the communists try to re-orientate themselves, the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals, are advancing faster than them. Consequently if the communists are partially increasing their numbers, their policy is still trailing the process, and cannot attract the majority of the masses. They find themselves superseded at every turn. They have always failed to really understand in any depth the process which is actually developing.

It is why it is much more probable that a new movement will appear,

including our section, in which a series of people, of sectors, will intervene together with us. The leadership of the International has recently addressed a letter to us, praising us on the political line that we have adopted and taken forward. It has at the same time addressed a message of support for the measures of nationalisations and agrarian reform that the Junta has taken; it is a message which we will publish in the near future and which says; "we support the revolutionary measures of the government and we call for the formation of district committees of vigilance against the oligarchy etc..." It is what Posadas proposed in 1959 for Cuba and which has been published in the Marxist Review, under the signature of Francisco Canas. Then the Cubans were far from thinking of communism, Posadas said "It is necessary to do such and such, organise committees of workers areas, blocks of houses, organise true organs of power which control the counter revolution. You must nationalise etc..." A series of ideas were given which they are today in process of putting into application.

There is not in Peru at the present time a tradition of an organised movement. This idea has been fought for for some years and by us among others at the head. We speak of a political movement and not of the trade unions which as in any other capitalist country have a certain age. There is not a tradition of political

## THE PROCESS OF THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION IN PERU .....

organisation of the base. After 1955/56, when China began to weigh on the world, the trade union movements of all the backward countries began to acquire a greater dimension, particularly in Asia and Africa; there where they had least existed.

In Latin America while there was a tradition of a trade union movement it only remained very feeble in certain countries, because it was not supported by revolutionary movements or by a class political party. This was the case in Peru where the political party as a movement was very feeble, so that the trade union movement lived a whole process of development limited strictly to the trade union domain, limiting its influences and its domination on the rest of the population. This was reinforced still more from the fact of the isolation of the Peruvian miners in relation to the rest of the population.

The function of the revolutionary party is to generalise the struggles, to organise society on the base of the proletarian vanguard. In these slogans are expressed the desires, the sentiments, the needs of the exploited population, its historic and concrete needs for the development of the country. These slogans are concentrated in the programme the policy the tactic.

But in Peru, the Communist Party was very weak. It never had a great importance. It is weak and small. The trade union movement, the great struggles of the proletariat were very split up. During tens of years there has not been general strike. Moreover in Peru the peasant movement weighs considerably. The peasants form 70 to 80% of the population, living in conditions of semi-slavery scarcely having the minimum to survive. There are few agricultural workers; the immense majority are landless peasants, or those with a very small plot of land on which they vegetate. They do not intervene in the life of the population, in the consumer market nor in the social struggles in an active and permanent fashion, but from time to time in explosive forms.

In the last years, in particular since 1960 an important struggle of the agricultural proletariat has begun to be organised for the formation of trade unions, above all in the north of the country there are to be found the great sugar, cotton and rice plantations. The old indigenous population transformed into agricultural workers have lead forward big struggles to organise themselves in trade unions. Some tens and hundreds have been killed; the police shot them, liquidated them, firing on demonstrations.

The trade unions of Casablanca and of Paranonga represent ten thousand workers of three enterprises and sugar plantations. To constitute this, they have organised demonstrations, assemblies, where the police intervened repressing savagely, killing at least 15, with the objective of trying to crush and intimidate. The workers buried their dead and when they went to the cemetery, they held assemblies while they kept watch over the dead, they discussed and on the very same day of the burial they proclaimed the trade unions. These comrades have thus used their grief for the dead as a stimulus to organise themselves in the trade unions.

All this is to show what force the Junta is in process of receiving. It is not it which unleashed this process. It existed previously. But this, neither the communists nor the socialists nor the 'apristas' had taken into account. The communists have only a very feeble weight in some of the miners areas, a little in the countryside but only very feeble. They have never been an important movement. The socialists are very small and have always lead a policy of conciliation, of agreement, of pacification, a feeble policy when confronting capitalism. They like the communists had to be sure of the possibility to organise the masses massively, above all the communists who should have constructed a big force in Peru taking account of the world situation. They had Cuba at their side which gave them all its support. And moreover from Cuba, they had apparatus, money, social conditions which permitted them to create a development of the class struggle. All this explains why the guerrilla emerged. They have been in Peru as in the rest of Latin America the result of the incapacity of the opposition of the communists, or of the socialist or of the nationalists to organise the struggle of the masses for power. In the conditions of maturing of the world and national situation, a situation of great pressure and stimulus to the development of the revolution, communists, socialists, nationalists let themselves be allied to a policy of pacification and conciliation.

The petit bourgeoisie has felt the revolution. Impatient to act, and seeing that the proletariat did not move, it thought that it would have to be the saviour. It felt that it was possible to overthrow the capitalist system. It saw the example of Cuba where that system had been overthrown by the guerrilla it felt the immobility of the communists, socialists, trade union leaderships and saw the disposition of the peasants to throw out the bosses to eliminate the oligarchy, they were dominated by an anti-capitalist sentiment, a combative fervour; all of this stimulated the petit bourgeois to launch the guerrilla.

But it did not feel solely the sentiment which floated in the air of Peru which permeated the social relations, it saw also the world advancing in the revolution. It saw the advance of China. This advance of the revolution was showing in the Peronist process in Argentina which had a very great influence in all of Latin America which starting at that moment entered into a new stage. It is starting from there that in all the continent, movements of great concentration and great force were developed, partly through the communists in Chile and Uruguay.

#### THE ROLE OF OUR PARTY

But no leadership, neither communist nor socialist nor nationalist nor aprista were interested or have been capable, or have had the pre-occupation of leading forward organisations of the revolutionary class trade unions of the masses. They left this on one side. And the Peruvian proletariat has not been able to communicate to the peasants its class force, its class capacity and decision.

The Peruvian proletariat has not been able to organise the peasants. It has not had the force to do it. It has not found the necessary concentrated conditions, in the measure where it did not have a mass party, a single and powerful trade union centre. Also the peasant, the intellectual, the worker have remained separate, and separate in spite of a struggle in which they have all intervened at the side of the exploited masses. Some particular sectors, some groups of peasants, intervene in a sporadic fashion, they have not had any ordered regular functioning also because the proletariat has not been able to exert a greater influence over the peasants. These struggles have all the same exercised a certain influence through the decision of the miners trade unions among others, when this proposed the giving of the land to

the peasants without compensation. Without doubt this has impelled the peasants to seek the support of the proletariat.

In this struggle, our Party has been a very important element. Its weight has not been constant and permanent but be it in the north, among the peasant trade unions, in the miners trade unions, or be it also in the south, our Party intervenes as a fundamental sector of these struggles as it has also been in the university movement. The junta is now receiving all this process.

The party intervenes with necessary slogans which today the Junta makes use of. Our slogans, our activity, our programme have impelled the worker, miner, peasant movement to make the revolution, in spite of the fact that they never had a Trade Union Centre having a class and revolutionary policy excepting the one which we organised and which lasted for six months. It has a revolutionary programme and was directly directed by us. In Lima, in Callao we succeeded in organising an important number of trade unions; of shoes, textiles, of engineering, of wood, All this starting from one factory which was called Fertisa.

We had authority in this factory and on this basis we launched ourselves into a campaign to organise a trade union movement on a class and revolution-

*Demand the release of our  
imprisoned Mexican and  
Spanish comrades !*

ary programme. It did not go very far, the disintegration came quite rapidly. The Party was weak and unable to sustain itself for such struggles. We have been capable however of organising very important struggles and mobilisations and for the first time in the history of Peru, it was our Party which organised the occupation of the Bata factories and of another, taking hostages, and leading the struggle right to victory. It was the first time that this was done and it was a great encouragement for our small party which meanwhile included a certain number of trade union leaders. It was our comrades who led these actions in factories where they have a great authority, factories of 300 and 400 workers which in Peru are very big factories.

And in spite of a very great opposition on the part of the government of the bourgeoisie, from imperialism, from the communists, the 'apristas' from everyone who was against the Party, our comrades have taken the fore with the success of these actions which have given a great experience to the workers' vanguard in Peru. Apparently it has had no echo, no repercussion of importance, but it forms part of the gains of the proletarian vanguard in this country, in their capacity to communicate to the rest of the class security and confidence, to orientate it in its struggles against capitalism and imperialism. Such actions have permitted the working class to maintain its confidence, not to allow itself to be dragged along, nor to allow itself to be subdued, and not to remain indifferent to the struggle.

All this has served the Junta to carry on its plan of action. If it had put itself in opposition to the population, it would not have had any echo in as much as that all the power was held by the 'apristas' and the government. When none of them, neither Belaunde Terry, nor imperialism, has found a favourable area for counter revolution, it is because the population wants to progress in its anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle. In order to do this, it did not have at its disposal a Party which unified it, no organisations, nor a Single Central Trade Union, nor a class and revolutionary party.

It was a process of the elevation of the struggles, produced from the world process of the revolution, of Cuba. The struggles of the masses in Peru reflected itself in the process of stimulating the petit bourgeoisie, where in Lima a petit bourgeois movement of the left obtained 150,000 votes. This indicates how much this sector finds itself influenced by the revolution, even if the movement remained small and unorganised.

None of them has had the experience, nor had developed the activity as our Party. As, for example, the organisation of a class and revolutionary Central Trade Union in Callao. This Centre itself disintegrated because we did not have the necessary force to maintain it. The subjective conditions were not sufficiently ripe for it to maintain itself, in spite of the fact that the objective conditions existed. Subjective conditions signify; a much greater progress in the workers movement, a much greater political development, a greater concentration of the masses and a much greater weight

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of we ourselves. In spite of all these difficulties, our action realised a great success, from which today, it is possible to reap the fruits.

It is for this reason that our Party has today in public sold so many copies of our journal, disproportionate in relation to our numerical strength. These actions of the Party have a very great importance and show how in determined historical conditions, it is possible to draw the maximum of profit from these conditions, when the Party has been prepared. The essential condition is the previous preparation, the centralisation, the homogeneity the resolution to intervene, and to understand how one ought to intervene, at which moment. Then it is possible to exercise to the maximum all the influence gained. We think that our influence goes far beyond that which one is able to measure at present.

Trotsky has foreseen the process of the Democratic Bourgeois Revolution going over to socialism, which has been realised in what has happened. Today there is a new process, that which Cde. Posadas calls "from nationalism to the workers state." Nationalism is the dawn of the Democratic Bourgeois Revolution and today that which Posadas analysed theoretically in his article three years ago, "From Nationalism to the Workers State" is in process of realising itself. Nobody other than him had seen it. In Sudan, a Sudanese journalist belonging to the Socialist Union, speaks of From Nationalism towards Socialism. Iraq accepts it and publishes it. Algeria accepts it and publishes it.

All this intervention of our Party is registered in the world process of the revolution, in the process From Natione

alism to the Workers State, in what the International can do and is in condition to do, as well as in all our present action. The intervention that we have in Peru is not the product of an occasional decision but of a previous preparation which comes from our comprehension and interventions in the Peronist movement. This decision of the International to intervene in Peru is going to have very great repercussions, favourable to the development of the revolution and of ourselves.

For the P.O.R.(Trotskyist) Peruvian Section of the IV International.

H. 4th July 1969.

(The second part of this report will be published in the next issue of Red Flag)

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## Keep GEC open with occupations based on proletarian democracy and with revolutionary aims

NO MORE REDUNDANCIES!

WORK SHARING WITHOUT LOSS OF PAY!

We are making the following analysis in relation to the proposed occupation of the G.E.C. factories on Merseyside, analysing why the workers rejected the proposal, which was to make a limited reformist occupation. This was not to have been a revolutionary occupation, which as a method of struggle is correct and has already been adopted by the workers of France, Italy, Belgium and Latin America etc, and in part here with the sit in strikes at Rootes, and because of this it was rejected.

It is necessary to see the way this occupation was posed, the objectives which it had and the way it was being organised. It was proposed and manipulated from above, advised by the Institute for Workers Control, an intellectualised organisation which includes some T.U. bureaucrats, old capitulators of trotskyism, and some other members of left wing organisations which also support the capitulators. None of these groups and individuals have gained any authority from their actions, they are seen by the working class as having an intellectual and paternalist attitude towards the working class, and as the leadership of the IV International has analysed previously, these groups and tendencies who have an intellectual approach towards the working class and their methods of struggle, who see everything from a theoretical point of view and are completely unable to fuse themselves with the working class the process of the proletarian revolution, will never gain the confidence of the workers, will remain on the side line of the struggle and in some cases will try to limit this. For weeks before the occupation was due to take place these people gave it wide publicity in the daily bourgeois press, on the radio and television. They posed the occupation in a formal legal way, all the time trying to keep it within the bounds of bourgeois 'justice', giving it reformist aims and limiting its duration. They did eventually remember to tell the workers who would be carrying out the occupation of their plan, only two days before it was due to take place.

This is not the way that occupations are carried out. The working class in this country has the confidence and the revolutionary spirit to carry out occupations at any time, but what is still lacking is a leadership to pose the programme and objectives for this. To occupy a factory is a revolutionary means of struggle, and cannot be linked with reformist aims. In any proposed occupation it is necessary to call for workers control, not workers on the boards of management, but workers running the factories, deciding who should work where, how fast the track should run, how much the workers should get paid, deciding the hours of work, and the protection of the factory, opening the books to show to other workers the financial secrets of the company, the percentage of profit etc. putting forward appeals to all workers in the

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# HOMAGE TO LEON TROTSKY ON THE 29TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ASSASSINATION

To commemorate this 29th anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky, means for us, as for all of the International, the utilising of the ideas and revolutionary action of Trotsky to understand the process of the world revolution today, to understand the struggle of the masses for power, to apply this comprehension which is, in this stage, the theoretical and political elaboration of Cde. Posadas, in our interventions each time more aggressive in the class struggle on a world scale and in Britain in particular.

The essential ideas of Trotsky are in process of organising the world, fundamentally through their development, their extension and their application by Cde. Posadas, by the leadership of the IV International and by all the sections of the IV International. At the centre of the ideas of Trotsky, there is our invincible confidence in Marxism that no one is able to destroy change or even do without understanding and accepting Marxism imposes itself through the progress of human history

In 1938, Trotsky predicted one of the surest conclusions of history, emphasising with it, his capacity of historic foresight, that only marxism could give him: "In ten years, millions of revolutionaries will follow the programme and policy of the IV International"- in 1938! Then when the world communist and worker movement was submitted to defeat after defeat, was repressed, disorganised, crushed, when the Soviet bureaucracy had eliminated, physically and politically, the cream of the bolshevik vanguard, when Nazism appeared invincible, when the masses were defeated in Spain. Such a prediction was apparently a historic abstraction, but it was the result of observation and Marxist comprehension of history.

Trotsky foresaw the war and the revolution. The essential ideas of Trotskyism were contained in this very general prediction that the Second World War was inevitable, but that the masses were going to come out of the war pushing forward the socialist revolution. This is the continuity of Marxism. The forms, the programme, the policy, the tactics were going to be "defined later". They were unable to be through Trotsky. Today they are through the IV International and Cde. Posadas.

To commemorate Trotsky today is to celebrate the impetuous development of the socialist revolution throughout the entire world, "whatever be the forms." Thus Sudan and Libya without being Workers States, the positions which they have put forward pose in a short while the formation of new Workers States. The last declarations of the Sudanese leaders said that they wished to make Sudan, the "Cuba of Africa," the Libyans speak of the "realisation of the socialist dream of the people!" Thus speaks the military, the leaders of these revolutions who don't have for certain between them 30 years, and the oldest are not 40. All this goes to demand of them - as they do not propose it consciously and programmatically themselves today - to nationalise, to statise the power and fundamental means of production, the cotton, petrol, the main industries, to make a true land reform to collectivise the land. It is this what Cde. Posadas speaks of when characterising these processes of "workers states installed",. It is a qualification which gives an image and not a definition. The stage of the bourgeois revolution must realise itself under these forms, as formidable applications of the theory of the permanent revolution of Trotsky.

All this is the capacity of foresight of Marxism, of Trotskyism and in this stage of Posadism. In liquidating Trotsky, one liquidated an instrument of history. But these texts, remain and they live. Today in the IV International. When an idea is just and correct, history charges itself to find the forms so that it maintains itself.

We do not make a cult of Trotsky, but we analyse the function of his ideas and their application today, in the French May, in the development of the political revolution in the Workers States, in the appeal launched through the Moscow Conference for a world united anti-imperialist front, in the fact that a series of sectors of the C.P.'s in Italy and in France in particular, are in process of resuming the revolutionary struggle, with the struggle for power.

The most important quality of the Trotskyists has been, is and must be to comprehend their function in history which is not to impose the truth, the programme or the policy of the IV International, but to know how to unite themselves to the masses of the world, to the exploited masses in Britain, to the communist and labour vanguard, in their will to struggle for power, to construct socialism.

This was also the function of Lenin and of Trotsky, and before that of Marx. But Marx, as opposed to all other revolutionaries in history, was the one who foresaw history, who gave all the texts to understand the course of history. The others have had and have to apply, in the function of each concrete stage, to organise the forces in each stage.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Posadas and the IV International have supported themselves and support themselves on infinitely superior forces to themselves. As with the C.P. which supports itself on greater forces than itself, the same with the leadership of no matter what movement - revolutionary, nationalist, socialist, communist. If all of them had only their own forces to take power, they would never take it. The leaders, the parties, the movements support themselves on their ability to carry along the rest of the population, to influence and to lead it. It is this that made the Bolsheviks, who knew how to give security to all the working class and to large sectors of her exploited layers, to take power. To different degrees such is the function of the revolutionary leaderships.

The genius of Trotsky, the force of his ideas, of Trotskyism as developed today by the positions, the programme and orientation of Posadas and the International, is being brilliantly corroborated by the world revolutionary masses in each concrete stage of the ascent of the world revolution. In this country, as in the whole world, the forms of organisation, the methods of struggle, of civil revolutionary war, and the programmatic formulations of the struggle of the masses are saturated with Trotskyism.

In Britain, as in the whole of Europe, there is no solution to the economic, political and social crisis of capitalism but only a permanent state of pessimism in which the launching of the war more and more is being posed as a hopeless last effort to check the rise of the masses. The British bourgeoisie, resting upon the tottering crutches of a rotten labour leadership have nothing more to offer to their petit bourgeois social base except economic stagnation and political repression. Their social crisis is insoluble because they have lost their social base to the force and determination of a rising proletariat.

The problem is how to intervene to elevate the struggle, to give it a more elevated form of organisation and co-ordination. This signifies the organisation of the developing revolutionary leadership in the T.U.'s the L.P. and C.P., on the road to take power. And the task of our Party in this process demands a much more profound theoretical and political comprehension, but also a more elevated organisation of action, in the creation of a united front with the communist and labour vanguard in the construction of a revolutionary tendency.

The masses in Britain are alive to the class struggle, and this is the force of Trotskyism in this epoch. The proletarian vanguard, have led the working class in a massive rejection and defeat of all the economic repressions of the Wilson government. The policies of Wage Freeze and curbing strikes are as impotent and useless as the "back Britain campaign" for the working class has dealt fundamental

blows at British capitalism in the victories of the Ford and Leyland strikes, the success of the Port Talbot strike, in the civil war in Ulster, and in the way in which the revolutionary vanguard is beginning to impose its will on the T.U. leadership as shown in the T.U.C Congress particularly in the retaking of contact with the T.U.'s of the Workers States. This process of 'interior entrism' as characterised by Cde. Posadas, is the confirmation of Trotsky's invincible confidence and predictions for the IV International. There is a continual process of unification among the exploited masses as their mobilisations advance towards a unified general strike. The tenants are uniting their struggle with sectors of the T.U.'s and working class, parents and teachers unite as in the recent teachers strikes in Co. Durham; in all of the problems of the masses: equal pay for women, housing, social services, the spirit is one of offensive. 'civil rights' means the struggle for socialism.

One of the highest expressions of the sentiment and methods of struggle of the masses is Ulster where the methods of civil war, barricades, defence committees, violent confrontations with the police and army are all impressing themselves in the consciousness of the masses to advance to open class warfare, despite the conciliatory and reformist attitudes of the civil rights leadership. The fact that the barricades are coming down is the consequence of the lack of a leadership, and is not a defeat of the masses. The revolutionary tendencies which are organising themselves, in the Irish Labour and Communist Parties in the Peoples Democracy and in the I.R.A. who have called for "a united Socialist Ireland", as will the vanguard throughout Britain, will draw the correct conclusions from the coming down of the barricades. The masses everywhere, in Ulster, in the car industry, the tenants, the students show a total rejection of all the crap of capitalism, its incompetence, its spiritual and moral decadence. As Posadas says "already the masses have overthrown capitalism in their heads".

The problem is the development and organisation of the revolutionary vanguard which exists and is growing more and more conscious of its fundamental weight and force. Using the centralisation and traditions of the British working class this vanguard is vigorously impelling the process of 'interior entrism' in the L.P., T.U. and C.P. This is the basis of the new revolutionary leadership in this country, armed with its proletarian anti-capitalist programme, the programme of Trotsky, of the IV International which is preparing for the revolution and the final settlement with a moribund imperialist system.

The masses are not stopped by any obstacle, not the Chinese - Soviet conflict or the conciliatory policy of co existence which their leaderships still adopt. Quite to the contrary, they keep up their struggle, they raise the anti-capitalist objectives of the struggle, make greater conquests and consequently increase the internal crisis of the capitalist system. The crisis of the frame is a result of this social crisis of the regime. This is in the process of causing the whole of the world capitalist system to tremble. We still cannot measure all its consequences, but we will see them very soon. Every day the lack of monetary stability in the capitalist system, its contradictions and its antagonisms, become worse, what with the need for ~~army~~ investment for counter revolutionary war aims and a lack of social authority and co-ordination in the heart of the system itself.

The progress of the revolution and the struggle of the masses along with the growing crisis of the capitalist system exercise a great influence on the Workers States. The bureaucracy of the Workers States can see their end coming, with the end of the possibilities of co-existence. Inter-bureaucratic conflicts increase. In 1945 military superiority and the authority which the bureaucracy still had at its command, made it possible for the Soviet bureaucracy to impose its will and find a solution to these contradictions by using force. Today this is no longer possible. A whole year after the intervention in Czechoslovakia and its occupation the Soviet bureaucracy hasn't solved a single problem in the country. Every thing is in a state of suspension. The opposition allied to world capitalism has been isolated. It hasn't the strength to throw out the Soviet army and meanwhile the Soviet bureaucracy finds itself confronting problems which only political measures - the establishment of soviets and proletarian democracy - could solve.

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# THE KOSYGIN - CHOU EN LAI INTERVIEW AND THE DEVELOP- MENT OF A WORLD ANTI- IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT.

(Taken from Lutte Communiste organ of the P.C.R.(T)  
French Section of the IV International).

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The Kosygin - Chou En Lai meeting has been taken as a success by the world workers movement. It is part of the same line of development as was expressed in the Moscow Conference and the declarations made by Marshall Krilov on the atomic war against the imperialist world and the victory of the socialist camp which will follow this. This meeting is to be found within the picture of preparation for atomic war.

The world workers movement condemns the struggle between the U.S.S.R. and China over the frontier. It is absurd that two Workers States which should abolish the frontier between them should be confronting each other militarily over a frontier problem. This struggle is imposed on them by bureaucratic interests but not by socialist ones.

The Moscow Conference which met intending to condemn China had to finish up by making an appeal for a world anti-imperialist united front, and unity among the Workers States, within which China was included. The recent C.I.A. provocations which tried to exploit the inter-bureaucratic struggle by saying that the U.S.S.R. was ready to bomb the Chinese atomic bases, got their reply - because the vice minister, responsible for the missiles, Marshall Krilov, has denounced the fact that American imperialism is in the process of preparing a surprise attack on the U.S.S.R., saying that all her forces, up to the last Soviet gun, are ready to respond to this. This indicates that the guns are not pointed at China.

The pressure of the world workers and Communist movement has thus got a great echo inside the U.S.S.R. forces, within the Soviet army itself. The trip of Kosygin to Peking must be understood not as a personal action on his part, but as a triumph of these forces which are supported in the Soviet Union by the unanimous will of the Communist masses of the world and which have found little expression in the international Communist meeting just held in Hanoi to mark the death of Ho Chi Minh, though it was called for because of pressure from the North Vietnamese Workers Party.

The Sino - Soviet meeting in Peking certainly does not bring inter-bureaucratic contradictions - the political and military clashes - to an end, it cannot neutralise the bureaucratic forces that are interested in these clashes continuing just like that; but it shows that the forces seeking the solution of a Soviet - Chinese front, as the axis of a united front of the revolutionary and Communist movements of the world masses, have had one of their first great successes, proving that they can impose their will.

The example of the Hungarian radio which interrupted broadcasting to announce "One of the most important bits of news for the last few years" - the Sino - Soviet meeting - shows the attitude of the Communist Parties and the international Communist movement, the enormous pressure for the unification of the Workers States as a centre of the world anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movements.

We appeal to the Communist Parties and the Workers States and particularly to the Cuban, Vietnamese and Korean Workers States, to

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THE KOSYGIN - CHAO EN LAI INTERVIEW .....

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intervene to encourage the finding of a socialist working class solution to Sino-Soviet contradictions, a unification of the Workers States as the centre of the world anti-imperialist united front for which the Moscow Conference appealed.

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HOMAGE TO LEON TROTSKY ON THE 29TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ASSASSINATION

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The Soviet bureaucracy is forced to employ methods, a language and the slogans which go against its own existence. In a previous stage it had a certain freedom of action, a certain margin of decision in imposing its will on its bureaucratic rivals in the other Workers States. It no longer has this today, and this is what explains why the Rumanian bureaucracy has set out to blackmail the Soviet bureaucracy by seeking support from imperialism. The Soviet bureaucracy has to have recourse to ideas, slogans and measures that favour the advance of the political revolution as well, in an attempt to maintain its position. The world revolutionary process is cornering the bureaucracy, just as it is cornering capitalism.

The world masses work towards the overthrow of the capitalist system everywhere and the masses of the Workers States exercise an enormous pressure going into mobilisation, developing their States socially and economically as a means of limiting the freedom of action of the bureaucracy more and more. The internal divergencies within the bureaucracy can no longer be held in check and it is no longer possible for the bureaucracy to find strong centres of support in the capitalist system. The revolution demands support of the Soviet Workers State and the bureaucracy cannot oppose this. Thus it is that the Soviet fleet is present in the Mediterranean and the Mexican Gulf etc.

The situation created is Trotskyist without the bureaucracy having adopted the policy, programme and aims of Trotskyism. The Trotskyists work out their policy and perspectives and find support for them taking into consideration the fact that the world process of the revolution is going to chain up the bureaucracy just the same as capitalism. The revolution will make all the bureaucratic manoeuvres that go against its interest - the masses interests in the Workers States and the Capitalist countries - bounce back on the bureaucracy.

This is why Trotsky, inspite of the fact that he was subjected to enormous repression, never lost confidence in the triumph of the revolution; this is why today the IV International, comrade Posadas and our section are full of conscious optimism in the constant and victorious development of the revolution, in the struggle for power and the construction of socialism in Britain and the world.

VIVA THE MEMORY OF LEON TROTSKY AND HIS HISTORICAL CAPACITY!

VIVA THE IVTH INTERNATIONAL!

VIVA THE WORLD MASSES!

VIVA COMRADE POSADAS!

Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)

British Section of the IV International.

September 1969.

The uprisings in Ulster, as the International has insisted and insisted, are an integral part of the struggle of the workers of England, Scotland and Wales, they could not have taken place without the constant struggles of the British proletariat and its latest successes, Fords, Leylands, Port Talbot and the defeat of the Penal clauses. Also in their turn the struggle of the Ulster masses has encouraged and stimulated the masses here. But the British proletariat has not been able to feel the full weight of the soviet functioning, the street committees, the popular justice, the militia, the popular control over all aspects of life in the free zones, because the leadership of the zones has not been concerned to generalise these experiences. It is necessary to make these experiences weigh in the class struggle in Britain, to make it so that every T.U. branch, every Labour Party and Communist Party branch discusses these experiences, as, impelled by the trotskyist fraction within it, NUVB No. 6 branch of Luton is going to do later this year with the participation of Bernadette Devlin. This is the task of the revolutionary vanguard in the next period; to use the experience of Ulster to push forward a discussion in all the organisations of the class, making this discussion a basis for the organisation of a revolutionary tendency.

Even though the revolutionary vanguard will not be present in all its strength at the Labour Party Conference in Brighton next week, certainly the development of this vanguard will make itself felt on the delegates, on the middle and lower officials of the Labour party as it did a few weeks ago at the 101st Trade Union Congress. The rank and file delegates from the branches must impose that the situation in Ireland must be discussed fully. Not just to discuss, as the leadership would like, whether it was necessary to send troops or not (for imperialism it was necessary) but to discuss the functioning of the free zones taking the lessons of these for the organisation of the struggle here in the next period. In this way the conference will be made to reflect the aspirations of the vanguard, and will be a stimulus to the organisation of the revolutionary leadership.

The vanguard must be convinced that the events of Ulster are not special to Ulster, even though they may have special forms, but are an echo of the class struggle in Britain. The International has analysed that the masses of the whole of Europe are advancing with a spirit of dual power, what is lacking is a leadership to transform this spirit into concrete reality. The Ulster masses because of the particular local conditions were able to make this transformation as before the French masses were able to do in the French Revolutionary General Strike, or the Italian masses in Orgosolo and Battipaglia. But Ulster, as these other movements underline the absence of the essential element to take this struggle forward; the revolutionary

leadership on the anti-capitalist programme. And the vanguard in the unions, in the L.P. and C.P. must push forward this task.

All the national and international conditions are favourable to the tasks of constructing the new leadership. The world communist vanguard made itself felt in the World Communist Conference in Moscow, forcing the bureaucrats to call for the taking of power in France and Italy, calling for an anti-imperialist day of protest and an anti-imperialist conference. It is an indication of how, on an international scale the vanguard is beginning to take power in its organisations. In a limited way also the 101st T.U.C. Conference was an indication of this, showing particularly in relation to the resolution to remake contacts with the T.U.'s of the Workers States, that the British masses feel the influence of the Workers States. The vanguard will also make itself felt without doubt in the Labour Party Conference even though limitedly, and it has to be conscious that in this period where the whole balance of forces has changed within the organisations of the class in favour of the masses, it is possible for it to live politically in the Labour Party, in the Communist Party in the unions, and that the bureaucracy can no longer repress and expel as once it did.

The changed relationship of forces is a product of the whole advance of the revolution, a product of the strikes and demonstrations in France and Italy, the construction of a revolutionary tendency in the Italian C.P. in United Front with the International, the explosion onto the scene of the European class struggle of the German proletariat. Influenced by the world process of the revolution the German proletariat breaks the bureaucratic shackles of the Union leadership and the Socialist Party and organises nationally, unofficial strikes. The conditions for

the German proletariat are very similar to here, and the vanguard must use this intervention also as a base for the organisation of the revolutionary tendency.

The vanguard must use the unions and the Labour Party to carry forward in all sections of the working class and exploited masses, a discussion on all the problems of the masses and the revolutionary solutions to these problems. Bogside and Belfast showed that the masses taking the power into their own hands could begin to solve the problems which a decadent capitalist system had no possibility of solving. But in order to be able to live politically in its organisations discussing all the questions of the revolution, it is necessary at the same time to carry on a struggle within them for proletarian democracy, for the right of the base to discuss and reject everything, to change the leadership, to throw out the conciliators and to elect those who show themselves capable and willing to lead the struggle against capitalism. The vanguard must demand an end to the high salaries of both the L.P. and T.U. leadership, demanding that none should receive more than the average workers wage, and that all must be revocable at any moment. In this way the conciliators and careerists will be removed and only those who are resolved to fight against capitalism will take positions of leadership. The communist militants must fuse themselves with this struggle using the authority which their support of the Workers States gives them to accelerate the process of construction of a new leadership.

Ireland gives the experience that the masses are ready for power but the present leadership is not. This leadership has to be constructed not only in Ireland but in the rest of Britain, starting from the level of organisation which the masses already have. Thus basing themselves on the process in Ireland, and the world process the vanguard must construct within the organisations of the class a leadership which can show to the rest of the class that it has the ideas, the programme, the conceptions necessary to lead the masses against capitalism. For an overall understanding of the world process of the revolution the vanguard must study the documents of Posadas and the International using these as Marxist tools for the solutions of all the problems which they encounter in the class struggle. The vanguard must also show itself to the rest of the class as being capable of resolving all the problems, and for this it must put forward a programme which satisfies all the demands of the exploited masses.

FOR A NATIONAL BASIC MINIMUM WAGE

ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN AND YOUTHS

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FOR A PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT, NO MORE RUNNING DOWN OF TRAIN AND BUS SERVICES, FOR A 50% REDUCTION IN ALL FARES.

FOR PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE UNIONS, ALL UNION OFFICIALS TO BE PAID THE AVERAGE WORKERS WAGE

ALL PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS IN THE FORM OF HIGHER WAGES AND SHORTER HOURS

FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL KEY INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION

WORKERS CONTROL IN ALL INDUSTRIES. NO COMMERCIAL SECRETS. WORKERS COMMITTEES TO EXAMINE THE ACCOUNTS OF ALL INDUSTRIES.

FOR A SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE ON AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST PROGRAMME

ALLIANCE AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS STATES AND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION AGAINST IMPERIALISM

FOR THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE AS PART OF A WORLD FRONT OF SOCIALIST STATES

FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN.

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in the country to support them, by strikes and similar occupations, where possible selling the goods they manufacture direct to the public appealing to the Workers States for aid etc. The occupation of a factory is an example of dual power, as analysed by Cde Posadas in the document "The Intellectuals and the Professional Workers, the Development of the Socialist Revolution and the IV International" is "when the population substitutes itself for capitalist power, and carries out the functions which correspond to the capitalist regime, or does what it wants against the capitalist system". The free areas in Ulster are an example, either they develop towards the overthrow of the capitalist system, or they decay. The pre-occupation of the bourgeoisie over the proposal to occupy these factories was enormous, and their relief when it failed is an indication that they are aware that the situation is ripe in this country for occupations of factories, docks, railways etc. just as has occurred on the continent. What is lacking here, as on the continent, is a revolutionary leadership which will lead this process, and develop a new stage in the class struggle. The enormous strikes of the Ford, Leyland and Port Talbot workers, the defeat of the Penal Clauses, and the resolutions passed at the T.U.C. show that the masses are prepared for this step.

Occupations are not arranged from on top, with directions given out by paternalist reformists, but are decided by the working class as a whole. The examples of last May in France are excellent, when the decision to occupy Renault for example was taken by the workers at the base of the unions, forcing their leadership to pose the occupation. The unions leaders responded knowing that if they didn't they would be by passed, and the mass meeting throughout the month of the occupation responded to the demands of the masses to completely control the occupation. All decisions concerning strikes occupations etc. must be made from the base of the unions, all delegates must be elected from mass meetings and must be subject to instant recall if they do not carry out the decisions taken at the mass meetings. All union officials must be elected at mass meetings and subject to instant recall.

This type of proletarian democracy within the workers movement the T.U.'s the L.P. and C.P. etc. must be organised together with the formation of a new revolutionary leadership of the masses. We appeal to the vanguard in the T.U.'s and L.P. and C.P. to form a united front with the R.W.P.(T) British Section of the IV International in order to promote proletarian democracy in the workers movement and to form part of the new revolutionary leadership. We appeal to the workers in the G.E.C. factories threatened by redundancies to install workers democracy in their organisations, to throw out the present conservative leadership of the shop stewards committee which has taken advantage of the absence of a revolutionary leadership in order to gain control of the situation, to discuss this article and programme of demands together with all the articles of Cde. Posadas and the IV International as a step towards building a new leadership in the factory to impose work sharing without loss of pay, no more redundancies, for the nationalisation of G.E.C. - A.E.I. without compensation and under workers control, and by doing this participating in the building of a new revolutionary leadership which will lead forward the struggle to get rid of capitalism and install a workers government in Great Britain.

LONG LIVE THE STRIKES  
AND DEMONSTRATIONS  
OF THE WORKERS OF  
TURIN AND MILAN

# 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.

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The  
Libyan  
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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

No. 99

10th October 1969. price 6d.

## IMPOSE A FULL DISCUSSION IN THE L.P. AND T.U. BRANCHES, ON THE RESOLUTIONS TAKEN AT THE 101st T.U.C. AND THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

The decision to hold the Labour Party Conference in Brighton, amidst the wealth and decadence of capitalism, and not in a proletarian city, is the first sign that this latest conference did not represent the wishes of the masses of this country, and was not going to resolve any of the problems of the working class, even if it passed resolutions on some of these problems, nothing was discussed in depth and no real conclusions were drawn. There is an immense crisis within the Labour Party, there are constant confrontations between the workers in the trade unions and the Labour government and between the National Executive Committee of the L.P. and the government. Wilson and his cabinet are ruling in the interests of the capitalist class and ignoring as far as is possible the demands of the working class although at the same time as they do this they are forced to publish a policy statement of the L.P. which attacks the basic structure of capitalism, calls into question the whole principle of taxation and the right to pay and receive dividends. This document has terrified a sector of the ruling classes and the "Daily Telegraph" stated that "it is quite simply a detailed plan for the suffocation of what remains of the capitalist system in Britain", this document also attempted to keep in a very weak form part of the prices and incomes policy. And it was this that caused the biggest split in the Conference.

The revolutionary anti-capitalist spirit of the British working class expressed itself in the way that the T.U. leaders were forced to reject any form of prices and incomes policy statements in the conference. The fact that a vote was forced over the main policy statement of the Labour Party "Agenda for a Generation", which in fact came near to defeat, the fact that in a speech Jones of the T. .W.U. opposed the Labour Party to the government, indicate the enormous crisis in the Labour apparatus. And yet, even after all this rumpus over the prices and incomes policy, with the T.U.'s voting against the government, Scanlon showed clearly that the British working class is not going to break with the Labour Party when he said that the Labour Party was the only working class party and that his union would do all it could to ensure that Labour was returned at the next election with an overwhelming majority. He would not have spoken in this way if he felt that the working class was going to abandon the Labour Party.

It is necessary to analyse some of the most important speeches and resolutions of the Conference. For instance the resolution proposed by the Braughtsmens union, for G.E.C. on Merseyside to be taken into public ownership was tremendously important, there was no discussion allowed on this

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# The Process of the Nationalist Revolution in Peru and the Role of the IV International

## PART 2.

(The first part of this report is to be found in the last issue of "Red Flag")

A part of the military Junta and the army is won for socialist ideas today even though it is still in a general and superficial way. They would not be carrying through what they are in the process of doing in Peru if this were not so. On October the 4th 1968 only a day after the coup, Cde Posadas wrote that a wing of the army could be influenced by socialist ideas. The International's analysis of the process has moved forward with that process since then, but the capacity, for understanding it from the beginning, due to the centralised functioning of the International, has had important consequences. It has given us the necessary theoretical security to be able to influence this wing.

The whole of the International was orientated by the same line at the time as well, whilst the Communist Parties for their part, adopted an infinite number of positions, from characterising the movement as "doubtful" the position adopted by the Chilean C.P., to giving it the label of "Gorilla" (extreme right) Junta as did the French C.P. and Italian C.P. in particular, and the Soviet Union kept silent, reserving its opinion in the expectation of new developments. This diversity of position clearly indicates that the Communist Parties were not equipped to understand the process.

Several dozen movements of the same type must be expected in the period opening up from now. Sudan (and Libya) prove this. The International in its entirety and ourselves, as the Peruvian Section, have been the only people capable of understanding and foreseeing that the 'coup' was a left one. The same can be said of Iraq, whose government is still regarded by everyone else as responsible for murder. When everyone else gave it up as lost, the International supported the measures it took, hanging the spies, showing that these measures belonged to a left-ward line, this line has just be confirmed by the Agrarian Reform measures adopted in the last Congress of the Iraq Baath Party, along with a whole series of other revolutionary measures and positions of great interest.

In the case of Peru the process is more significant in that it is without precedent. Iraq has Egypt and Syria at its side and the Arab masses have a long standing tradition of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle which dates back to the Mousadeq struggle and the first oil nationalisations. Peru hasn't got this tradition.

It was expected that an army movement would serve the interests of the oligarchy, but these officers have a poor and middle petit bourgeois origin. The Minister for Agriculture and President Velazco Alvarado, have poor petit bourgeois origins. Thus it is that Alvarado declared recently, "we weren't

## THE PROCESS OF THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION IN PERU....

born with silver spoons in our mouths, but come from the people".

It is certain that the military team in Peru was not prepared for the tasks it has to undertake but the world generally speaking is. And it is the level of the world's preparation that is expressed in Peru and which makes it possible for this army team to receive the influence of the revolution. The process in Peru shows one of the new forms in which the revolution develops and there is no similar process in Europe. The forms of the revolution are different without being in opposition to each other, and are indicative of the degree of maturity attained where they develop and of the possibilities of world inter-influence. This is true of the whole world. This is the reason for the great echo that the Peruvian process has. If it were unimportant it wouldn't cause the stirr that it does as is emphasised constantly by the world press which is devoting article upon article to this process. Capitalism realises that Peru is in process of influencing the whole of Latin America and that entire sectors of the army - whole regiments - are mature to be won to socialist ideas - won for the revolution, and to go on from nationalist movements to the socialist revolution.

Capitalism is living through a process of failure and increasingly accelerated disintegration. It no longer has confidence in itself. It hasn't any self-assurance and resorts more and more to atomic arms. It has no security in its social future in which it will be without political capacity. It manages to just about remain where it is by using methods that enable it to win time for itself. The Soviet bureaucracy facilitates this. If capitalism can still go on it is because the Communist Parties don't overthrow it.

If the Communist Parties had adopted the necessary policy and was in the heart of the process of the constantly advancing revolution, the phenomenon of the "protest movements" would not be appearing today. Really all layers of the petit bourgeoisie, the liberal professionals, who show their discontent, protesting against society and rejecting the bourgeois order of things and the Soviet bureaucracy would be an integral part of revolutionary Communist Parties were it not for the lack of proletarian democracy in the Communist Parties. The Communist movement would have incorporated them into its ranks in the same way as it was able at one stage to incorporate the peasantry, winning it to Communist ideas.

In reality the protest movement is the result of the perversion caused by the policy of conciliation of the Communist Party bureaucracy, which has not been able or known how to organise the exploited masses. The protest movement meanwhile has not shown itself to be a movement necessary in history for the building of revolutionary strength, but only to be a reflection of revolutionary forces and the fact that these forces have not been organised in time.

### PERU SHOWS THAT THE WORLD PROCESS IS FAVOURABLE TO THE REVOLUTION AND NOT TO CAPITALISM.

Progress is not favourable to capitalism, or the Soviet bureaucracy, but to the revolution. It's not favourable to the pro-Chinese or left wing groups but to Trotsky's ideas and positions. The process in Peru is an example of this. We are not considering Peru just so as to show that the International was right about it, using it as proof that what we say is true, but to make a historical example of it to show that the process leads to concentrated forms, more and more centralised forms that demand theoretical and political understanding.

What the military leaders of Peru are doing is an echo of this concentrated process whilst the capitalist system is in total collapse. But it is an echo that shows that it simply isn't possible to proceed as in the past, as was the case in the times of Peron, taking measures that favour the development of an internal market. The measures taken today by the Peruvian Junta destroy the security and the structure of the capitalist system. They are creating, even in the heart of the Junta itself, a new confidence to advance. When military leaders act in this way it is because they feel the influence of the world revolution and our own action as a Party. This explains how Artola, Minister for Home Affairs, was able to say to some Party comrades, "socialism is a good thing and the people must understand that", and "we want the same thing as you

## THE PROCESS OF THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION IN PERU .....

do; we all know and read Posadas. But you're in more of a hurry for it than we are!" The Minister for Home Affairs is not speaking for the sake of it; it was of no advantage to him to say that to us or to say that if the Junta goes on using the Peruvian flag it's because "we want a Peruvian socialism, the same as Fidel Castro has a Cuban socialism and the Chinese have a Chinese socialism." And it is with this spirit that this fraction of the Junta goes into the streets to speak with the people!

They have nothing certain as a source of confidence and security - no cultural or revolutionary basis. They have no idea of the dialectic of the process and are carried along by it; which shows how the revolution has the strength to penetrate into military teams everywhere now. It has sufficient strength to penetrate influence and encourage. This strength must be considered a source of support by those who want to advance.

Unquestionably this Junta, which is accomplishing the role of a party, is transitory. It must be aware of its role and therefore take the steps forward needed for the organisation of the masses, establishing organisations with a mass functioning. We can't say just how far this process will advance, but what is certain is that there already exists a team prepared to advance which we can influence.

The Peruvian army is in the process of playing a role which substitutes for a mass party. But because the army is not a mass party, in that it hasn't the necessary ideas, nor hasn't been prepared for the role it must play, it hasn't any political or theoretical notion and nor has it security in the principles and objectives of a mass party. For all these reasons we must expect a profound crisis to be produced. There will be attempts to slip back and repress. The army has not the functioning, organisation or preparation of a Party, but must encourage the independent activity of the masses, and action to deal with considerable problems. This is why we must intervene, to help this sensitive team to understand, and to intervene itself. We must help it acquire political confidence and understanding. Moreover there is the possibility of winning a whole sector of it to the Trotskyist programme, objectives and policy. What Peru has acquired cannot be gone back on now and it is necessary to intervene to raise the level of the struggle in this stage, to encourage the independent action of the masses the workers and peasants - who are launching themselves into action now.

The importance of the fact that the army has distributed leaflets in the towns and villages must be considered: it is important in the sense that it upsets the traditional functioning of the army. It results in the soldier having more confidence in his relations with the population.

The traditional structure of the army is broken and as the soldiers and officers gain more social security they get won to socialist ideas. We, therefore, must prepare ourselves for the consequences of such a process.

### THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN THE JUNTA AND THE ROLE OF THE ARMY.

Having to function as a party, the army will have to confront a whole series of complications because it was not built with this objective and lacks previous functioning of this type. The complications will arise out of the contradiction existing between its formation, customs and structure, and the activity which it is carrying out. The objectives it follows at present lead to a clash with all its external formation. This will be expressed by the development of an important crisis in its heart and the heart of the Junta. But in spite of the clashes and setbacks that this can produce the conclusions will be fundamentally favourable.

Echoes of this must be expected throughout Latin America and the whole world. It will have an influence in arresting all guerrilla tendencies by putting the fact, that a guerrilla movement cannot play a central role any more in evidence, (although it can have a certain use, but as a complimentary factor and a somewhat marginal one.) The more the organisation of a mass party advances the less necessary a guerrilla movement becomes. Its function becomes fulfilled by an armed party, and the guerrilla movement becomes a detachment of a party which acts militarily, no longer playing the role of leadership.

What interests us at the moment is the internal struggle in the Junta, at the head of which is to be found a socialistic tendency. It is fundamental that the workers and peasants trade unions should launch themselves/independent action to encourage this tendency. Such an intervention of the trade unions

## THE PROCESS OF THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION IN PERU.....

would make it possible for the tendency to gain in confidence rapidly. We appeal to the trade unions to intervene and organise a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions, not with the intention of overthrowing the government but to raise the level of the struggle by stating their demands. This will help the socialist sector of the Junta to detach itself from the reactionary sector.

For the time being the Junta is a single whole where reactionary, centrist and socialistic sectors co-exist. Whilst the socialistic sector lacks confidence, it lives prisoner to some extent of the other sectors and is hampered in advancing to take socialist measures. This is why the role of our Party, appealing for support for the measures of the Junta, encouraging it to advance and appealing to the workers to organise themselves in an independent way, is important. The progress will not be limited to what these people are or are not prepared to do but the workers, by organising themselves, will impose much more on the Junta to advance. That shows one of the fundamental tasks of the Party.

We must encourage the Junta to the maximum but not depend on it. We must keep on appealing for the mobilisation of the masses in demonstrations, in the organisation of meetings (we must continue to organise meetings ourselves) in support of the revolutionary measures of the Junta and appealing for more measures against what remains of imperialist and capitalist property.

The fact that the Junta is not homogenous must be borne in mind, and that the majority of its members including key members, think that the taking of measures of expropriation of imperialism for the development of Peru's economy is sufficient. They will soon see that this isn't sufficient and that even more nationalisation is required, nationalising almost everything, that the economy must be planned permitting the greatest possible intervention of the masses on this. It will be irreplaceable to have the support of the intervention of the masses to reach such a stage. The socialistic sector of the Junta, the sector likely to go furthest, will have to appeal for the mobilisation of the masses if it is going to decide to advance. Once it feels this support it will dare to defend much more advanced positions. For their part, the masses will realise that they don't depend on the Junta; they will feel that their activity depends on their going further and conquering more than the Junta can.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY MEASURES OF THE JUNTA OPEN THE WAY TO CAPITALISM AND TOWARDS SOCIALISM IN PERU.

We appeal to take, jointly with the anti-imperialist measures already taken; measures for full employment, for an increase of salaries, for democratic political liberties, against the oligarchy and against the right. We appeal for the setting up of Popular Committees, of Popular Tribunals to control the activity of the right, of the administration, of justice, whose function is to control the activity of the population. We appeal for the introduction of a sliding scale of wages (the control of prices which the Junta proposes is correct but insufficient). Controls must be effected, starting from factory and neighbourhood committees, over production and prices. We call for the putting under way and the immediate realisation, of a plan of production in relation to the needs of the masses.

All this programme is going to be an immense stimulus to the masses for their intervention. But it is also going to be a stimulus to the intervention of a socialist sector

of the junta which is going to gain the confidence to take new measures and to generalise the social consequences of the measures taken: socialisation of the bank, immediate nationalisation. In these measures there also lies the condition for the maximum success of the agrarian reform.

The process in Peru is new, none other is similar to this and we must consider that it opens a new stage. At the moment of Peron, the form was different. Certainly there was equally a military team in power, but this was happening in 1943-1944. There wasn't any other Workers States except the U.S.S.R. Today on the contrary there is Cuba and 15 other Workers States, now all the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America advance in the anti-capitalist struggle, and a series of new Workers States are on the point of being constituted. From there comes the infinitely greater importance of the Junta in Peru, than Peron, who did not have any competitor. Today Peru has Cuba at its side and an immensely more mature and more advanced process than in the time of Peron.

A fraction exists within the Junta who want to reply seriously to the problems of the backwardness of the country, by taking measures going towards socialism, which does not mean today that they are disposed to construct socialism, or to form a Workers State. They want to bring Peru out of its backward and underdeveloped state with the aid of socialist measures, which they think it possible to do, while co-existing with the maintenance of the capitalist regime. This tendency is grouped principally around Artola and the Minister of Petroleum, Fernando Maldonado. It is this last person who in a text of the third of last October posed the need for changing the structure, by breaking the old social and economic dependant structures. All his texts are inclined towards socialism. It is this team which we must influence, to make it advance, giving it confidence that one can advance with socialist economic measures by being based on the development of the mass movement.

It is necessary to expect a reaction from the bosses, and for this to prepare the elements of this team inclined towards socialism for a confrontation with them, for a crisis which they are going to try to provoke, confronting them by being based on the masses and feeling capable by this of going forward.

We repeat that the the measures taken up to the present correspond to bourgeois democratic measures and remain within the bourgeois field. But we must see that we are no longer in 1943. In that epoch the bourgeoisie felt strong, sure of itself, capable of developing itself, it saw the perspective of a great industrial development. All this is impossible now. The crisis of capitalism is galloping; there are 16 Workers States and some ten more in preparation, there is the crushing defeat of imperialism in Vietnam; the Arab revolution, the advance of the revolutionary struggles of the European proletariat. Everywhere the bourgeoisie is on the defensive.

This is the reason why any measure which effects the status quo, which tends to signify a progress, immediately affects the capitalist system and opens the process which cannot be maintained in the framework of capitalism. This is why the Junta expresses a profound process, which they themselves do not understand. If basically, it is the repetition of a process already known in the past, in its form it is totally new and our intervention must take account of it. This process puts once more in evidence that the bourgeoisie sees all its solutions blocked.

Any measure which signifies progress in Latin America, must inevitably take the character of another type of solution. Neither the Soviets nor the Chinese nor the Cubans, nobody with the exception of the IV International, Comrade Posadas and our Section as part of the International have understood it. The most

fantastic and also reactionary analyses have been made. They were not prepared to understand all the new forms which the revolution in the world was in process of taking and they remain clinging to the schemes of another epoch. This is the way to see, to understand what Comrade Posadas does not cease to repeat, "the revolution doesn't have a form, it has principles, objectives but not a form" Ireland, Sudan, Iraq, (and now Libya) are there to demonstrate it.

There is, we repeat a sector of the Junta which wishes to advance. The proof is in the university law. The first measures taken by the Junta in the university field had very reactionary aspects. They have just rectified this law. Primary education has been made free and compulsory. Secondary School education has been made free. It is a great conquest for the working class and the poor peasantry. They have suppressed the article, which authorised the police to enter the university; they have suppressed the participation of the three best pupils as representatives of the leadership of the university. Today, the students have the right to twenty representatives who they can elect. There is still a point lacking on the supressing of the entry exams and we must continue our fight for this demand.

When all the currents were fighting in the university for the overthrow of the Junta, particularly following the reactionary first law on the university, we called to struggle and have struggled for a progressive anti-capitalist programme in the university. The rectification of the law showed that we were right to act in this way, that the government were not "fascist" and we were not "imbeciles" as all the other tendencies from the communists the pro-chinese up to some so-called Trotskyists trumpeted. Today several sectors among them make a united front with us to continue the struggles on the points of the programme which have still not been attained.

To help the team within the Junta which wants to advance, it is necessary



# ON THE NECESSITY TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMUNAL LIFE

(This document has been edited on the  
basis of a letter from Cde. Posadas on  
the commune, addressed to the comrades  
imprisoned in Mexico).

Following the revolutionary traditions of Communes in prison, created by the initiative of the Bolshevik Party in 1917 and which the Trotskyists comrades have taken up in all the prisons they have been in to reply to the necessity to live in the most elevated social form, we also must organise and develop the conditions to construct the commune in the prison.

At the base of the commune there is the sentiment of socialist democracy and of everything which unites us in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism, for the workers and peasant government, and for the construction of socialism.

It is fundamental to establish between us fraternal relations, relations of revolutionary solidarity. We feel the need to elevate the communist spirit, communist fraternity as a basis of the force of our ideas and our assurance.

We consider that it is necessary to maintain bolshevik morale in the prison and to exert our socialist consciousness. We must prepare ourselves for collective sentiments and fight against individualism. The life in common gives the elements and the methods to develop the critical and self critical spirit and above all gives the strength to overcome individualism. The commune facilitates the methods of struggle for socialism which is our objective and allows us to unify our forces. We must live in a socialist fashion even starting from the minimum conditions which we have. The organisation of life in a communal fashion permits us to give continuity of life outside the prison. The commune is a school which teaches, gives respect and elevates the sentiment, a permanent school where one learns to develop the most noble sentiments for which we are fighting.

All the action which we are going to take is going to mean an experience which is going to help us concentrate our forces and our capacities. Even if one does not attain everything we are going to concentrate the demands in relation to what is best for everyone and to draw from it the experience of the collective life. We are going to develop our sentiments of equality, of mutual right and mutual militant respect.

The experience realised by our comrades in Mexico, in Argentina, in Uruguay etc. has shown that the commune allows the execution and the development of the collective capacity of leadership, of publishing collective resolutions, to help to understand the submission to collective decisions. Prison must not be a motive for the limitation of the hindering of the political life. The courses and the discussion are important, but the fundamental thing is to construct communist sentiments to maintain the sentiments of fraternity and

ON THE NECESSITY TO CREATE THE COMMUNE .....

solidarity.

If we feel the influence of the world socialist revolution, of the struggles in Spain, we must live with this consciousness dedicating the best of our attention to study, to write, to prepare and to give courses and to live, with confidence in socialism. All this is to construct us as revolutionary men and thus to make us feel the strength to construct the Commune. If these sentiments do not exist then we give all the possibilities for individualism to develop and we will fall into the void.

The fraction of the prisoners of the P.O.R.(T) Spanish Section of the IV International proposes to centralise our forces, to plan our activity in relation to these objectives; to use the struggle to obtain the concession that all the political prisoners be united in a single sector as a platform and to construct a commune. We propose to organise courses on Marxism, a course on the workers movement, collective reading of the press, doing this daily, making a balance of our way of acting with criticisms and self criticisms, to have assemblies regularly to organise commissions of security, of the kitchen, of hygiene, and of sports teams etc.

Prison must not disarm us, and our time must be organised in relation to what is best for all. It is necessary to concentrate and concentrate our forces our intellectual capacity must be organised for the revolution. We are revolutionary men, we fight for socialism and we must profit from the time to give the best of ourselves, doing what we must and can do, constructing our communist sentiments.

Fraction of the Prisoners of the P.O.R.(T)  
Spanish Section of the IV International.  
18th July, 1969.

CONTRIBUTE TO THE  
FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN  
FOR THE RELEASE  
OF THE TROTSKYISTS

# THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF LIBYA

## A NEW TRIUMPH OF THE WORLD AND ARAB REVOLUTION

The military coup which a very young sector of the army has made in Libya to overthrow the monarchy and install a democratic and popular government does not correspond to a special situation in that country. It is not the result of a process specific to Libya, but an aspect of the world revolution, expressed and developed in the Arab world. The forces do not come from Libya, but from the whole of the world revolution which has allowed a small proletarian nucleus of this country to give confidence to the masses, to the intellectuals, to the young officers to the petit bourgeoisie. It is through the world revolution that the Libyan proletariat has maintained its historic security, financing the development of the Arab revolution, financing the maintenance of Egypt and Syria, the maintenance of El Fatah. It is all this which has given confidence to the young officers and which has given to them the force to make the coup, because they have thought that they could count on popular support. And it was like this that things happened.

These are the reasons for which the first appeal which they launched concerned the realisation of "the old socialist dream of the people". Who do they address in this way? To all the state of spirit which there was in the proletariat, among large layers of the peasants and of the petit bourgeoisie. The initiative of the movement does not come from the petit bourgeoisie, but from the proletariat which has maintained in the last years, and in spite of strong repression, constant mobilisations, strikes in the ports the factories and in the petrol concerns. There are the solid bases of this movement. It is not the product of four military men. It signifies an impulsion to the socialist revolution which it will not be possible to block, even if the team in power intends to maintain itself transitionally, at a level of an arrangement with imperialism or of being just a Republic in general.

One still does not know the range of the programme, but one can think in relation to what they have declared that they are thinking of going further forward. They have said that they "would not touch the agreements with the west", but they have not said that they support the policy of the west or of the "free world", or of the "Muslim world". This is logical in the measure where they have the Yankee fleet and army at their doors. But we must see in the fact that they have not formulated any declaration of support to western policies, their will to go further even if there are some tendencies which are going to resist.

### The Process of Concentration of the Arab Revolution

The appeal to socialism still remains feeble. They speak of the "Arab Fatherland free and socialist" there is still not any concrete measure either economic, financial or social. This declaration about socialism signifies the seeking for a support at the side of the poor and medium petit bourgeoisie, the peasants as well as the proletariat. This is not an abstract declaration. The Peruvian Junta didn't speak like this. It limited itself to speaking of "changes of structure" even if these correspond in fact to socialist measures.

The weakness of the appeal to socialism also reflects the existence and the fight with tendencies who are still not disposed to detach themselves from capitalism, who wish to maintain agreements with it. All this team is not homogeneous. It is logical that the proletariat maintains a certain distrust in the measure where, up to the present the army has served as a point of

support to its adversaries. In this way it is not going to give an unconditional and immediate support, it must see the concrete measures. It wishes to see above all the type of relations which are going to be established with the trade unions the measures which are going to be taken to satisfy the trade union demands. It wants to see all this, the measures which the government are going to take against imperialist properties.

In Libya the trade unions are very advanced, they intervene in all the struggles in the Middle East as one of the principle supports of the anti-imperialist movements. They have made important strikes in support of the organisation of the Palestinian guerrillas and from the time of the meeting of the Arab Trade Unions in 1967 they appear as being at the head, of being those who were making the most important propositions.

In all this process of cause and effect, of concentration and centralisation of the world and Arab revolution, in an unequal and combined way the combined character expresses itself with more and more force. It is this which renders possible the immediate taking of socialist measures in such a backward country. One passes from the King to Socialist measures, it is the same thing in Sudan, and in part in Peru. This process puts clearly into relief what Comrade Posadas analyses on "installed Workers States" this does not signify that Libya or Sudan are Workers States, but that the Workers State is already installed in the head of people, that they want to realise it, to organise it and that the problem is one of finding a road and the means to do it.

When those who direct the movement speak of socialism, it is possible that such is not their intention. But when they must speak of "the old socialist dream" it is because they feel the necessity of finding a support among those people who "dream of socialism". They are conscious that this is the only fashion of being able to maintain themselves at the head of the movement which they have unleashed. This stimulates the working class, the petit bourgeoisie, the young officers, the middle cadres of the army towards the realisation of socialist measures.

The experience of the Middle East shows once more that the capitalist road does not open up any perspective does not permit any development. In proclaiming the Republic, these military men want a development, an elevation of the country in order to eliminate misery, which no capitalist measure has ever succeeded in doing.

This is also the example of Peru, where to develop the internal market, to elevate the conditions of life of the workers and of the peasants they have had to expropriate imperialist enterprises, the agricultural ones in particular. If the actual measures of agrarian reform and organisation into co-operatives still remains within the framework of the system of private property, it is not the normal capitalist functioning any longer, it is a blow delivered to all the capitalist structure which has, as an essential effect, the shattering of the social base of its power. And even if the measures taken in Peru are aiming to maintain the system of private property, such a system leads, inevitably to collectivisation and not to concentration of capital, as was occurring before, in the particular case of large sugar enterprises.

The coup which just occurred in Libya has the same effects. Oil continues to be in the hands of imperialism. But the sole fact of eliminating the monarchy, leads to the elimination of the social structure on which imperialism is supporting itself. Moreover, there is no historical time for a national bourgeoisie to develop. All this signifies that they will be obliged, very soon, to take some anti-capitalist measures.

The appeals and qualifications of "socialist" that the leading team makes, are not simple speculations aimed at making people believe in them, but, are a means to obtain a concrete and real support from the masses. One must, certainly, expect some resistance, particularly from the layers which were supporting the monarchic regime. The change from a regime to another will not occur without resistance. One will have to confront a series of interests which are going to defend themselves, in particular all those who used to live on robbery, thanks to the oil. One must expect the Yankees to arm a counter revolution. To break an interior revolution is a simple thing with the participation of the masses. But one must expect the Yankees will intervene. Imperialism is going to try everything in order to intervene, to create difficulties,



The proclamation of the Republic after the overthrow of the monarchy, aims at attacking attempts of counter coups before they can happen, and is a response to the will of the masses for socialism, which implies that the recent characterisation of the International about the "installed Workers States" is correct. It is now clear in the head of not only the working class, but also of very large layers of the peasants and of the petit bourgeoisie, that, in order to take power, measures that are not of the capitalist system must be taken, and this from the beginning and very quickly. It is because it is a matter of some measures taken by a movement bourgeois in its origins, that the International speaks of "installed Workers States." If the process was directed by the Communist Party it would not be possible to make this characterisation, because the C.P. seeks the Workers State. On the other hand, it is a matter in all these cases, Libya, Sudan in particular, of originally bourgeois movements. In Peru, the Minister of the Interior, Artola, declared several times that he is socialist!

#### For the Socialist Republic of Libya

Libya is the indication of the depths of the process in the whole Middle East of the social triumph of the masses which comrade Posadas spoke of on the day after the military victory of Israel in June 1967, of the extremely rapid movement of revolutionary ideas, of the inter influence of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles towards socialist measures. This is the reason for which it is necessary to combine the war against Israel with the struggle for the elevation of the socialist revolution against the 'moslem brotherhood', against the landowners, and the monarchies of Jordan and Saudi Arabia. As a section of the International, we support the Coup which has just overthrown the Libyan monarchy and proclaimed the Republic. But, we call for the organisation of a socialist republic, which takes immediate measures of limitation of imperialism, which encourages the development of movements that tend to create popular organs of power and of control of power. We propose, that all the trade unions in the Middle East have their say, support and call for a United Arab Trade Union Conference, in order to discuss the problem of the defense and support of the revolution in Libya, in order to propose some measures of planning of the economy of all the countries and specially with Syria, Sudan, Egypt, Iraq. We propose that such a conference launches an appeal to the whole world working class movement, to the Workers States to the communist parties, for them to give all their support to the Libyan revolution, to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab masses in the whole Middle East, for the establishment of a socialist society in Libya.

The strengths of this revolution are stemming from a set of forces infinitely superior, created and developed by the action of the world masses and by the resistance of the Arab masses. If this permanent and gradually more elevated action of the Arab masses in the Middle East were not existing, imperialism would have launched itself long ago against Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Algeria, and today Sudan and Libya. It would have found the means to provoke direct or indirect movements through Tunisia or Morocco. The action of the masses broke all the plans of imperialism.

The military power of Israel, armed by imperialism is not sufficient to destroy the will of the masses, to allow the victorious ascent of rightest tendencies, to come back against all the gains of the revolution and strengthen capitalism. It is the contrary that is occurring. Everything is going in the direction of stimulating the intervention and the decision of the masses, for the elevation of the programme of the revolution. The recent congress of the Baath in Iraq, which took for example some very good measures concerning the sharing of the land, the establishment of a series of controls over the capitalist sectors and other measures taking a socialist direction. The agrarian reforms, of Egypt and Iraq, are very important reforms with a larger participation of popular sectors and the rapid elimination of the social bases of the reactionary sector.

Parallel to the struggle against imperialism, one must develop the alliance with the Workers States. It is the condition to pose and take any sort of important and progressive measure, in the Middle East. The masses of the Middle East, must feel themselves linked to the Workers States because the final decision will be military. It is certain that the social, peasant, working class and petit bourgeois mobilisations whether political or trade



# DEMAND THE RELEASE of ALL THE IMPRISONED TROTSKYISTS

The repressive methods used by the bourgeoisie in its attempts to silence the anti-capitalist struggle waged by our comrades, which include imprisonment of three comrades in Spain and three comrades in Mexico, have proved of no avail in quelling their defence of socialist ideas. They are conscious of the support of the whole of the International, its centre Cde. Posadas and the world revolutionary vanguard and in no way allow themselves to be intimidated into diminishing their activity by capitalism's repression. Instead they seek to give their secure and confident militancy a new form of expression thus establishing communes in prison, winning over the rest of the political prisoners to their side, influencing their guards, playing the role of a revolutionary leadership centralised in the International, as our Mexican comrades are doing and whose example our Spanish comrades are following (see the declaration of the Trotskyist fraction in prison of the P.O.R.(T) on page 9 of this issue).

Adolfo Gilly, Oscar Fernandez Bruno and Teresa Confreta were in prison in Mexico for 3 years without trial and recently had sentences of 6 yrs. 6 months, 8 yrs. 6 months and 5 yrs. 3 months respectively served on them with no pretence of a hearing. Not one of the charges brought against them can be justified. An appeal made by the comrades will be heard on 7th October in Mexico. A lawyer has been sent by the Lawyers collective set up by the campaign in France, Italy, and Belgium as an observer.

We appeal to all the workers and students organisations, to T.U. and C.P. and L.P. militants and cadres and left wing intellectual sectors to put all possible pressure on the Mexican government on this occasion to obtain the comrades release, condemning the infamous treatment they have received. Send telegrams and letters of protest and help towards the cost of the appeal. Financial help is an urgent need, to contribute towards the fare of sending the lawyer to Mexico.

The campaign for the release of our Spanish comrades must be intensified particularly for Francisco Cuadrado (the painter), Dionisio Gomez, and Rafael Caballero. It is evident that the Franco regime lacks the social authority to be able to remain steady before the weight of world public opinion against it and the outrage of the revolutionary vanguard when trade union and political militants are imprisoned.

We include in the campaign for our comrades the demand that all these prisoners be released.

Send letters and telegrams of protest concerning the Mexican prisoners to:- Diaz Ordaz, Government House, Mexico City, Mexico D.F. and to the Mexican Embassy in London at 48 Belgrave Square, London. S.W.1. And concerning the Spanish prisoners to:- Franco, Casa del Gobierno, Madrid, Spain, and the Spanish Embassy in London, at 24 Belgrave Sq. London. S.W.1. Please send any financial contributions to, Fourth International Publications, 24 Cranbourn Street, London. W.C.2.

Please send a copy of all letters of protest etc to the party address.

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on this resolution, and it was narrowly defeated. The posing of this resolution showed that a sector of the vanguard of the working class saw that the only way to keep the factory open and provide jobs for the workers was for the factory to be nationalised.

The main speeches of Wilson and Barbara Castle showed that they felt they had to respond to some of the issues pre-occupying the masses. For instance on housing, Wilson was forced to say "all of us here are on the same side as Shelter." Indeed, we were there first." But nothing was discussed on the chronic housing shortage, and of the terrible inhuman conditions that thousands of families are forced to live under, nothing concrete was posed to increase the housing programme. And in respect of Castle, when she spoke of equal pay for women, it was with a perspective of not being attained for another 6 years, all the time keeping within the bounds of the prices and incomes policy, and not in any way increasing the overall wages bill, being equal pay for women at the expense of the men workers annual rises!

The biggest failing of the L.P. conference was the absence of any real discussion on Ulster, and the free zones there. Callaghan was only able to suggest the catholics should join the R.U.C., that schools should not be divided between religions, he appeared to regret the Special Powers act, refused to do anything about repealing it, and seemed confident that the government of Stormont would put things to rights. There was no discussion of the revolutionary aspects of the uprising, of the importance of the free areas, where the police are still not allowed to enter, of the existence of free radios and newspapers, of the result of the workers of these areas being in charge of justice and law and order, of the fact that crime is virtually unheard of in the free areas. There was no discussion that the fighting was not catholic against protestant but exploited working class against the apparatus of the state. This speech of Callaghan, and his later talk of tougher measures against rioters, shows the enormous weakness of imperialism in this period of the rising world revolution, and show clearly that it now has only its army to defend it, no longer has it the resources to invest in N. Ireland and make itself a social base there. There was no discussion of a programme of housing or of jobs for the masses in Ulster, which would be the best way for imperialism to regain its authority there, now it has only the army to send in and all the time, the soldiers in contact with the exploited population are coming under their pressure and are being less and less use to imperialism. Thus all the time new troops are being sent to Ulster in a last attempt by imperialism to contain the masses there. There is still not in Ulster a conscious revolutionary leadership, (the decision of the Bogside Defence Committee to disband is an example of this) to lead the struggle forward, not only in Ulster but all over the country. The task of the leadership in the free zones now is to come out of the free zones, and spread the experiences as much as possible, speaking to T.U. branches L. P. and C.P. branches, Socialist Societies in the universities and colleges and passing all the experiences of Bogside and Belfast to the working class throughout the country, appealing for all support and linking up in a concrete fashion with the T.U. organisations for support at the next confrontation. We launch an appeal to the Bogside Cttee and to the vanguard who support it, not to disband but on the contrary develop the power it already has.

The biggest contradiction of the conference was shown in the passing of the resolution from Jarrow urging the government to adopt the policies of the T.U.C.'s Economic Review. The policies in this are not at all in agreement with the document "Agenda for a Generation", particularly in relation to the P.I.P., and the rate of economic growth. The bourgeois structure of the Labour Party is shown here clearly by the fact that the Labour Government will completely ignore the resolution and go ahead with its own plans.

The speeches on the common market were all very ambiguous and it is obvious that Britain cannot enter the common market, even if the existing countries (which is unlikely) agree to let it, without the cost of living rocketing up for the working class here; but no revolutionary conclusions were drawn from this. One important interlude in the Conference was when a member of the successful Social Democratic Party of Germany attended the conference, thus linking the two European countries with the highest concentrations of the working class, and now being governed in each case by parties supported by the working class. The success of the Social Democrats in Germany will be a great impulse to the working class there, and the

## EDITORIAL....

and the process of strikes and demonstrations which occurred just before the elections will continue now, as the workers feel that their party is in power and can to a certain extent be forced and impelled to respond to some extent to the interests of the working class. Just as here after the victory of Wilson in 1964 the workers felt tremendously encouraged, the strike rate went up and so did the wage increases, and the government was forced to go ahead with some progressive measures, for instance the nationalisation of steel, and an improved social services programme. The effect of the victory of the Social Democrats will not be confined to Germany but will be felt throughout Europe.

It is not only within the Labour Party that proletarian democracy needs to be organised but within the trade unions. Again and again after the victory of the Ford workers we see the working class coming out on strikes against the instructions of their union leaderships and forcing the leaderships to respond to their wishes, but still this is a hard fought process, and it needs to be organised from the base of the union in the individual branches. More and more the old leaders of the unions, who will not respond to the process are moving out, and more and more local and district officials of the unions are responding to the pressure of the workers and playing a leading role in the anti-capitalist struggle. This process which was first seen most clearly in the Ford strike is now spreading to more and more unions. Thus this week we have seen the resignation of Nortropp a leader of NALGO who negotiated a wage increase of  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  for his union members, only to be told by his members that they wanted wage increases of from 10% to 20%.

The dustmen's dispute is another example of the workers striking without the official union backing and demanding much more than the unions were previously negotiating, while the unions were requesting 15/- a week, the men came out on strike demanding £5. The speed with which this strike spread and the support it got from other sectors of public employees, street cleaners, grave diggers, etc. all very isolated sectors of the working class, is an indication of the experiences absorbed by the British working class of the world revolution, of the big strikes in this country, and the uprising in Ulster. Throughout the strike the bourgeoisie and the capitalist press have been unable to find any petit bourgeois sectors against the dustmen, everyone is in sympathy with them and is supporting their claims. The dustmen organised their strike very well they formed themselves into an action committee and went around to other depots appealing for support, which they very quickly got. One of their leaders was himself a local leader of the union who said that he was striking because the union was not doing enough, this shows that some of the middle cadres of the unions go forward and take up revolutionary positions within the unions, as the International has analysed. The demands of the dustmen, for a £5 a week increase, as with the car workers of Ford and Vauxhall for a 38% increase show that large sectors of the working class are completely disregarding the crisis of capitalism in this country and are demanding and striking for wage increases which it cannot possibly afford to give. They express in these actions their desire to overthrow the capitalist system and to go forward to socialism.

But the working class in this country although centralised in the T.U.'s and the Labour Party is without a revolutionary conscious leadership to guide it in its clashes with the unions leaders, the leadership of the L.P. and with capitalism. We appeal to the vanguard in the T.U.'s the L.P. and C.P. and the vanguard of the students and intellectuals to discuss the consequences of the congress of the T.U.C. and the resolutions taken there and the conference of the Labour Party.

It is essential to prepare for the next conference preparing so that the working class participates; it is necessary to discuss this in the L.P. branches, in the T.U. branches in order to push forward proletarian democracy in the L.P. at the same time as in the T.U.'s. The vanguard of the C.P. can play an important role in the T.U.'s; they automatically have the authority of the Workers States behind them when they speak and their role in organising this revolutionary leadership is enormous. The C.P. vanguard must intervene to push forward the organisation of the revolutionary tendency in the Labour Party also.

**EDITORIAL . . . .**

We appeal to the workers to take up the resolutions of the L.P. conference in their T.U. and L.P. branches in order to discuss them fully, making the discussion deeper than in the L.P. Conference. We appeal for a full discussion on the ways to finally smash the prices and incomes policy, the quickest way to achieve equal pay for women and youths, the necessity of a new housing programme to house the homeless and all families and people forced to live in slum, overcrowded, sub-standard housing, for a discussion on the lessons to be learnt from Ulster, and from the merger of G.E.C. - A.E.I., for a working class solution to the European Common Market.

We pose in the transitional programme the revolutionary answers to these problems, some of which can be wholly or partly solved by the working class now immediately under the system of capitalism, others, as for example the problems of housing, which cannot be solved by the capitalist government but only by the workers when they have seized power and have substituted a Workers State for the capitalist System.

Continue the successful fight against the incomes policy with strikes and demonstrations, in order to win a decent living wage for all the population.

For a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living

Equal pay for women and youths immediately

For the taking over of unoccupied dwellings, luxury properties, royal palaces etc. to house the homeless. For the formation of defence committees to protect against landlords, thugs, and bailiffs. For committees of tenants to decide on the rents and rates.

All factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to the nationalisation of them under workers control.

No more unemployment, work sharing without loss of pay

All the profits of automation to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours

For the nationalisation of all the key industries under workers control and without compensation.

For a European trade union centre on an anti-capitalist programme

For the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe as part of a world front of Socialist states

For a workers government.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

# 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 Polar's 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.

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