

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**



**I. S. resolution  
on the Burgos  
trial**

(Page 2)

**Viva the reprieve  
of the Basque  
revolutionaries**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 128

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# Continue the demonstrations and discussions of Jan 12th to compell the T.U.C. to call a general strike and to build the new leadership in the Labour Party

*Text of a leaflet distributed by the Party on January 12th:*

**MAKE THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES ON JANUARY 12th THE BASIS FOR AN INDEFINITE GENERAL STRIKE TO REPLACE THE TORY GOVERNMENT WITH A LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME.**

With the intervention of the working class vanguard on January 12th, and the meetings called to discuss opposition to the anti-trade union bill, the centralisation of the class around the Labour Party and the TUC is elevated and the transformation of these organisms into being the instruments to take power is accelerated. The TUC persists in refusing to call an emergency Conference until March—just before the bill is about to be passed in Parliament—for fear that it will lose control of the extra parliamentary opposition. Thus Feather condemned the December 8th demonstrations, instead of leaning on them to impel the overthrow of capitalism. Nevertheless the vanguard has impelled in effect the TUC to call a limited general strike action on January 12th by forcing it to call factory meetings in working time.

Although December 8th, the Midland strikes on January 1st, and January 12th have only been limited from the point of view of programme, they show a vanguard ceaselessly impelling the class to overthrow capitalism, using the Labour Party, the unions and political strikes to do this. And in this process we applaud the activity of the Communist Party, which again, although limited from the programmatic point of view—apart from coming around to support general strike action—has published all the actions of the class throughout the country.

Major events on the international level in Poland, Spain and Chile, are also stimulating the intervention of the vanguard not only in the factories, but in the key instrument of the class—the L.P. The events in Poland have accelerated the whole process of the political revolution in the Workers States. The workers councils and militia in Szczecin, which were formed to protect the factories, and which ran the whole town for a period, are a decisive impulse to the discussion in the international communist movement on the way forward to socialism. The bureaucracy has beaten a retreat, and both the leaderships in Poland and the Soviet Union have called for fundamental improvements in the relations of the masses with their parties, and Bresnev in his speech to the meeting of the "soviet" assembly, the parliament of the bureaucracy, spoke of the gains being made for "socialist democracy". The reaction of the bureaucracy shows that the process of partial regeneration of the Workers States is proceeding very rapidly and promotes a superior level of discussion throughout the international communist and workers movement on the demands for the restoration of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. The French and Italian Communist Parties have also spoken of the need for an improvement in the relations between the masses and their parties, and this position seems to be held by the Morning Star. All this process in Poland helps to renovate the political life in the L.P., extends the comprehension of the vanguard as to the course of the world advance to socialism.

Events in Spain are also accelerating the process of interior entrism in the L.P. The fact that the L.P. and the TUC have called for the restoration of trade union and political freedom in Spain shows the new atmosphere in the L.P. And on the

other hand the communist spirit of the Basque revolutionaries has frightened the wits out of the European bourgeoisie. All the world has seen their weakness in this matter. The Tory Government of Heath was well to the fore in the ranks of "fear and trembling" begging Franco not to shoot the revolutionaries, as it might provoke such reactions in Europe as to hasten the downfall of capitalism. So much for the "strong" government of the Tories. Although there were no strikes in Britain—as opposed to strike action in France and Belgium in relation to the Basque prisoners—nevertheless there was tremendous interest throughout the country expressed in demonstrations, and this in itself impels the politicisation of the vanguard, and deepens their understanding of the world process of the socialist revolution.

Finally, the events in Chile act as a great stimulus to the L.P. vanguard, because these can be seen as an electoral victory on a socialist programme, which is now being applied. Various imperialist firms have already been taken over. Copper, coal and the banks are to be nationalised or statified. Some of the biggest landowners have been expropriated. All this interests and stimulates the L.P. vanguard and stimulates the process towards the liquidation of the right wing in the Labour Party. Our perspective is to impel the L.P. into power on a Socialist programme. Wilson & Co carry less and less weight, and if there is to be another General Election, the L.P. will inevitably be impelled leftwards, and can come to power in a situation where capitalism possesses less and less social weight, and in which the working class will not support the L.P. passively, but will force it by strikes and demonstrations to take some, at least limited, anti-capitalist measures.

Make January 12th not only a day for a General Strike, but a means so that the masses can communicate among themselves to discuss everything in factory committees, workers area committees, and mass assemblies. We appeal for a thorough discussion of the policy to pursue in the Labour Party, what programme, what methods to overthrow capitalism. The workers are waging an offensive not a defensive attack on capitalism. A process directed towards the taking of power. It is necessary to elevate the programmatic level of the struggle. We appeal to the

revolutionary sectors in the Labour Party, to the Communist Party, to the workers in the mass assemblies to adopt the following demands as an integral part of the struggle. **FOR A WORKERS PLAN OF PRODUCTION BASED ON THE NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL OF THE KEY INDUSTRIES AND BANKS, ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING,**

**A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS OF WORK, NO FACTORIES TO BE CLOSED DOWN, NO WORKERS TO BE MADE UNEMPLOYED, ALL THE PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS, FOR A SINGLE UNION IN EACH FACTORY, OUT WITH BRITISH TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND, FOR THE RELEASE**

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## First Conclusions of the Jan 12 Mobilisation

The spirit and combativity of the working class in the Jan 12th demonstrations and strikes, especially in Glasgow and the Midlands, and on Jan 11th in Wolverhampton, working class centres, where whole towns came out, show the level of preparation for a general strike that has been achieved. The Communist, Labour and trade union vanguard, whilst constantly intervening to take a militant lead, have maintained contact with the centralised strength of the class in its organisations, attracting the class to a higher level of action. Most significant is the level of discussion in the class—it is not a defensive trade union discussion, but a political one that centres on the problems of advancing towards taking power: the transformation of the Labour Party and trade unions into adequate instruments for this, and the construction of a revolutionary leadership. It is the pressure of this class activity that causes the Communist Party to come to the fore and organise against the trade union bill, and "Tribune" M.P.s to appeal to the T.U.C. to increase its mobilisation.

The vanguard is strongly critical of the limitations of the bureaucratic T.U.C. leadership and the right wing of the Labour Party. Even at the selected delegate rally, in the Albert Hall, Feather and Wilson were shout-down (Wilson had to resort to police protection to get in), and it was only a desperate attempt to maintain a remnant of authority that compelled them to appear. The only words uttered from the platform that got a good reception referred to the search for a socialist society. The conscious conclusion of the vanguard, expressed in their election abstention, of the need to smash the right wing leadership, has become generalised. We appeal for the consolidation of the great steps forward being made in the demonstration, where the need for proletarian democracy in the workers movement and the adoption of a socialist programme were under discussion. The

mass meetings must continue to meet, factory and workers district committees must be set up to deepen the discussion, and organise the struggle with the necessary anti-capitalist methods, beginning by compelling the T.U.C. to call a general strike. The more developed use of organisms such as the trades councils, shop stewards committees, trade union branches, L.P. and L.P.Y.S. and C.P. branches must continue and increase. Thus the revolutionary tendency intervening there will emerge organically, and the organisation of a revolutionary leadership in the L.P. will advance.

The C.P., basing itself on the great advance it has made in the last period, must overcome the limitations in its activity. Whilst it has always been correct in appealing to the T.U.C. to call a general strike, and has organised many localised general strikes, the C.P. leadership conciliated when it failed to make a direct national general strike call in the absence of one from the T.U.C. The class is super-prepared to launch a general strike, all that is lacking is a strike call from a leadership with the necessary weight. There exists a marvellous opportunity for the C.P. to intervene with a socialist programme, with the immediate perspective of promoting the overthrow of the Tory Government and bringing the L.P. back to power on a socialist programme. And the conference of the W. European C.P.s—an important event in itself, reflecting the desire of the European Communist vanguard to unite and plan the anti-capitalist struggle—must be used to organise demonstrations of solidarity with the British working class in its efforts to defeat the bill and advance the conquests of the class, the establishment of a European Trade Union Centre, the discussion of the conclusions of the anti-bureaucratic, but not anti-Socialist, struggle of the Polish workers, the organisation of a European General Strike for the overthrow of Franco and Caetano, etc.

# The Burgos trial, the struggle of the Spanish masses of the Social

The action of the Basque comrades—who are more socialist than nationalist—in the face of the Military Tribunal in Burgos, will have an enormous echo throughout the Spanish people. It amounts to inciting an uprising. It is possible that they will be shot, but they are bringing the Basque and Spanish peoples into insurrection. It is an example worthy of humanity. We do not ask of anyone that he gets himself shot, but neither do we tell him to shrink from being shot if it is necessary for the progress of humanity.

Resolutions and texts must be brought out by all the Sections of the International with reference to the worthy behaviour of the Basque nationalists. They reflect a world climate favourable to the revolution. They are an expression not just of Spain, but of the world, because it is only that the process is being expressed at its most vivid in Spain. Even though this is so, there is also the recent General Strike, which was a success, on which they can base themselves. This is why they have the courage to confront fascism, risking the death sentence, or that they should just be killed. It shows that the sentiment of triumph against opposition and repression weighs with them, orientates and educates them. This is one of the most beautiful acts made by humanity. It is a small nucleus, a small group, isolated in prison, defenceless, that is expressing the world development and ascent of the revolution, and its development and ascent in Spain as well.

## THE BEHAVIOUR OF HUMANITY IS COMMUNIST

The Basques are behaving in this way because they live politically; they live preoccupied with the world revolution. Their feelings are not subjected to preoccupation with their wives, children, sex, money, food or clothes. Their preoccupation is how to be useful with their consciousness. This is what they are doing. The world revolution reaches them, for they live it as well. If they did not live it, they would not feel the revolution. If they lived at a distance from it, they wouldn't be doing what they are doing. They are not seeking to justify anything, they are trying to impose justice and truth.

The Basque nationalist comrades are giving an example to the world, not just because they are risking their lives, but because they are continuing to be militant with the death sentence hanging over them. And how militant they are being! They don't feel intimidated, forced back or cowardly, quite the contrary, they feel impelled forward. "We are not just going to die! We are going to die defending ideas and defending progress!"

What is being shown is what we have frequently spoken of in our texts and resolutions: "Communist behaviour on the part of militants and movements of a non-Communist origin." This means that communism is already an immense pole of attraction which orders, modulates and organises the behaviour of revolutionaries. Even though politically and programmatically they have not got the same programme, their behaviour is communist, their revolutionary will is communist. They are uniting immediate national sentiments, as exist in Basque nationalism, with a socialist solution. And they have made the unification at once!

It is necessary to see that a movement of bourgeois origin is being dealt with. But similarly to the Canadian Liberation Front in Quebec, it can no longer remain in the bourgeois sphere. As soon as it makes a social judgement, the movement sees that bourgeois ideas, programme and objectives are of no use. Not even the

bourgeois members of the movement have the spirit to carry them forward with persistence, because they are no use any more. So concessions have to be made. Young people, who are incorporated because they are carried along and attracted by the bourgeois sentiment of the fatherland, find that the ideas and organisation of the fatherland have a wider sense, which is socialism. Now they do not simply have a national, regional and local narrowness, though they still keep the local and regional sentiments—such as of Basque nationalism—but in combination with socialism. This shows that a political party of Basque nationalist origin will go on to socialism now.

Of all this the most beautiful thing, and what is communicated to humanity is the revolutionary sentiment—the fact that the Basques feel life, feel the stage of history. It is necessary to be dignified; it is necessary for the Basques to replace the material means that they lack with dignity. They have not got the material means to overthrow the Franco dictatorship. Their dignity replaces these material means, for their shouts and songs are appeals for rebellion, appeals for the overthrow of Franco. Their singing of anti-Franco songs from the civil war, is the material means, the resources of human dignity, of consciousness that is seeing material means and will find them.

The Basque nationalists show that their individual satisfaction consists in encouraging the Spanish people to overthrow fascism. The anti-Franco song they sing from the time of the civil war, is a song of rebellion, and will have an immense effect!

The world sentiment of the masses penetrates into the prison. But it can penetrate, because the Basque nationalists are in agreement with such a sentiment. If this were not so, they would be defending themselves each man for himself. Even the priests speak of socialism! They don't speak of God, the church, of the Virgin, they speak of socialism.

## THE STRENGTH OF THE WORLD MASSES AND THE WORLD UNITED FRONT OF THE REVOLUTION

Humanity remembers Lenin, because it feels Lenin, it feels on a level with his morality, decision and will. It hasn't the capacity or intelligence of Lenin, but it has the will, honesty and dignity of Lenin. Humanity is built with human dignity, the dignity of thinking of others, and being objective in history. The repercussion that the Burgos trial has had everywhere, expresses the search of the world proletariat for a United Front. This influences middle leaders, and even the leaderships of mass political parties and trade unions to unite on a world scale. Up till now they have been insensitive to the struggle of the Basque and Spanish peoples. The Franco dictatorship has been responsible for assassination and crimes more important than this. Why does this trial create such a stir now? Because of the pressure of the struggle, influence and unbeatable resolution of the world proletariat, the intervention of the Workers States and the

Communist Parties, which have enabled the world masses to find a centre, to make themselves felt. This is not the initiative of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, or of the Workers States; it is due to the world masses that are influencing the Communist Parties. This action of the Burgos trials comes after great strikes, factory occupations, disputing the power with capitalism, the defeat of the counter-revolution in Conakry, the recognition of Cuba by Chile, the triumph of the Popular Front in Chile, the disaster in Pakistan, where the masses have condemned the world capitalist system. The masses of the world are condemning capitalism as being criminal and murderous. "You killed the Pakistani masses!" they are saying. And the triumph of Bhutto is a direct reply from the masses that goes against the capitalist system and the Pakistani government. If the Pakistani masses hadn't had the resolution, interest and re-

volutionary political preoccupation they wouldn't have voted, they would be crushed and shrunk by terrorism. But they are resolute. They intervened with all their resolution and decision. They are not affected by the disaster, they have not let themselves be intimidated by the massacre perpetrated by capitalism. It was a massacre, which capitalism was responsible for by leaving a people deprived of the means of defence in the face of cyclones. Hence the triumph of Bhutto is a combative reply from the masses that already felt prepared to triumph before.

If in such a situation as exists in Pakistan, where there have been elections in full disaster conditions, where it would be expected that the masses would be in consternation, oppressed, intimidated, and when they throw themselves into voting and bring a triumph to the pro-revolutionary left, this indicates the sentiment of triumph of the working masses, who do not feel intimidated by anything. There is no atomic war that will be able to stop them or intimidate them. It is a complete process. After the triumph of the Chilean masses comes the triumph of the Pakistani masses. This is an immense success, because there was a dictatorship imposed by the Yahia Khan with terrorism.

It is necessary to make an act of homage to the Basque comrades. They are an expression of the world United Front of the revolution. This is the objective International of humanity. Basque nationalists on the point of being shot, with a bourgeois origin, under the pressure of the

Franco regime sally forth to defend autonomy, but they link it with socialism. They show they don't want to be autonomous in the bourgeois conception, that they have got beyond that phase. They are still united to a bourgeois origin in their conception, but in practice, which is shown by their programmatic formulations, they are separated from it. They still can't reach a Marxist understanding, because the movement is not sufficiently advanced for it. But they have sentiments, which are within reach of the influence of the revolution. They make concessions to this influence. Hence they speak of the struggle for socialism.

This is one of the highest aspects of the historic front of humanity, of the Historic International. That's where it is being expressed. Humanity seeks to be concentrated in the most advanced aspects—programmes, objectives, and methods—of the struggle for progress. Thus the echo that the trial has had in the Soviet Union is important; it will impel the Political Revolution. It is not only due to the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy needs the support of the proletariat, that news of the trial has penetrated there, it is due to the world echo, which it has created. That is the work of the revolution. This compensates for all the difficulties of the IV International. That is where the formulation of one of the most difficult and complicated aspects of the revolution—the sentiment of the triumph of humanity—occurs. That is the Historic International.

## THE HISTORIC INTERNATIONAL

The Basques unite the bourgeois conception and consciousness with which their programme was originally drawn up, with reality and socialist influence. They can see that the bourgeoisie and Franco are one in any case. They have still got national sentiments, which they haven't succeeded in overcoming, because they haven't found the way yet. But they keep the same sentiments in a higher form—the socialist form. They haven't the example, experience or tradition that would enable them to do away with the bourgeois side completely. The USSR eliminated nationalities, but when Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were alive putting forward the programmatic form and showing that it could be done.

For these comrades there is no difference between their trial and having the atomic bomb hanging over their heads. Nevertheless they are saying to the judges and the police, "You are the clandestine ones!" It will have an enormous effect on the Spanish people and also in the government. There are people who will be shocked, and who are going to want to put a stop to the repression. While some will want to kill the nationalists immediately, in an attempt to contain the challenge for a struggle thrown down by them, another sector will want to weaken. The tendency to weaken will be imposed gradually for the consequences of repression are becoming apparent. They are world consequences that put pressure on the stability of Spanish capitalism. Spain realises that it will be difficult to get into the Common Market, and to establish normal relations with the rest of the world, if things go on as they are. In a Europe, where the pressure of the Socialists, Communists and trade unions is increasing, and the intervention of the masses is creating a process of dual power, this is part of the strength, a basis which has given strength to these Basque nationalists, who are more revolutionary than nationalist.

This shows how humanity is going towards a synthesis: from Peruvian military nationalism to Basque nationalism against fascism. It is the synthesis of humanity. The action of the Basques could only be carried through in a world climate that was sympathetic and they feel such a climate. They don't give a damn about the atomic war; for them this is the atomic war—and they are throwing it back at Franco!

When these imprisoned comrades have the spirit to confront their judges, it is because they can feel the revolution there. The impulse of the world comes to them and they impel the world. There would be no communication between them and the world otherwise. And when the public be-

haves in the same way at the trial, with the threat of death sentences, and moreover, under the Franco regime, it's because the impulse to overthrow Franco already exists in the population. And there's not much left to complete before they do bring him down. The action of these imprisoned comrades will do much to break with a certain emptiness there was in the leadership; it will be an encouragement and help.

This shows the existence of the Historic Communist International. That's where it can be seen at work. The behaviour of humanity shows it. Neither the programme nor the policy of the Basques is Communist, but their behaviour is communist. It was the same behaviour that we analysed in Fidel Castro in 1959. "Fidel Castro is communist! He doesn't know it, but he is communist! He has no notion of what he is doing means, and what he is posing programmatically and tactically is not communist, but his sentiment, everything that leads him forward, his way of seeing and conceiving of things, of establishing human relations, all this is communism!" It is the same with the Basque comrades. They say, "We are Basque nationalists, but we are socialists. Our only solution to make a Basque nation is socialism." It means very great programmatic progress. It has nothing to do with a bourgeois conception. The origin is bourgeois, the conclusion is revolutionary, socialist. And they are saying this in their trial! They are making the trial to condemn them to death, into a tribune; they direct themselves to the Spanish people and the world to say, "Rise up and overthrow this dictatorship!" They are providing a programmatic form for the struggle. They are not afraid to do so. What atomic bomb! They are throwing it at capitalism! It is one of the most beautiful acts.

It is a moving act, because it makes it possible to see the communist sentiment of humanity. They are young people, who haven't got problems with their wives, or being husbands with children, or money. And there is a married couple amongst them, united in socialism. This is the morality which dominates humanity. It is the morality, which enables it to find the resources to confront all difficulties, in this case to confront the terrorism of Franco, a dreadful terrorism.

The behaviour of our comrades and other political prisoners during their trial in Mexico under pressure, terrorism and threats was the same. They got between 12 and 18 years, amongst them, one of our comrades, Francisco Colmenares, who got 16 years. In the middle of the trial, all the prisoners got up and held a minute's silence, and afterwards they sang the In-



# to overthrow Franco and the World development ist Revolution

ternationale. The policemen stood up when they sang the Internationale! They obeyed the prisoners! This is the communist sentiment of humanity.

The judges are horrible, and they've got horrible faces. They feel imprisoned themselves, they are the ones who feel imprisoned! The Inquisition had the impudence to feel that it had the apparatus in its hands and it dominated. These men have got the apparatus in their hands, but they feel besieged. All their faces and their behaviour are of men who feel besieged. In the meantime the prisoners feel that they have been immobilised, but nothing more. Inside them, the organism, the mind and the sentiment of optimism all function normally. This is not so with the judges. One of them drew his sword! They put plastic plugs in the prisoners' ears, so that they can't hear—they feel besieged! The prisoners on trial look at them, and say to each other, "Eh, see what we've done to them?" It is the expression of human optimism, the dignity of thinking of others, not the indignity of each thinking of himself, not the humiliation of each thinking of himself. These cdes are thinking of others: "Yes, they will kill us, but the judges will die, and humanity will triumph, justice will triumph." That is a communist sentiment. That is how

it works.

That is how the comrades in Mexico acted; that is how our comrades acted in Brazil; all militant political prisoners, who struggle for human progress act in this way: Olavo Hansen, who died without saying a word to the police. They didn't get a word out of our comrades in Brazil who were brutally tortured. The whole of humanity, including militant revolutionaries of a non-Communist origin, now acts with the communist sentiment, has the confidence and dignity to see the world and feel participating in it. In this way the egoist sentiment of the militant in another period—the common militant, common revolutionary or common person—is eliminated and overcome. The militant feels that this is the dignified thing to do. And because he acts with this dignity and consciousness, he hasn't problems, he is not a thief, immoral or corrupt.

The Basques are saying to the judges, "You will kill us, but you're not going to win." That is the price that has to be paid. In the same way as an experiment has to be made and something be lost in order to conquer greater heights. To make a better place you have to pull down what was there before that was no use. In nature and building it doesn't cost a great deal, in human life it does.

determine. These are elements in the construction of what is determined, but later they are united in the element that determines, which acts as a pole. Humanity sees it and says, "That's the way to do things!" It does not know how, but "that's the way to do it!" And so those, who are not from a communist origin end up being communist. This is the way that people discuss. "We must do as they have done in Chile." The revolutionary processes in Britain and Italy influenced Chile, and now in Britain and Italy they are saying, "We will do as the Chileans do!"

In Spain this is being expressed. The Burgos trial expresses this. It is a very powerful factor in the disintegration of Spanish fascism, but only because it is the continuation of the recent General Strike. The Basques on trial are expressing this security and confidence, which the strike has given them. It is not contempt for death, but consciousness in confronting death, which is another thing.

Contempt for death would not be spread in a social or political way. Consciousness in confronting death is. Thus the Basques on trial may not live, but they will die so that others may live. This is the dignity of living for humanity, not the indignity of thinking of oneself. This is an example to move anyone. Young people of between 23 and 25 like this married couple don't find that married life, sex, money or fortune present problems. They show how the revolution unites their affection and gives it a moral sense. Socialism has won them over. As socialism still has not been established in the Workers States, and their leadership is not consciously socialist, but bureaucratic, (even though the Workers States are going

through a partial regeneration, the apparatus is the same bureaucratic one as before,) socialism penetrates very little into the rules of morality. It penetrates more into the political struggles. And yet this couple are showing what the rules of morality should be. They are not thinking of themselves, of their children, of their love, they are aware of all this, and they have decided to commit themselves to the struggle. Another of the young men winked at his mother, and he is one of those they want to shoot. He seems to be saying to his mother, "We're fine!" How is it possible when they want to kill him? It is because he may die, but the regime responsible will soon see its end. This will not be a vengeance, it will mean the triumph of the revolution. This is what the sentiment of judgement consists of. Humanity is judicial, not desperate in the way the bourgeoisie depicts it.

Proof of this is to be seen in Pakistan. The Pakistani masses could be expected to be terrorised, and yet the left won in the elections. More important than the percentage the left got is the quantity of people who voted. And a lot voted in a country where to vote you have to make an enormous effort, you possess nothing, and you have to go miles and miles on foot. The people bear up through rain, storms, and floods, and vote. This is the will to fight that they have—an uncontrollable will. According to the calculations of the bourgeoisie, they should be crushed, incapacitated and terrorised. They're not! They are condemning the government and going to vote. And they vote for the people with a left programme.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## IT IS CAPITALISM AND THE FRANCO REGIME THAT ARE ON TRIAL IN BURGOS

This is what they are doing!—for they are Basques, not Communist or Socialist militants, they are Basque nationalist revolutionaries. They feel the world revolution. When they feel it is this way, it is communism! It is not Basque nationalism that they're feeling now. They are incorporating themselves into world communist sentiment, for they can see the behaviour of humanity.

How is it not possible to be overcome with emotion on seeing children of 9 years old in the Middle East looking after the good of humanity? They look after their mothers, their little brothers and sisters, they get food, they watch to see that no-one attacks, they are against Hussein's soldiers. They see to all this! They don't care about getting the food just for themselves, or finding a place to sleep just for themselves. They feel responsible for humanity. This is the communist sentiment of humanity. Marx said, "A ghost is crossing Europe, the ghost of communism!" Today it is crossing Europe still, but it is not a ghost, it is alive and kicking. There are 16 Workers States and the partial regeneration of the Soviet Union. There is a very profound process of regeneration going on in the USSR. It is being suggested that there should be intervention in the factories, that there shall be discussion amongst the workers. Discussions are already going on in the factories, the opinion of the workers is being asked to some extent. "The factory workers must speak and give their opinion", is being said. It is a certain approximation to Soviet functioning.

This all reaches Burgos. And there it is centralised and synthesised in the behaviour of the prisoners. It is capitalism that is on trial at Burgos! The echo that it has created on a world scale is not because of the trial itself; it is because it has made a unification of sentiments possible, for the Basques are of a nationalist origin and behave in a communist way with immense security, which coincides with the uprising of the whole Spanish people. It is creating a very great world-wide echo.

The fascists, who are judging them, are idiots, for they are bringing them to trial after the General Strike in Spain, which was triumphant and general strikes all over Europe. But the fascists have no choice, for if they were to wait any longer, every day that goes by makes it worse for them. They are carrying on with the trial, with the pressure of world public opinion favourable to the struggle of the Spanish people. This gets inside the regime and decomposes it. And the men on trial feel they have the security to act in the way they are. They are not acting on the basis of political, theoretical or programmatic convictions, because they haven't got these, they are nationalists. They understand socialism, but they are Catholics. There are priests amongst them. They

don't understand the structure of history, because they still call themselves nationalists. So why do they act in this way? Because they feel the encouragement, enthusiasm, sentiment and revolutionary moral conduct of humanity. That is why they have the spirit to go through with it. They are a representation of these things, which reach even them.

The newspaper men interviewed one of the mothers of those for whom they are asking the death sentence. They asked her for her opinion and she said, "After what they've done today, they will be condemned to death." (It was the day they attacked the judges). But she said it like Mother Courage. "You must take up arms and shoot well. Leave me a round of bullets in the gun, because I'm going to put them through some bastard!" This behaviour indicates that the Spanish people are ready to take power. It is not bourgeois nationalism, or the case of establishing a bourgeois democratic republic. Even if this is what is decided upon in the first moments, it will go directly on to a Workers State.

This trial at Burgos is the trial of Spanish fascism. All humanity has condemned it and centralises round this. This is the Historic International. A trial of 16 nationalists communicates and centralises the will to fight, the desire and resolution to fight of the whole of humanity. In the Soviet Union they have stopped, and held meetings in the factories and principal cities. It has been the same in all the Workers States and capitalist countries.

Homage must be paid to these revolutionaries. This shows the correctness of our statement: "The Workers States have such authority that they immediately win movements of non-communist origin over to a communist conception." Any movement with a social basis that wants to do something becomes involved with socialism, for the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideas, programme and objectives don't respond with anything. What is the bourgeoisie going to give them? Democratic schools? What are democratic schools? Where everyone says what he would like. What does that mean? Putting capitalism on trial for injustice, lack of sanitation, for not laying on running water, for not building enough houses and for low wages; and studying the solution of social problems, so that people do not live in inequality. This is the socialist programme. The programme involved in discussing scholastic reforms is a socialist programme.

Any problem that is posed, poses the socialist programme. Discussion in a country to raise the level of democratic conquests, for example. The example to follow is Peru or Chile or Conakry. They show the solutions. This is the synthesis of humanity. Humanity is going towards a synthesis. Every synthesis is the expression of a very vast process, which on becoming a synthesis eliminates, and leaves on one side everything, which does not

## RED FLAG

supplements

by CDE. J. POSADAS

- THE ROLE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS, THE ROLE OF THE TROTSKYISTS, THE PROGRAMME AND TASKS DURING AND AFTER THE NUCLEAR WAR APRIL 1965
- FROM THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION TO THE WORKERS STATE FEB 1966
- THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER FEB 1966
- THE STRUCTURE AND THE FUNCTIONING OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL MARCH 1966
- FROM THE GENERAL STRIKE TO THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE MAY 1968
- THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE PROFESSIONAL WORKERS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL OCT 1968
- THE STUDY OF THE TEXTS OF OUR MASTERS, MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY, THE APPLICATION OF THE MARXIST METHOD AND MARXISM TODAY OCT 1968

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We condemn the decision on Rudi Dutschke, which is an example of the repressive panic of the bourgeoisie in the face of the rise of the revolution, in the same line as the anti-trade union laws, and appeal to the working class and students to mobilise to prevent his expulsion.

# The Burgos trial...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

## HUMANITY SEEKS COMMUNIST SOCIAL PROGRESS

Spanish children form part of the trial in Burgos, because they don't create problems for their families acting in solidarity. The big strikes triumph in the last instance, because the families of the strikers are incorporated into the strikes, they form part of them. If that were not so, they could not triumph. Every great anti-capitalist process is the result of a communist family life. Even though the ideas and relations might still not be communist, a communist sentiment prevails: "This must be done, because it is just and necessary." This is not the sentiment of "getting on", of just making use of the strike to obtain better wages, better living conditions, it is the sentiment of justice. The bourgeoisie cannot understand this. Socialist and communist writers don't understand it either. They represent it as the wish of humanity to progress. But what kind of progress is it? Progress is made in the mind before it becomes social progress. Humanity has reached this understanding now. It seeks to make social progress through consciousness. If this is not so, how is it that the Basques on trial communicate with the Spanish masses? There are 16 of them. The Franco regime has assassinated dozens and dozens of Spaniards, and it has never caused such an echo before, why? Because the basis has been established due to the world revolution, the struggle of the masses of the world, the triumph of the Chilean masses, the triumph of Bolivia, the triumph in Conakry, the triumphs in France, and Italy, and the intervention of the Workers States. All this lays the basis for communist consciousness and behaviour, and so stirs a communist observation of the world. It does not show theoretically or politically, because humanity is not prepared or formed for it. But there is a way of acting that comes irrespective of theoretical and political capacity. Humanity acts with this sentiment for it takes up the example expressed in the Workers States,

Chile, Bolivia, the Middle East, in the world revolution. And included in this are the children.

The bourgeoisie does not consider that humanity is composed of children and old people as well as adults, who bear weight, influence and decide. It is enough to see the behaviour of Spanish children. Look at what Spain is like! In a railway station you'll find children who will keep you a seat on the train for a peseta. They are earning their living. Children who were put in orphanages before, shelterless, struggle today. The sons of the proletariat, petty bourgeoisie, and peasantry are all incorporated in the struggle. The proletarian family and cultural understanding of the world have matured by a 100 years, and it is expressed in the behaviour of the working class, which intervenes without vacillation or hesitation. For they don't have household problems. They are all incorporated into the struggle, and they think and live in accordance with this. It can be seen in the behaviour of students from the level of university students through secondary students, to primary students. They go on strike. "We're on strike." Why? "Because this is bad and we're against it." They are beginning to feel that they weigh in life, and they say to their teachers, "We're against this, we want to give our opinion." They have been incorporated as a value, a cultural weight with intelligence, not as individuals whose hands must be held. They are giving their hands to their teachers! All this weighs and provides the basis so that the proletariat can struggle without being hampered by family problems.

See how humanity communicates so quickly. Decisions of the greatest importance are taken, which before required preparation, discussion and assemblies. Now it is sufficient to say, "Shall we go on strike?" and the strike call is taken up. Before this took discussion, and now it doesn't. If a strike was called for Spain,

there would be one. The Communist Parties, Labour Party and trade unions are not doing much. If they carried on a campaign with posters and small preparatory meetings in the workers districts, everyone would go on strike. It would stop the whole of France, Italy, Belgium and Britain. If they carried on a propaganda campaign like they do at election time, they would get everyone out on strike!

Appeals must be made to the whole of the European proletariat, the trade union centres, the Communist Parties, and to the trade unions, to organise a General Strike throughout Europe in support of the 16 Basques, and the Spanish masses as a whole. Even though the trial comes to an end, and they are condemned, this should be taken as a means of carrying on the struggle without stopping. The strike would be to defend the 16 on trial, but also to mobilise the masses to overthrow Franco. This situation, in which the Spanish masses are united, must be taken advantage of by appealing for the overthrow of Franco. Appeal from all countries in the papers of the workers parties, and trade unions, and by radio from all the Workers States during the programmes broadcast in Spanish. Appeal for the overthrow of Franco and unification on the basis of a programme of democratic demands with certain socialist measures and nationalis-

ations. Make appeals on this basis so that the strike does not remain just defence of those on trial, but directly appeals for the downfall of Franco.

Appeal to the Communist, Socialist and Labour Parties, and the left Christian Democrats throughout Europe, to bring about a General Strike, and appeal to the Spanish proletariat to overthrow Franco. Take advantage of the situation, the echo awakened by the Burgos trial, to overthrow the Franco regime. Appeal to the army to turn against Franco. Appeal for a united front of all the workers parties, clandestine trade unions and workers commissions with a programme for the overthrow of Franco—a programme of democratic rights, wage rises, work for everyone, political organisations for the masses, democratic trade union rights, organisations of dual power; a programme for the planning of the country, housing, hospitals, roads, better living conditions, transport, schools, running water, electricity, and shorter working hours, accompanied with a programme for the distribution of the land, expropriations, nationalisations and workers and popular control. On the basis of this programme, appeal for unconditional support for the struggle of the Spanish proletariat to overthrow the Franco regime.

9th December, 1970.

## Viva the liberation of the political prisoners in Peru and Bolivia

## Viva the advance of the Nationalist Revolution towards the Workers States

## Campaign for the release of all the Mexican political prisoners

On the occasion of Echeverria taking office as President of Mexico, the IV International in association with Mexican lawyer Krieger, organised a campaign of telegrams demanding that Echeverria grant a political amnesty. Krieger together with other lawyers submitted a memorandum to Parliament demanding an amnesty. We publish below two of the telegrams sent. Echeverria did grant a limited political amnesty, as well as accentuating in his inaugural speech the need to improve the living conditions of the population. We are waiting to know if our comrade Colmenares who was arrested during the mobilisations in September 1968, and has been sentenced to 16 years imprisonment, is included in this amnesty. As far as we know the amnesty

includes only those arrested at this time.

It is rumoured that there will be another amnesty in 6 months. To secure this we appeal to all workers organisations, Labour Party Branches, Trade Unions, Communist Party Branches, Labour Party Young Socialists, the Y.C.L., to the National Union of Students, and all progressive sectors to add their weight to this campaign, by sending similar telegrams and letters. To ensure that they reach the President, the lawyer Krieger proposes that a reference to respect for the sovereignty of Mexico is included to avoid them being classified as interference in the internal affairs of another country. Please send a copy of everything sent to "Red Flag".

### TELEGRAM TO LUIS ECHEVERRIA

We undersigned intellectuals different countries show profound emotion in the face of heavy university sentences following 1968 events.

Considering liberal democratic traditions, which Mexico has given to world, demand instantly on occasion Presidential Investiture liberation measures all political prisoners in accord with Mexican democratic law fully respecting sovereignty.

Rafael ALBERTI—Melk Raj AMAND—Miguel Angel ASTURIAS—  
Alfred KATSLER—Carlo LEVY—Mary MCCARTHY—MATTA—

J. B. PRIESTLY—Laurent SCHWARTZ.

22. 12. 70

Appeal to you whilst respectful of Mexico sovereignty declare political amnesty.

Bob EDWARDS M.P. Lawrence DALY, N.U.M.

30. 11. 70

### TELEGRAMME OF THE I.S. TO SALVADOR ALLENDE AND THE REPLY.

*Telegram of salute from the IV International for the victory of the Popular Union in Chile.*

Salvador Allende—Senate—Santiago—Chile

We salute and embrace the Chilean masses and Popular Union historic anti-capitalist triumph, Viva Latin American Anti-Imperialist United Front.

For the International Secretariat of the IV International  
Pierro Leone

*Text of telegram sent by Salvador Allende in reply to the telegram of the I.S.*

We thank comrades of the IV International for their affectionate congratulations, to the Chilean people and the Popular Union.

Fraternally

Salvador Allende

## Text of Leaflet

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, FOR A EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE, OUT OF NATO, FOR A EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE TO OVERTHROW FRANCO IN SPAIN AND THE REGIME OF CAETANO IN PORTUGAL.

The interventions of the vanguard beginning on Dec. 8th have opened a new phase in the class struggle in Great Britain. Without breaking centralisation the vanguard is impelling the construction of a new leadership in the L.P., the T.U.C. and the C.P. The latter communicates with the L.P. vanguard in the factories and in the trades councils, and impels the process of interior entrenchment in the L.P. The appeals of the left M.P.'s to the TUC to organise a lobby shows the tremendous advance of this process, coupled as it is with the demand for the expropriation of the commanding heights of the economy. Certainly a lobby is insufficient from the point of view of programme at this stage, but in a general sense it accelerates the process of the direct mobilisation of the masses in demonstrations, strikes etc. The more elevated the political discussion in the C.P., the more the re-

volutionary discussion will be developed in the L.P., and the greater the possibility for the advance of the new leadership.

MAKE JANUARY 12th A PREPARATION FOR THE INDEFINITE GENERAL STRIKE TO SMASH THE ANTI-TRADE UNION LAWS, AND TO REPLACE THE TORY GOVERNMENT WITH A LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME.

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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



**Viva the Postal Work-  
ers strike, the World  
support it is receiving  
and especially the solid-  
arity of the Unions  
of the Workers States**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 129 28th JANUARY 1971 PRICE 6d

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# The strikes, the events in Poland, the Political Revolution and the World Socialist Revolution 21st Dec 1970

The events in Poland are a new and very elevated form of the political revolution; they are not aimed directly at this objective, but they are impelled by the necessity for changes, and for proletarian democracy in the Workers States. It comes from the world existence of the revolutionary conditions, which are reaching the Workers States.

It is possible that they may have been stimulated, or have been used for internal struggles between the old Stalinists

or semi Stalinists, who grasp hold of the norms most convenient to the Workers State, and, which coincide with the positions, functions and interests of this bureaucratic layer.

But such mobilisations including the strikes of the workers in the dockyards are not produced if there is not a climate of discontent, protest, repudiation against bureaucratic imposition, against inequalities, bureaucratic and arrogant management.

more articles of popular consumption, to lower the prices of articles of consumption, and increase now the prices of the articles of luxury; to eliminate the production of articles of luxury, to plan equality of salaries, to diminish high salaries—above all those of the planners, managers, directors—and to increase the wages of the masses, to appeal for planning between all the Workers States.

It is necessary to demand the independence of trade union functioning not autonomy, because the workers have the same interest and the same objectives as the Workers State, but to demand their independent functioning in such a way that they can fight, oppose the plans, the directives, the bureaucratic and usurping orientations of the bureaucratic leadership of the Workers State. What it is necessary to change, is the political leadership, nothing more. It is necessary to advance in the collectivised and planned structuring of property, of the economy, and of production.

The workers in these mobilisations in Poland demand greater wages, greater democratic rights—Not one slogan against the Workers State. It is not the organised workers who burn and attack business houses, burn cars and houses. They are lumpen elements, who use all the forces coming from the well off agrarian circles, from the technocrats and from

the right of the party. The workers show their disengagement politically seeking political solutions.

In Yugoslavia the same process has occurred. Tito tries to abbreviate the process, proposing a return to centralisation. The masses mobilised to show their discontent with the development of the economic political process in Yugoslavia, which was giving free rein to the Oto Sik tendencies. The same happens in Rumania. It is a whole process, which involves all the Workers States. It is a process of reforms and of rectifications, and the creation of organisms of revolutionary functioning, the same as in China.

In the Soviet Union, the declarations of Suslov containing the attempts at the extension of the private interests of the Kolkhoz, and giving greater attention to the Sovkhoz, are indicating that also in the Workers States the world process of the revolution is exercising an influence. Even though this still shows itself to be at the summits, and in the apparatuses, they are expressions of the movement of the masses, of concern of the living development of the state of revolutionary public opinion, which tries to weigh on the Workers States. The partial regeneration of the Workers States and of the communist parties advances slowly, but advances. **CONTINUED ON PAGE 2**

## THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The world revolution is the essential factor in the stimulus, and the impulse to these mobilisations. There is the same unequal situation in all the Workers States. Recently in the Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party, they discussed norms of proletarian democracy, of respect for moral stimulus and attacks on decentralisation. In Czechoslovakia they are returning to centralising the control of the economy. All these attacks are concentrated almost exclusively against the right. We are at the beginning of a new stage in the advance of the political revolution. The effects of the world revolution show themselves in the Workers States, forcing the bureaucratic leaders of the communist parties and of the Workers States to concern themselves in a more interested way with the world march of the struggle of the masses for socialism, and also to appeal before the masses united in defence of the socialist revolution, in defence of the Workers States, and of every form of revolutionary struggle which affects the capitalist system. The revolutionary development of the masses of the world, the social and political structure of the Workers States, depends on the world unity of the revolutionary struggles, of the level reached by the world revolution. On the other hand, the plans, the managements, the programmes, and the whole economic leadership of the Workers States do not correspond to the level reached by the revolution, its political, social and revolutionary level.

The hooligans have used this situation. Also the tendencies in conflict, perhaps Moczar try to utilise in their favour the movements of protest. But it is not those who are in the leadership, who are leading. They try to canalise them, and contain them to utilise them in their struggles of tendencies. But the social, political, revolutionary consequences of great profundity, are irreversible; not immediately, or directly, but they express themselves in struggles within the communist parties in the Workers States, and in the communist parties of the capitalist countries.

It is necessary to appeal to the communist parties and to the Workers States to discuss this crisis in Poland and to demand the establishment of proletarian democracy and of the soviets. It is necessary to demand expropriations of the land in Poland, and the establishment of proletarian democracy and soviets. It is necessary to demand the expropriation

of the land in Poland and the collectivisation of agriculture. Private property of more than 80% of the land in Poland is the base of the agrarian crisis, of the backwardness of agrarian production. It is from these circles that come the sectors most interested in provoking disorders.

It is necessary to appeal to impel the nationalisation of all the property in Poland, to plan in agreement with the interests of the masses, with the participation of the masses in soviet democratic organisms on the basis of proletarian democracy. It is necessary to appeal to strengthen state property, the programming and planning of production in agreement with the interests of the masses, not to produce television sets, but

## EDITORIAL

# For an immediate recall of the T.U.C. and an emergency conference of the L.P. to make February the 21st the beginning of an indefinite General Strike with mass assemblies and factory occupations

The tremendous interventions of the revolutionary vanguard on Dec 8, Jan 1 and Jan 12 have had the consequence of further concentrating the will of the masses to liquidate capitalism and open the way to the construction of socialism. Jan 12 was more powerful than the preceding interventions, because the TUC had been forced to give its support, and allow factory meetings during working time. In all the principal industries and proletarian cities the workers showed their strength in stoppages and large mass meetings. And all this was conducted in a spirit of class confidence and security, a feeling of contempt for the posturings of capitalism. Certainly this is still not reflected in programmatic demands, which were conspicuous for their absence on these demonstrations—apart from the call taken up in various areas for the general strike to bring down the Tory Government. However, despite this limitation,

which is due to the absence as yet of a confident leadership in the LP, the CP and the Trade Unions, the repercussions of these interventions, particularly those on Jan 12, within the mass organisations of the class, particularly the LP will be immense, and even within limited ways, these have already shown themselves.

The pressure of the vanguard fundamentally is not a show of strength to frighten the capitalist class or to give itself confidence, it is designed to impel changes in the mass organisations, and in this the Labour Party is crucial. At the present, the level of discussion in the LP can only be gauged, more or less, at the summits, but it points to fundamental changes, which will increasingly accelerate, allowing in due course the full intervention of the ideas of Posadas and the IV International. The right wing is more and more forced into liquidation or retreat, it is scarcely surprising that a

recent article in the bourgeois press was posing the question as to how long Wilson could last. An example of the new relationship of forces can be seen in just one concrete example: Mayhew, who is so right right wing as to support the Tory anti trade union bill, has been called to account by his constituency party and his positions repudiated. This is only the beginning of profound changes in the functioning of the Labour Party, the revival of inner party life, the necessity to open the LP to the force of ideas, as with the Communist Parties whatever the specific differences in conditions. In this respect we again criticise the lack of inner political vitality in the LP, which means the National Executive Committee meetings of the party take place in an atmosphere of secrecy remote from contact with the masses and the rank and file of the LP. It is clear that at the last NEC of the LP there was expressed the need for a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

# The strikes, the events in Poland.....

## THE REBELLION AGAINST INEQUALITY

It is necessary to discuss the causes which have led to these events. The immediate reason is the resistance and the indignation of the working class, and of the most exploited layer of the population, which has lower conditions of life against injustice and the inequality which exists. It is not simply a rebellion as in the capitalist countries, where the masses make a rebellion against lower wages. It is a rebellion against inequality.

In the Workers States there exist already a certain consciousness and understanding of the problem of equality. Although there is not a revolutionary political functioning of the Workers State, the understanding arises from the functioning in itself of the Workers State, the comparison with the capitalist system of the life of the masses, the progress of all the Workers States, among them Poland, which passes from nothing to a great industrial development, to elevate the level of life of the population, and the cultural and social level of all the population.

The masses tried to express indignation against inequality in 1956, and in one way or another, they have tried to express it constantly. Now, stimulated by the world development of the revolution, they come out again to express it. It is the feeling of struggle against inequality, indignation against the usurpation of the bureaucracy, with the lowering of wages, and high prices, and also against the arrogance of the bureaucracy, because they see that it does not allow the masses to intervene. This indicates a very great development of the political consciousness of the class, of the socialist consciousness, because the masses seek to intervene in the Workers State. For this they demand "we want more democracy to intervene", not only to have greater salaries, but to intervene on how to plan, for whom, how to do this, how to control, how to decide. It is an aspect of the Political Revolution.

The number of deaths that have occurred—about 15, which haven't been all in the same place, but one here and one there—indicates a fairly large uprising in cities which, even though they may not be the chief ones, are important. It indicates a climate of protest against the bureaucracy. There is a state of protest, of rejection, due to the lack of equality, arrogance and bureaucratic usurpation. This was expressed in the fact that the prices of meat, bread and coal went up, and the prices of televisions and electrical appliances came down, which are articles which only the bureaucracy can buy. It is the same thing as has been in the Soviet Union.

There is a whole climate of protest which is expressed in different ways, and which reaches different sectors of the population with the possibilities of organisation that they have. The trade unions cannot speak or organise for they haven't got a functioning that is independent from the state apparatus. Protest against wage inequality, against inequality of opportunity, against the usurpation of the bureaucracy would not be expressed in this way if a national climate did not exist. For everything has happened in 4 cities, and there are many grave injuries and 15 dead. This is not the result of anything commonplace. If 10, 100 or a 1000 people mobilised, they would be detained with police repression. But when such mobilisations are achieved, it is due to the very great indignation of the population. Many people have participated making use of the dockers strike to loot, rob and commit arson, giving the impression of social discontent with the regime, when it is discontent with the political leadership. What fascism, the bourgeoisie and world capitalism want to show by seizing on these incidents is social discontent against a regime of nationalised property. But this is a protest against an unjust political leadership, that usurps and is bureaucratic. Workers don't loot, sack shops, commit arson and destroy; workers tend to give a political form to an expression of protest, as they have done a multitude of times. When there is looting it is carried on by de-classed people, hooligans.

The Negroes in the U.S.A. burnt down buildings to register their protest; they robbed little in comparison with the number of shops they burnt down. They wanted to show their hatred and anger at social, racial and economic oppression, at the oppression of them, due to the fact that they are Negroes, perpetrated by the capitalist system. In Poland, on the other hand, there is no need for this.

The bourgeoisie would like to present events in Poland as an uprising motivated by starvation. What a lie! There is no hunger in Poland. During 20 years as a Workers State, Poland has got rid of the hunger and poverty, which the population suffered from under the previous bourgeois Polish republic. It has eliminated all the misery of the capitalist system in Poland. The problem now is a different one. The problem is the lack of better economic conditions for the population, and the protest is against the leadership, which gives the orders. The protest is not because the population is worse off than it was before. It is a million times better off than it was before! At the same time the masses in the capitalist countries are not better off than before. What they have got, they have conquered at the cost of great struggles. Even with this being so, the hunger,

## THE INDEPENDENT FUNCTIONING OF THE T.U.'s

An improvement in the political leadership, proletarian democracy and the independence of the trade unions must be demanded. The trade unions must be independent from the State, but they have the same interest as the State in the development of socialism. They shouldn't be autonomous, or independent of a socialist future. They should be independent in their functioning to defend themselves from the bureaucracy and State apparatus. This is the sense in which they should be independent.

We are against declarations or interpretations which seek to promote trade union autonomy in the Workers States. Autonomy means that the trade unions

poverty and unemployment goes on. In the U.S.A. there are 5 million unemployed, 1 million undernourished, 15 million oppressed Negroes and 1 million oppressed Mexicans. There is a similar situation in any capitalist country in the world. In capitalist Germany, one of the most developed capitalist countries, there are slums. But in Poland there aren't any slums. In Poland they have solved the problem of hunger, and they came out of nothing! Capitalist Germany was subsidised by the world capitalist system. Poland and the Soviet Union came out of nothing, after having been 3/4 destroyed and with half the working and able sector of the population wiped out. This shows the strength of a Workers State! It's the political leadership in Poland that is no good, the leadership that is usurping the rights of the masses. This is what they have risen and protested about. The protest is against the political leadership.

decide their activity and objectives independently of the State, in competition with it, and disputing the power of the Workers State. This is a syndicalist conception and unjustifiable. The trade unions need to be independent in their functioning from the State, but they have the same objectives as the Workers State, that is, the construction of socialism. They should combine their functioning and existence in defence of their own interests (wages, working conditions) with intervention and control in the construction of the Workers State, the construction of socialism. This should go on as much within and outside the factories and concern problems to do with

production, pricing, what is produced, its quality, the time spent, the cost of production and the development of the revolutionary rights of the masses as much as sustaining, widening and raising the intervention of the whole population on economic, political and social problems, by means of soviet-type organisms and workers' control. A complete discussion on the basis of our proposals in all the communist parties and Workers States should be demanded.

It is necessary to propose a discussion on the difference between the independence and the autonomy of the trade unions in the Workers States. The trade unions should not be autonomous but independent in their functioning. Even the objectives of the trade union are not independent of the State, it has the same objective as the State. It functions independently, because it has a function that is different to that of the State, which is defence of living, working and production conditions in the face of the bureaucrat, planner and the State. The trade unions are in a position now to eliminate all the planners. As the texts of the IV International and Cde. Posadas show, the masses have reached the state of being able to eliminate planners in less than a year. The planners are kept on because a market economy is practised, the private use of nationalised property. This is another reason why the alliance between the landowners, the workers' aristocracy, the planners and administrators, a whole select layer of bureaucrats, is maintained. It is this whole combination of sectors that profits from the market economy.

To be continued in the next edition of "Red Flag"

## EDITORIAL

### CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

more determined opposition in Parliament to the anti trade union bill, but doubtless the whole range of policy was discussed, but little comes to light, because the inner political life of the LP is so limited, and the NEC simply responds to generalised pressures, and every effort is made to limit and conceal differences of opinion. But the depth of the crisis can be seen in the fact that one MP speaks in terms of "from Parliament onto the streets". And on the other hand the right wing through its spokesman Crosland comes out to reassert a reformist approach, as against people like Wedgwood Benn, who are associated with support for workers control, and effect an interest in greater "popular participation in decision making", i.e. however limited in the form this expresses tendencies, which go against the norms of bourgeois democracy. Benn has also come out in favour of an LP journal to represent the ideas of the LP. All this, however confined and abstract, shows a process of continuous discussion, which opens the pores of the LP to Marxism. The pressure inevitably is going more and more to the left, and the abandonment of the usual parliamentary norms in opposition to the anti-trade union bill at least expresses a more dynamic functioning of the Parliamentary LP, using parliament not just for gentlemanly debate, but to oppose the bourgeoisie and publicise the opposition to capitalism. As a minor aspect of the decomposition of Parliament, the fact that the speaker was not elected in an atmosphere of all party agreement, but with an opposition of various MPs, shows how it is not the ideal setting for capitalist policy. In order to impel the process of discussion in the LP, which still tends to be confined from a public point of view, we urge the policy of appealing for mass meetings to be adopted as a regular feature of LP life—trades councils, and the constituency parties should do this as a matter of course with full right of participation of members of the CP and the IV International. The masses everywhere show their desire to mobilise, and the revolutionary tendency in process of development in the LP must lean on this as the best way in which to mature themselves and make the LP a real workers' party with a policy of taking power.

Similarly it is necessary that the process of renovation takes place much more rapidly in the CP. The latter has led a fine campaign to impel the anti-capitalist offensive of the masses, but from the point of view of programme this has been very limited, and such a situation cannot continue much longer. The fact

that there is a desire for a much more profound discussion of the way forward is shown in the spate of defensive articles on CP publications, in the "British Road to Socialism" quite clearly designed to meet the extensive criticisms by the CP vanguard. The publications of Trotsky are greatly discussed in the CP, and inevitably this gives rise to the discussion of the ideas of Posadas directly. And in this respect we appeal most strongly for the "Morning Star" to be thrown open to an honest discussion with the IV International on the way forward. All this will after all accelerate the process in the LP.

In the concrete situation, as it is actually developing, capitalism is showing all the signs of fear and exasperation—a prelude to deep crises within the Tory Party, exposing the lack of conviction in their own policies, however "audacious" they may appear to be at the moment. The hysteria and the need to induce an atmosphere conducive to repression has shown itself in various ways. An example of hysteria and whistling in the dark to maintain failing courage was shown in Barber's recent bitter anti worker speech in Birmingham, trying to incite the most reactionary sectors against the masses. On the other hand the Times editorial took the view that Barber's declarations were not the source of all wisdom, and it was unwise to dismiss the TUC pleas for conciliation. This shows the degree of difference within the heart of the bourgeoisie, the lack of confidence, the lack of a clear perspective, which commands full allegiance. In all this the "bomb plot" against Carr has all the marks of capitalist provocation. It is a means of giving the police an opportunity to investigate revolutionary groups, and prepares the way for greater measures of repression. But more deeply, it shows the abject lack of confidence of the bourgeoisie, that they now have to rely on bomb plots rather than Parliament. Provocation and repression are their final weapons. The bourgeois leaders in the LP bleated their usual concern in these matters, but a member of the Transport House staff put the view of the cadres of the LP saying, "It sounds like a Tory plot". Together with this goes the expulsion of Rudi Dutschke—whose academic pursuits hardly present a danger to capitalism. In the proceedings it is clear that capitalism has reached such a stage of impotence that ideas are more and more felt to be the real danger, and with its vast army of informers, it rightly finds subversion everywhere. The preparations for the third world war and repression come out most clearly in N. Ireland, where another left MP, McManus,

goes to prison, and an open policy of repressive violence against the masses is being prepared. The reformist mask is taken off for good.

In this situation, where capitalist authority ebbs away and the "hard line" merely stimulates the vanguard, it is truly criminal on the part of the LP and the TUC to fail to co-ordinate all the vast mobilisations of the masses, the strikes of the postal workers, power workers and proposed strikes of railway workers into a powerful general strike on the anti-capitalist programme with the object of impelling a Labour Party on a socialist programme. None of these strikes are taking place within the context of a period when the workers seek simply to improve their standard of living, they are taking place when the masses are struggling to take power from capitalism. It is absurd simply for Jack Jones to call for the reduction in the rate of interest, when what is needed, is the imposition of workers' control in the factories, a workers' planning of production.

On the basis of the process of advance of the political revolution in Poland, the strength of the alliance between the Workers States and the revolution in the Middle East to smash Israel, the decomposition of world imperialism as shown in the USA, and the weakness of Franco's regime, the expropriation of imperialist properties in Chile, Torres defeat of the right wing putsch in Bolivia, and the mass worker assemblies there, we appeal for a full discussion of the situation as it is developing in Britain in the factories, the LP and the CP. Take full advantage of the success of the Jan 12 demonstrations and meetings, when the leadership of Wilson and Feather received another tremendous blow. Between now and Feb 21 we appeal to the LP, LPYS, the trades councils, the TUC and individual unions, the CP and YCL to mobilise mass meetings, and to appeal for the organisation of a general strike on the anti capitalist programme to bring down the Tory Government and replace it with a Labour Government on a Socialist programme. Nationalisations under workers control without compensation, all wages to rise with the cost of living, all profits of automation to the workers, for a workers plan of production, for a European workers centre, withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, release of all political prisoners in Ireland etc. FOR THE IMMEDIATE EMERGENCY CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE T.U.C. to plan an indefinite general strike. Make Feb 21 the beginning of the indefinite general strike, with mass assemblies and factory occupations.



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**



**Down with the  
Imperialist  
Invasion  
of Laos!**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 130 17th FEBRUARY 1971 PRICE 3p

# Use the February 21st demonstration to organise an unlimited General Strike with factory occupations to bring down the Tories and replace them by a Labour Government on a Socialist Programme

The South Vietnamese invasion of Laos, supported by U.S. Imperialism, is another step towards the final settlement of accounts between the revolution and imperialism, and it is going to stimulate the forces of the political revolution in the Workers State, which want to confront imperialism more aggressively. It is these forces which are already advancing, and the pro-capitalist sectors which are on the retreat, as all the latest events in the Workers States have shown. The self criticism of Liebermann, the soviet economist and architect of the economic reforms, in which he said that the soviet economy needed more not less centralisation, Brezhnev's letter to Gierk approving the changes, which had been made in Poland, and recalling Gierk's internationalist past, and the appointment of a crane driver and a shipyard worker to the Central Committee of the Polish CP, are the latest examples of this advance. At the same time US Imperialism finds that it can give no political solutions to try to stop the advance of the revolution, but can only respond with military adventures. And all these adventures fail, as they did in Cambodia, in Guinea, and as they are now failing in Laos.

These failures feed the growth of pessimistic currents in the world bourgeoisie who see that US Imperialism cannot guarantee their future, and so they look for their own solutions making agreements with the Workers States and the workers parties. In this line a part of the Italian Liberal Party, a party without any popular base, but solely a representative of a sector of the Italian bourgeoisie, announces that it accepts the idea of a government with the participation of the Italian Communist Party. All the European bourgeoisie is making its own type of 'Ostpolitik' to try to survive.

Even though the British bourgeoisie with its anti-trade union policy and its de-nationalisations tries to make itself the centre of European opposition to the working class and revolutionary advance, it is not outside this process of disintegration of the bourgeoisie; and in the last couple of weeks its crisis has sharpened tremendously. It is divided over the Common Market, and over the nationalisation of Rolls Royce. In the middle of a whole process of denationalisations, which had the objective of showing the vitality of private enterprise comes the crash of Rolls Royce, and the proposals to nationalise it. Even though this proposal responds to certain economic interests of capitalism, at the same time it is a tremendous blow to the social authority of the capitalist class, and is increasing the tensions within its political party. The opposition within the Conservative Party to these measures has been muted, because they want to try to maintain the united front of the bourgeoisie against the growing centralisation and confidence of the working class, but nevertheless inevitably all the national and international process is going to feed this tension, stimulating the disintegration of the Conservatives as an expression of the disintegration of the ruling class itself. If capitalism had more vitality and perspectives, this would encourage the pro-capitalist sectors of the leadership of the LP and Trade Unions, making them more resolute in their opposition to the rank and file who want a socialist policy, but as it is clearly disintegrating, these sectors lose heart and are silent, and there is a development and advance of the left.

In Parliament all the opposition to the anti-trade union legislation is being led

by the left wing. The old pro-capitalist leadership, which was dealt a death blow in the elections is almost silent now, while the left demonstrates and sings the 'Red Flag' in Parliament in an empirical attempt to respond to the situation, and put itself in contact with the revolutionary vanguard, which is developing outside Parliament. Eric Heffer's proposal that the left MPs march as a body in the demonstration of the 21st of February is another expression of this search for a better relationship with the vanguard which must soon be expressed in a programmatic form, by putting forward points of the anti-capitalist programme,

in the LP and in the struggle in Parliament. The right in the LP is so weak now that even Wilson, to defend his position, has to say that the sectors denationalised by the Tories will be renationalised by a Labour government, without compensation. This proposal stimulates the advance of the tendency struggling for the anti-capitalist programme inside the Labour Party. The way is open now for a much more aggressive advance of the anti-capitalist left at all levels in the Labour Party, but to take advantage of all the favourable situations which exists, revolutionary marxist theory is needed, the marxism of this period, the documents and analyses of Posadas and the IV International. We make an appeal for a study of these documents, together with those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky in all the political organisms of the class, not making it an abstract discussion, but linking this to a discussion on the revolutionary programme, and the methods to apply it. The programme already exists; it is the programme of the Labour Party Young Socialists, but the problem is how to apply it, how to stimulate the advance of the wing in the LP who are prepared to base themselves on this programme in the struggle against the pro-capitalist right. The demonstration on the 21st of February shows the way to impose the programme in the Labour Party.

The left in the LP and the YS (we

salute the decision of the National Committee of the YS to adopt the 'Fighting Programme for Labour') is being encouraged by the struggle of the working class against capitalism, and concretely against the government's anti-trade union legislation. The combativity of the parliamentary left is a product of the unceasing struggle of the working class, the civil war in Ireland, the demonstrations on Dec 8th, Jan 12th, its preparation for the Feb 21st. This demonstration, which is going to be huge, is going to mean a very great leap forward in the consciousness of the vanguard in its own strength. Despite the timidity of the slogans put forward by the leadership, slogans which are only against the bill, the vanguard is going to use Feb 21st to try to impel an unlimited general strike not just against the bill, but against the Tory Government itself. The discussions at this demonstration are going to tend to raise the level of understanding and confidence of the vanguard, the most elevated level of experience is going to be generalised, the more advanced sectors will weigh on the less, encouraging them to advance, and the demand for the unlimited general strike will gain ground. The discussion on the general strike is going on everywhere. The trade union leaderships are obliged to respond to this, and partly to yield to it. Thus the AEU is organising two one day strikes, and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## The strikes, the events in Poland, the political revolution and the world Socialist Revolution

CONTINUED FROM RED FLAG NO. 129

### IMMENSE SOCIAL PROTEST AGAINST THE BUREAUCRACY

When there is a mobilisation so big as this one in Poland, it is because there exists a state of discontent, which has not just arisen now, it is an uprising that means to protest against an inequality that already existed. It is a social protest, not a social uprising against the regime. This is why the dockers came out on strike singing the Internationale. They were showing the population that it wasn't against the Worker's State that they were protesting, but the bureaucracy, in order to gain a rise in living conditions. So they sang the Internationale. But the people responsible for the looting did not sing the Internationale. Those who burnt down the Communist Party locale, those who were senselessly destructive, had nothing to do with the proletariat, or communism. They were hooligans and agents of imperialism,

the sons of the landowners who still exist in Poland. More than 80% of the land is still in private hands. They are the ones who did this. It was the petty bourgeoisie, the right wing of the Party, which wanted to protest and demonstrate for "freedom of opinion", "freedom of functioning" to do the same as Ota Sik. That is, to go back to a mixture of capitalism with the Workers State.

This is a rebellion that shows the state of preoccupation of the working class which had no other means of showing itself, and was shown in this way. But this state exists not just in 4 cities but throughout the country. So in his speech, Cyrankiewicz does not speak of a small event. Oh no, he tries to give security in that the situation will be put right, to apologise with the excuse that

Communism is in danger, the Workers State is in danger, and there are elements that want to overthrow it. He appeals to the population to unite around the Workers State. If it had been the mobilisation of a few hundred people it would not be important. When it is like this, it's because it is a manifestation of a growing discontent, which constitutes a political opposition to the Gomulka regime, to the bureaucratic regime of the Workers State. This is what the masses are against!! They want soviets and proletarian democracy, to discuss everything and solve all the problems. They want to eliminate such a differentiation in wages as exists between the wages of a worker and the wages of a bureaucrat. They want production planned in the interests of the population. They don't want televisions for the rich—which means that the bureaucrats and Party leaders are the ones that gain from

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

# THE STRIKES, THE EVENTS IN POLAND, THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION & THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

them—they want products for the population.

It is a lie to say that the agrarian plan failed: there isn't any agrarian planning!—for more than 80% of the agrarian property is private.

Consequently the landlord produces what suits him for the market.

It is necessary to go towards the suppression of market economy. It is necessary to collectivize, sovietize all this. This is the solution.

It is necessary to make appeals to all the Workers States, to all the Communist Parties, to all the world workers movements to discuss these Polish events, and to call for an open world discussion on the problems of planning and production in the Workers States, proletarian democracy, soviets, the unification of all the Workers States. The same programme and planning for all the Workers States; this is what it is necessary to discuss.

Discuss also that it is necessary to intervene, as if it were one's own problem. How does one discuss the problems of science, music, art and political problems? One discusses to gain experience. Why don't they intervene now? Why not discuss the problems of the Workers States as if they were their own? It is necessary to intervene and to give an opinion.

The Fourth International appeals for a discussion and a meeting of all the Communist Parties of the world, all the Workers States, all the revolutionary tendencies, on the events in Poland, with the aim of organizing and centralizing the preoccupation of the world proletarian vanguard, so that it may intervene and prepare itself for the construction of the stage from here to the Workers State and from the Workers State to socialism. In the same way as China and the Soviet Union have just demonstrated their unconditional support for Vietnam, and warned the United States.

All capitalism wants to profit from what happened in Poland to show that in the Workers States they still have murders, death and hunger. No, they haven't. The bureaucracy is responsible for all this. In the biggest capitalist state, the United States, there are five million unemployed. There are murders, crimes, they have 20 million people in near starvation, and millions starving. There is no starvation in Poland or any Workers State. China, after 10 years functioning as a Workers State, not more, has abolished starvation, when just a few years before 90 millions were dying of starvation. Today China possesses atomic energy and utilises it. This is enough!

What needs to be changed is the political leadership. Demand proletarian democracy or socialist democracy as it is usually called. Nevertheless it is more

appropriate to say proletarian democracy, because in socialism there isn't any necessity for democracy, in socialism there isn't any necessity to conquer rights against others. The right to ask for democracy is a right against others. In the Workers State there is proletarian democracy, democracy for the proletariat to weigh over the state apparatus, over the party, over society, because the proletariat has the objective interest to develop the Workers State. It hasn't private interests.

It is necessary to demand the soviets, the organisation of the soviets, the planning of production, the masses should discuss planning. How to produce? What is to be produced? Production for whom? Expropriation of the land still owned by landlords, it is necessary to nationalise and work under collectivisation. These are the means to stop all that is now going on in Poland. Make appeals to all the Workers States, to the world workers movement, to discuss these events. Discuss also that there should be internal democracy in the Communist Parties in order to discuss all the problems, and that they should publish all the problems about the construction of the Workers States. It is necessary to discuss not only in the trade unions, but also in the Communist, Socialist, Christian Democrat and nationalist revolutionary parties, because they are all interested in discussing these problems.

It is important to see the behaviour of the masses, the consciousness, the will and the influence of the Workers State's structure on the masses. These mobilize trying to organise their movement in such a way as not to damage the Workers State. The workers protest against inequality and injustice. They see that they are not given higher wages and the bureaucrats have already got them, they see that they haven't got enough to buy meat and necessary food in the quantity they need and the bureaucrats have luxury televisions. The workers make a comparison. It isn't just a problem of discontent, but of inequality, of injustice and of protest against an usurping leadership that does this. It is necessary to lead a discussion on the functioning of the Workers States. The socialist sentiment is built with the functioning of the Workers States. The objective of the Workers State is to lead towards socialism and to form the socialist sentiment and consciousness.

It is necessary to eliminate all specialisations, quarrels, antagonisms, contradictions; all sentiments, consciousness and capacity of action and of organisation should be unified in order to impel the collective interest. Always the collective interest! So it will be possible to unify all the forces, plan and distribute correctly.

## FINISH WITH THE MARKET ECONOMY

It is necessary to discuss the problems of market economy. In the first years of the Russian Revolution a market economy was necessary and inevitable. But in their consciousness Lenin, Trotsky, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Communist Vanguard, were determined to gradually suppress the role of the market, and to dominate the economy. They could not avoid a market economy at first, because they still did not have the minimum of goods to supply the needs of the population. They controlled the market, however, to prevent it from exercising a deconcentrating, unbalancing, competitive influence, and they corrected its effect by means of the intervention of the State, producing the articles, which the population needed, not those needed by the people who could buy most. They orientated the prices in accordance with the needs of the population, making the prices greater for those who could pay more. This meant that they made it so the market did not function as a distorting element of the ability to buy, causing competition. Any competition was settled by the Workers State before-hand. It settled the prices, putting them up for those who could pay more. And it gave everything—shoes, a house, food, clothing—to those who had nothing. They showed that it was possible to function in this way.

But fifty years later there is much more reason that a market economy and a market should not exist in a Workers State with production in accordance with the needs of the population, and being planned for the needs. All this must be discussed. A market is not an uncontrollable consequence, but an empirical con-

sequence in this stage, the product of a lack of a revolutionary policy in the Workers States. In the face of events in Poland with the uprising of the Polish masses, the European bourgeoisie has tried to take advantage to criticise, and put the petit bourgeoisie against the Workers States, trying to show that the democratic capitalist system is superior to or at the very least equal to the system of the Workers States. But it has not been able to go very far in its criticisms, in the benefit it has got from them, nor in the insinuations it has made about the Workers States, because it itself is interested in their being a certain stability in the Workers States. From one point of view the stability suits it, whilst from the other it suits it that there should be mobilisations against the leaderships of the Workers States. The aspect, which suits it is related to competition with Yankee, Japanese and British imperialisms. Having to confront strikes and mobilisations of the masses in the capitalist states, it is interested in the opening of trade with the Workers States. There are no trade openings to be found within the capitalist system itself and capitalism offers itself to the Workers States, particularly, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other European Workers States.

The bourgeoisie is trying to draw profit for itself very weakly. It has not carried on a great campaign as when it had other opportunities. It is interested in this passing off quickly so that it doesn't initiate a move to the left in the Workers States. For capitalism is afraid that continuity of this process would send the

leaderships of the Workers States and the left tendencies towards the left, and this would break up the trading policy and social and commercial agreements with the capitalist countries, damaging and drowning their foreign trade, creating greater internal difficulties, social crisis and weakness of capitalism.

The essential reason why capitalism cannot take advantage of these events is that the petty bourgeoisie throughout Europe is influenced by the development of the socialist revolution. The big strikes, mass mobilisations, great conquests by the masses, and the electoral social and political development, and rise of the Communist Parties, and Socialist Parties, and the left Christian Democrats, all influence the petty bourgeoisie, and bring it into the arena of the socialist revolution. So the bourgeoisie hasn't the possibility of holding demonstrations and campaigns against the Workers States—not even during the 1968 Czechoslovakian crisis, and in this case, against Poland. There has been no important demonstration, not even of a few dozen, organised against the Polish Workers State. Not even the fascists have been able to take advantage of the circumstances. The petty bourgeoisie, influenced by the development of the revolution and the world proletariat, although criticising the Polish bureaucracy, and defending and supporting the Polish trade unions, has

not adopted any attitude, or organised any mobilisation, movement, or protest effecting the State structure, or the existence of the Polish Workers State. The petty bourgeoisie has been on its guard and very careful not to make it easy for the bourgeoisie, or to allow it to gain access to criticism, injury, accusations or criminal attempts on the Workers States. This situation shows the maturity that the European proletariat has reached, ready for the socialist revolution, to take power and install its own Workers State. The European proletariat has reacted as though it were in a Workers State itself. Such an ability shows that at any moment it is prepared to take power and install a Workers State. It is a demonstration of how the socialist revolution has a world course and world structure and is inter-influenced very dynamically.

It must be stated that all these problems in Poland are expressed, and blow up in this way, because the Polish Communist Party does not discuss them all. If it were to discuss them, everything would come out into the light. The same thing happened in 1956. The uprising occurred, because it wasn't possible to discuss in the Party. People wanted to discuss and solve the problems. It is necessary to make appeals to all the Communist Parties to appeal for the respect of proletarian democracy, beginning with its application in each of their countries.

## THE HOOLIGANS ARE A PRODUCT OF THE BUREAUCRACY

It wasn't the workers who tore things apart, burnt and sacked, because that is not the way to make a political demonstration, and workers demonstrate politically. They want to weigh socially. The attacks on property and robbery were the demonstration of a fury that was not that of the exploited masses, but of people or even sectors at the margin of the population, organised to cause the damage with the hope of showing that the country was in chaos "because the regime is no good", not the political leadership, but the system itself. This would be in the interests of those who are against the Ostpolitik, against the development of the Polish Workers State. They are the sons of the rich, the landowners and the big bureaucrats, not so much Party bureaucrats as State functionaries, just as was the case once before in Poland.

The bureaucracy may be able to get through or contain the situation, but there is evidence that the masses feel encouraged, and want to intervene, by the world process of the revolution. They feel encouraged to come out and demonstrate even without leadership. The slightly empirical way in which they have come out is logical, because they haven't the organisms that would make it possible for them to concentrate, discuss and make organic demonstrations to weigh in the Party. As they don't have this, they have to come out in the way that they have adopted. But throughout its history the proletariat has always shown that it doesn't have to have recourse to such elements as destruction and sabotage of material things, for this cannot be communicated to the rest of the population. The proletariat immediately seeks political contact with the population, it tries to communicate a policy, showing that it is the leadership, and that it tries to impel progress, and the struggle for progress (although it struggles, as an immediate thing, for objective interests such as wage increases.) This is its way of impelling progress, for this it attempts to concentrate and unify the population

behind it. It cannot do such a thing by breaking things up, destruction or attacks on property, which are a desperate demonstration of protest. In this case it is not the proletariat that is responsible for the destruction. It is a band of people who have bashed up and burnt down things, who went along to provoke chaos and to pillage. This is not the method used by the proletariat, or a form of expression employed by the proletariat, but of people, who were taking advantage of the circumstances.

Hooligans did not appear during the Russian Revolution, because a communist sentiment pervaded the population. Hooligans are the result of a process. Where do they come from? The proletariat? No. Where do they come from then? What circle produces them? They are individuals who are against centralisation, against the concentrated interest in encouraging socialism in a Workers State; they have individualist interests—they seek satisfaction and pleasure of any kind. What does this mean?—that they come from circles that produce this type of person, the bureaucratic circles of the technocrats and managers, the Party, industrial and State bureaucrats. This is possible, because there is no proletarian democracy, functioning is not soviet, and the masses don't intervene in a soviet way. If there was a soviet kind of organisation, with soviet organisations and workers control, hooligans would not be able to flourish, because the proletariat would reject them, and they would not find the means to develop or to act. Their presence shows the absence of proletarian democracy and soviets. They must be established, and the hooligans would be done away with.

It is absurd that there should be hooligans in the Workers States. They are not a consequence of the Workers State. They are the result of bureaucratic, political leadership, which creates privileged persons. The bureaucratic layers, planners, administrators, landowners, semi-rich and rich koljosians—are privileged

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Manchester

### PARTY CENTRE

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# THE STRIKES, THE EVENTS IN POLAND.....

sectors—and they exploit the economy of the Workers State for their own benefit. They are the ones, who are opposed to proletarian democracy the centralisation and centralised planning of the Workers State. Hooligans come out of these families and ambience. They take advantage of the need of the working class to protest, and the indignation of the working class, and revolutionary communist militants to try to provoke havoc in the functioning of the Workers State, and

the repression of the working class so that they can keep and extend their privileges. The hooligans and their families try to provoke chaos and damage the revolutionary mobilisation for proletarian democracy and the development of the Workers State, to take advantage of it for themselves in their own caste interest, and to prevent an ascent in the mass struggle and the creation of soviet organisms in which the masses would function.

## THE EVENTS IN POLAND INDICATE A PROCESS THROUGHOUT ALL THE WORKERS STATES

Mobilisations have not only occurred in Poland. Mobilisations in the USSR also demonstrate a profound preoccupation of the masses to function sovietically, to intervene in the production plans and preoccupation for the function of the Workers State. The bureaucracy plans, organises and directs production bearing in mind its own consumer interests. So it produces television, luxury cars, houses and furniture, when there isn't sufficient meat or other food products. Individual cars can and should be replaced with means of collective transport.

In Poland agriculture is more than 80% in private hands, and the church has a very great weight, not because it has social strength, or the social possibilities of remaining, but because this is the policy carried on by the bureaucracy of the Polish Communist Party to maintain a point of support against revolutionary tendencies. It is a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, so as not to have to depend on a revolutionary policy. So the bureaucracy plans and programmes the economy in accordance with what goes down well in its relations with these private sectors, not in accordance with the needs of the Workers State. Hence the market economy.

A market economy is governed by the interests of the people who can buy most. This is what exists in capitalist states. But in a Workers State the economy must be worked out in agreement with the needs of the population. Even though it may still be necessary to continue to price articles, and in a certain way to maintain a differentiation according to ability, with the intervention of the Workers State, as an entity, and the trade unions, there should be a lessening in competition for the conquest of better wages, and a tendency to equalise, and give the population what it needs most, and greater means with which to buy. This is the road to socialism.

Consciousness and sentiments of equality are created in this way. This eliminates disputes caused by competition, and the philosophy of 'who can get more, should', and equals things out in a system of collective help. The Workers State by the simple fact of having abolished capitalism, has started out in this process. If there is still a market economy in Poland, and these privileged sectors still exist, it is due to the policy of the bureaucracy which governs this. And this is what must be abolished.

In Lenin's time there was no market economy, and no need for the market economy like there is today. Even though it is true that as a consequence of the policy of the bureaucracy, marketing is still necessary, this can be lessened with the intervention of the Workers State by

means of trade union organisations, and control exercised by the population—factory control. This would even out the ability to buy, which is one of the objectives of communism: elimination of dependence on wages and life maintained in this basis.

The Polish economy has not developed more than it has, due to the false policy carried on by the bureaucracy. If this were not so, it would have developed 20 times more. What lacks is concentrated and centralised programming and planning. Moves must be made to alter the situation. The lack of it is at the root of all the disturbances. The reaction of the workers is tending to raise their participation. This will centralise the State and bring moves towards greater equality. The reason why the workers want to intervene is not only to improve wages and the distribution of wealth, but to achieve a revolutionary world policy. This is what the masses are demonstrating for.

To get rid of the present economic plan they must remedy the law of supply and demand and they must solve the agricultural problem. All this must be dealt with. So a series of measures must be taken in relation to the agricultural problem forcing the present owners to sell up, changing the form of property and increasing collectivisation more. Then there is discussion on the type of budget to be dealt with—whether it should be directed towards the development of consumer industry, or of the arms industry. All this must be under discussion.

However, essentially it is evident that the vital centre of everything is that the plan must change in accent, in order to lower prices. This means putting a stop to, or lessening "liberalisation" and accentuating centralisation. This would consequently do away with a lot of rottenness, profits and interests of the bureaucracy and the agrarian land-owning layer. This would have great internal repercussions, for the political sectors which defend and depend on those interests would fight back and changes would come.

## THE SOLUTION FOUND BY THE BUREAUCRACY IS ONLY

### A COMPROMISE

It is very significant that they have chosen someone of trade union and Party origin to be the new Party Secretary. It is very important. And also Gomułka has been pensioned off so as not to be compromised with him which indicates that they were waiting for the moment to do this. Moreover, they have thrown out the person responsible for the rise in prices.

There is a struggle of interests going on between the German and Soviet bureaucracies. Ulbricht is pressing for Polish support against capitalist Germany. But Poland has just put into action a policy that is not what Ulbricht would like; there is a struggle of interests going on, but between groups of lesser importance and weight, who are not the ones who are going to decide now.

The Polish situation will bring about fairly important changes in the economic plan in relation to its accent and the moral stimulus. There will be changes, even though they may not be immediate. The Party leadership will attempt to contain the protest, but in association with part of the trade union leadership. The single fact that concessions have been made is an encouragement to the workers to show their protest. This is an aspect of the Political Revolution, although it is still a rather simple one. It is not very profound yet, but indicates a new, deeper phase of the Political Revolution that is opening up in Poland. It is not very important yet, but an indication of what is to come.

The change in the leadership is the result of conciliation between tendencies, but it appears that the tendency linked to the Party has pre-eminence, and it had gained this due to the need to hold the rupture between the Party and the masses in check. The crisis in Poland is occurring when the Yankees are threatening to intervene more in Vietnam, with the crisis in the Middle East, the crisis over the German problem, and during moments of mobilisation of the masses all over the world. This is the world situation when the crisis in Poland comes to the fore. This means that the process will be very profound and the bureaucracy will not be able to contain it. And what is more, the Party bureaucracy does not want to contain it, but to profit from it to clean out right sectors, as is happening in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Joined with the demands for democratic rights for the masses, it is necessary to discuss what programme. The programme for Poland was not a socialist programme, but a semi bourgeois bureaucratic programme. Because the programme for the land is for the benefit

of the agrarian private property, which makes up 80% of the land. This must be discussed. What programme? Who directs the programme? In whose name? How is the distribution going to be made, to gradually eliminate the market economy. In the way that they have constructed the Workers State, it is still not possible to eliminate the market economy, but it can be contained. But on the other hand they talk more about the market economy, because they have increased liberalisation, and there are more layers of the bureaucratic population, who have interest in buying as in the capitalist regime.

The workers have come out in demonstrations in Poland to protest against this. The support, which the workers in Germany have given to the Polish workers is also against this. For this reason Ulbricht has an interest in quickly trying to contain the process, because he sees it also coming to him.

All their programme, even of those Workers States who respect most centralisation, like Germany, give it a bureaucratic and market economy function. He who has more, can buy more. As they are the ones, who have more, they determine the orientation of the production. It is necessary to lower the prices of articles of consumption, and increase the price of luxury articles. We are not against the production of televisions, but if one has to choose between televisions, cars and consumer articles, it is necessary to choose the consumer articles. Moreover, there is no reason to make individual cars. They must make collective cars, collective means of transport. It is necessary to insist that the market economy is useful for the bureaucrats, the planners, for the high layers of the population of the Workers States, who have a high buying power. These are the ones, the high leaders of the party, of the trade unions, of the army, of the police, of the state apparatus, and the economic apparatus. This is for them. They make the market economy for them! There is no reason for it, the Workers State can determine the prices and the cost of production, and produce what it needs.

For example, they should stop making cars in Poland now. Who needs private cars, they need collective transport, trains, metros, buses, roads, motorways. They don't need to make private cars, and they are making car factories including those of Fiat.

The capitalist states don't have anywhere to invest, and they cannot compete with the Yanks, they have to go to the Workers States. The bureaucracy of the Workers States tries to profit, but it makes

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the TGWU (apart from its proposals for strikes for higher pensions) puts to the TUC that it organises days of 'non-co-operation', but these are only reflections of the much deeper process, which is going on among the rank and file and middle cadres. A clearer expression of the sentiment of the vanguard was the resolution by the London area of the Sheet Metal Workers Union to the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions, that it organises an unlimited general engineering strike until the bill is defeated. This is the way the vanguard expresses its opposition to capitalism in the absence of political organisms in which it can express itself in a more programmatic and political form.

That the conditions are ripe for the general strike can be seen from the behaviour of the postal workers, who without being a central sector of the class, have maintained themselves without strike pay for four weeks, or by the Ford workers, who on hearing the pay offer by Ford management, immediately, without waiting for the directives of the leadership, stopped work. All that is lacking for the general strike is an appeal by a leadership of sufficient authority. If, for example, the AEU called for an unlimited general strike in the engineering industry, launching an appeal to the rest of the class to support it, the class would follow. It is correct of the big unions to appeal to and try to impel the TUC to call a general strike, but at the same time they must take steps

to organise it themselves. With the postal workers and the Ford workers out, already there is a basis on which the general strike can be organised. The Communist Party must also launch the slogan of the general strike, making a discussion in the branches, using the party press to prepare the strike. This will also help the LP left. The Labour Party cannot wait until the autumn to hold its next conference, it has to define its policy now, to organise its forces so as to respond to the situation. It has to organise a recall conference as soon as possible, and from this conference appeal to the masses for the general strike.

But it is not possible to speak in abstract of the general strike, it is necessary to define the objectives of the strike and the methods to be used to achieve these objectives. The objective must be certainly to throw out Carr's bill, but also to throw out this government of the ruling class. If this government is thrown out what is there to replace it? The Labour Party, even though it is still, nominally at least, led by Wilson, Castle and Co. How to impel the process of changing this leadership? By putting forward the slogan that the Labour Party comes back to the government on a programme to satisfy the immediate needs of the exploited masses which capitalism cannot satisfy. This is going to stimulate the crisis of growth in the LP, for it is the last thing that Wilson and the pro-capitalist leadership

want, to have to form a government in these conditions of social, political and economic crisis of capitalism, and it will be the left, more linked to the masses, which will be pushed to the front. The LP coming back to government in the present conditions, with the Labour Party regenerating, with LP branches growing, with branches being formed in the factories, in conditions where the Communist Party and vanguard in united front with the Labour masses, are playing a more and more important role, in a world situation of advance of the revolution, the next Labour government will signify a step towards a workers government and workers power.

This then is the task of the vanguard for the coming period. To use the demonstration of the 21st to discuss the organisation of the general strike, to go back to the factories and organise assemblies, to elect factory committees, to discuss a plan of production to satisfy the demands of the masses for a dignified life, for decent housing, for hospitals, schools, recreational facilities, transport, full employment, with this plan made possible by the expropriation of land and the banks, key industries and industries about to be closed down, without compensation and under workers control. In this way Feb 21st will open a new stage, a very short one, which will lead to the unlimited general strike, with occupations of factories, with the imposition of workers control, for the throwing out of the Tory Government and its replacement by a Labour Government on a programme to satisfy the needs of the masses.

## Uruguay

WE SALUTE THE R.W.P.(T)  
URUGUAYAN SECTION OF  
THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
WHICH HAS REIMPOSED  
ITS LEGALITY WITH THE  
SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE  
WORKERS MOVEMENT AND  
MASSES OF URUGUAY.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

es quite large concessions. Instead of letting the capitalists invest there, they should make a plan of the Workers States among themselves. They could triple the production in five years, and produce a tremendous crisis in capitalism. But they intervene to impede a violent crisis in the capitalist system. On the other hand, in

## THE EVENTS IN POLAND...

this way they are making a progressive crisis believing that the communist parties are going to go to power without needing violent revolution. On the other hand Corvalan says that in Chile the civil war is possible.

### THE WORLD MASSES ARE IN SYMPATHY WITH THE POLISH WORKERS

There has not been one demonstration rejecting what has happened in Poland anywhere, but demands for discussion instead. All the trade unions, workers parties, and revolutionary democratic movements, and the masses have asked for discussion, of what is happening in Poland. No one has appealed for intervention to demonstrate against and overthrow the Polish regime. Instead the demands have been for discussion to rectify the situation and give proletarian democracy to the masses. This is behaviour which shows the political consciousness of the world masses, who intervene to encourage progress, not to contain it. In the case of Spain they reacted in the opposite way, and demanded the overthrow of Franco, and the freedom of the political prisoners. In Vietnam they demanded the withdrawal of Yankee imperialism and the crushing of imperialism. But in Poland they are demanding that the workers may speak, because it is with them that socialism will be built. This shows the maturity of the world revolutionary vanguard. This must be used by Communist leadership, who must open their Parties to the full discussion of all problems as well, so that the masses discuss. They must promote a public discussion on all the problems of the construction of socialism, in which all revolutionary tendencies must intervene, amongst them the IV International.

These events open the road to internal discussion and reforms. They stimulate sectors of the bureaucracy more linked to the masses to make them intervene. They put "liberal" plans for the economy in question and up for criticism, plans which escape from the centralised economy, and make its decentralisation pos-

sible, creating new semi property-owning layers or the private use of collectivised property. All this is under discussion now.

But the most important thing to enter into the discussion is the democratic rights of the masses, which is part of the Political Revolution. The masses want to intervene and discuss. The distribution is bad. The reason why the planning does not respond to the needs of the masses must be discussed. Is it that the centralised, nationalised economy and planned production cannot provide for this?—or is it that the bureaucracy does not know how to plan? It is the bureaucracy that plans in accordance with an individual group conception and mentality. It wants to maintain relations with semi-private property sectors and other private property sectors, and this disaster is the result. All these problems must be discussed in the entire world workers movement.

The events in Poland are going to influence the other Workers States that are in the same state as Poland: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. This solution was prevented in Hungary and also in the German Workers State, where the bureaucracy got a terrible fright; there was an uprising there in 1956 as well, demanding trade union democracy. This process is part of the world process of the socialist revolution.

It is the world process of the socialist revolution, which feeds the situation in Poland and impels, encourages and weighs on the masses so they intervene. It is not the product of a local situation, but of a world one, which is being expressed locally.

### DISCUSS POLAND IN ALL THE WORKERS PARTIES

The changes, which they have made are to contain the intervention of the masses so that they don't spread, don't extend, trying to resolve the crisis from the top, for the stimulus coming from the strikes, from the stoppages, from the mobilisations of the masses, is leading to a solution much more to the left. The bureaucracy has stopped in mid stream, elements have come to the fore more linked to the interests of the apparatus of the Party, less linked to the right and to the centre. It is a provisional solution.

Even if this solution seeks to contain, it has already shown what the bureaucracy must respond to. They cannot respond with bombs crushing the workers or imposing on them a solution by force. Why have they eliminated Gomulka if they could have given a solution identical to before. They eliminated him, because they have not been able to respond to the pressure of the masses, and to prevent that the process goes more to the left. This is the sense of this provisional government. It is a step which allows one to foresee the possibility of a sector of the party tending to seek more con-

tact with the life of the class. We are going to see in a little while if they deal with the problem of private property on the land, the problem of prices and the market. All this is going to be revealed in a short time.

The Communist Parties cannot understand this, they do not have any idea of the structure and functioning of the Workers State. They see it as an apparatus. It is an apparatus solution, which they give again today, but which today does not have any solidity. The fact that they have made Gierk, who has a workers past, leader of the party shows it. He is not a representative of the technocratic sectors, even if they try to present him as such. He comes from the party, he has fought and been a militant in France and Belgium, in the resistance against fascism. Since he was very young he has been in the party. His parents were workers. Even if he became a bureaucrat, he acts in relation to the interest of the party.

If it was a question of a coup to make a retreat putting someone worse than Gomulka, they wouldn't have chosen

Gierk. Moreover, the USSR could not give a step to the right in Poland at the very moment, when they have just expelled Ota Sik and Cernik. On the contrary, it has an interest in a position, which responds more to the structure of the Workers State, not less.

The depth of this crisis is an immense pressure to harmonise the structure of the economy, planning in relation to the needs of the Workers States, and not to the private interests, be they those of the peasant or other sectors. The presence of Moczar comes from the fact that there still isn't a decisive force, and this crisis doesn't come from today, but from before. Gomulka prepared it. It is a transitory situation, which can become more stable, but Moczar is there as a product of a conciliation and of an agreement. If they give him a post today, it is with the objective of a provisional conciliation of tendencies.

This solution, which has been put forward is determined by the type of organisation of the Communist Party. It is a bureaucratic superficial solution, where the masses do not intervene. There is not struggle or proletarian democracy. There are no rights for the masses. Thus it is a solution of the apparatus. What is the

conclusion? The need to appeal for the formation of Soviets, factory committees, so that everything is discussed in the factories. The factories must intervene! The factories, the workers areas, the villages, the communist cells must discuss.

We appeal for a discussion directly on this crisis in all the factories, in all the areas, universities, in stadiums everywhere. It is necessary to discuss how to plan in relation to the interests of the masses. It is necessary to make a maximum reduction in the salaries of the leaders of the party, of the technocrats, of the bureaucrats, of the technicians. We appeal for the expropriation of the land and for its collectivisation, for the regulating of the market through the state, for the regulation of the crisis of the market. It is in this way that it is necessary to increase agricultural production on the basis of a collectivised planning, and not for the interests of the rich peasants.

This is the appeal that the IV International makes to all the Communist Parties, all the Workers States, and to the world workers and revolutionary movement: to open a public discussion on the events in Poland, and the problems of the world construction of socialism.

International Secretariat  
of the IV International

19th Dec 1970

## News of the International: Chile

In November 1970 a Seminary of Architecture was held in the University of Valparaiso, in which delegations of different Latin American Universities participated. In the delegations from Argentina and Uruguay were architect comrades and students of architecture, who are members of the Argentinian and Uruguayan sections of the IV International. Their interventions on a series of analyses and documents by comrade Posadas on the tasks of technicians and the role of the university in the building of socialism, on the problems of Marxism of this stage, were the centre of the debates.

As a result of this, the university has brought out a brochure entitled "THE TASKS OF THE TECHNICIANS, AND THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM" introduced by the architects HOR-

ACIO ALPERIN and GUIDO KOSINER, members of the team of Revolutionary Architects of Argentina.

A second brochure was brought out as a result of this seminary: THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM IN THIS STAGE OF HISTORY by J. Posadas.

They are obtainable from Blanco 1113, Casilla 1470, Valparaiso, Chile.

We call on all revolutionary students, university and student organisations, teachers and lecturers, cultural societies, trade unions, the T.U.C., L.P. and C.P. branches and leaders, the L.P.Y.S. and Y.C.L. and trades councils to acquire a copy of each from Valparaiso university, and to campaign for the publications of these works by J. Posadas in English, and for their study throughout the workers and revolutionary movement.

## 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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## RED FLAG

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by CDE. J. 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  
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**Viva the military  
successes of  
the masses in Laos  
Out with Imperialism  
from Indo-China**

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

(30th December 1970)

## The Leningrad trials, the maturing of the World Proletariat & the Socialist Revolution

There are differences between the Burgos trial and what is happening in the USSR. The Leningrad trials are being held against people, who want to harm the Soviet Union, people who are fleeing a Workers State to go to an imperialist state. Their action cannot be presented as the search for freedom. The USSR is a Workers State; from all points of view that represents progress in relation to Israel. It is not the Soviet Union that is on the attack in the Middle East. Israel is the spearhead of imperialism in the Middle East. The defendants are Soviet citizens; their Jewish origin has nothing to do with the fact: they are people born in the USSR, who have lived there, and who find themselves there now. The fact that they have relatives in Israel has nothing to do with this. They are Soviets. They want to escape from the USSR to support a country that is carrying on an imperialist war against the Soviet Union. This situation cannot be compared with that of the Burgos defendants. Such comparisons must be condemned.

The aim pursued by these people was imperialist. They must be condemned. The Soviets are right when they say, "This is not a political trial". But the Soviet leaders are bureaucrats, and as such they fear the consequences and repercussions of a fair, logical trial based on this correct conclusion. Consequently they add, "These people were going to betray the Soviet fatherland; they are potential murderers, etc..." No. What must be said is, "These people are Soviet citizens, who want to leave the USSR to go to an imperialist country, that is in the process of waging a war against the countries of the Middle East, which, for their part, are advancing towards the socialist revolution." This is how the trial must be presented. What has this to do with Spain?

This trial is not aimed at Communist militants, workers or opposition tendencies, that struggle for the progress of the Workers State. The accused are Jews, who have rejected the Workers State, to go to an imperialist state. The problem must be posed in this way first of all. It is not a problem of "freedom", "rights" or "democracy". It is a matter considering a Workers State and Soviet citizens. These people were born and lived there. It is an invention to bring in the fact of their Jewish origin. That has nothing to do with it. They are rejecting a Workers State to go to an imperialist state. They would be going and supporting Israel, which is at war against Arab countries that are progressing towards the socialist revolution. The problem must be posed in this way. They are renegades. It must be supposed that what they were going to do was not at all in favour of the Workers State, neither was it in defence of the rights of the masses to freedom and discussion.

Workers who reacted against Stalin and opposed him, never fled the Soviet Union, never demonstrated the desire to leave it. This trial responds to an internal struggle in the Soviet bureaucracy. These Jewish sectors are linked to pro-kulak sectors, rich pro-kolkhosians, planners, administrators. They are linked to the upper stratas of the bureaucracy. The problem is not just of 2 or 3 people, who want to flee the Soviet Union. These people form part of the preparation of imperialism for the war. It is not a matter of "freedom". If it were so, they would be supporting the right of the workers and trades unions to discuss and hold meetings. What they are asking for is the right to leave the country. Why? In order to join an imperialist state against the Soviet Union. They do not want to

go to a state that is searching for freedom; they want to go against the Workers State. They are brigands, miserable agents of imperialism.

For its part, the Soviet bureaucracy adopts this attitude to the defendants to intimidate and terrorise the very large layer of similar type people behind them. We are against this method. We are in favour of a public trial, denouncing and condemning these people as agents of imperialism. It is necessary to create popular tribunals in which the trades unions, the workers, the population intervene. The fact that these people are agents of imperialism must be discussed throughout the Soviet Union! They must not be wrongly condemned or anything like that; they must be hounded out! Expell them from the country as brigands, assassins and agents of imperialism! This is the position of the IV International.

It is necessary to say, "Look at these assassins!", "The USSR is a Workers State. See the progress that it has made without harming any nationality! And see what Israel is doing!" Appeals must be made to the USSR and all the other Workers States to eliminate judges, lawyers, courts, the apparatus of law. All this must be got rid of. Lenin never had the idea of preserving all this. This apparatus must be completely liquidated and replaced by popular tribunals, where judgement would be passed according to the interests of the Workers State and the world socialist revolution. If there is any danger of war, then the Workers State may apply the death penalty. But in this instance, that is not the case; a social struggle must be carried on, so the masses see the superiority of the Workers State in relation to capitalism.

The problem must be important for the bureaucracy to launch such a trial now. An important layer, of the Ota Sik type, must be in process of exerting a pressure. This trial is part of the internal struggle against the weight that these people exert as the reflection of determined economic forces.

The death penalty and sentences of 15 years in jail, are disproportionate in relation to the allegations. The procedure used by the Soviet bureaucracy is incorrect. Certainly, none of these brigands deserves his freedom. All of them are imperialist brigands! The problem is that this type of sentence and trial do not reflect the confidence of the Workers State. What would happen if they were allowed to go free? They must be judged in factory and workers area discussions. It must be discussed why they want to flee the Soviet Union by using such methods.

They don't want to go to construct the future and progress, but to become the rubbish of history. The Trade Unions, the masses, the workers districts and factories require popular tribunals as they existed during the first stage of the Soviet Union. We are for full freedom of discussion, on the condition that it be for progress, and not to go backwards. These people are backward. They want to go to an imperialist country that is attacking countries that are advancing towards socialism.

Neither the Soviets nor the CPs pose the matter in this way. However, it is in this way that it must be discussed. We appeal to the Soviet Union to make a public judgement, and for the discussion to be opened in the Trade Unions on these problems. Show what the Soviet Union is today and what it was before. Show what Israel is, the spearhead of imperialism in the Middle East. This is how it must be discussed.

In Burgos, on the contrary, the trial

was against the ETA, the spearhead of the socialist revolution.

A public trial of these people would by no means alter the conclusions to be drawn. They would be condemned in the same way. The objective of the Soviet bureaucracy is to intimidate a series of internal opponents to the regime, of a bourgeois type. All these people are imperialists, bourgeois, as much brigands and assassins as Dayan himself. It is possible that among them some want to see their families. But the individual function has nothing to do with the political function that they play. They want to go and support a country that is opposing, arms in hand, the countries of the Middle East, in what is almost an atomic war. Only a bourgeois person can support such a thing.

All this is the result of the former policy of the bureaucracy, that has stimulated the rise of Ota Sik and Co type sectors. This is why it is necessary to ask, "Why do such people appear?" And if they appear the Trade Unions must discuss the fact, and they would be reduced to a handful. They should go, they should be moved. If this were discussed in the Trade Unions, it would be easy to say, "They are going because they are imperialists, capitalists." This would clean up the Workers State.

The bureaucracy cannot allow that though. It would then be letting the masses, and their organisms intervene, and they would turn on the bureaucracy afterwards and judge it too. This trial is in contradiction with the policy followed in Poland. The attitude of the bureaucracy does not mean that it has an anti-Jewish policy. This is not a persecution of Jews, but opposition to some Jews who want to go over to the imperialist camp and who belong to a layer of the right wing. The bureaucracy tries to intimidate and terrorise this right wing to avoid the internal struggle developing in its midst, leading to uprisings of the masses against the bureaucracy as a whole. These people all come from the privileged layers of technocrats and bureaucrats, who are usurping the Workers State. They are not workers.

During the strike in Vorkuta, some

Jewish workers protested, because they could not write to Israel, but not because they wanted to go there. Once they had obtained the right to write the protest finished. They maintained their defence of the Soviet Union, without objection, or doubt. The people on trial in Leningrad are renouncing the USSR to go to Israel. They do not say, "We are alright here, but we want to live in Israel, because of our families, etc." (why don't they appeal to the Israeli Jews to go to the USSR? and why don't they send imperialism to hell, appealing for the unification of Israel, the Arab countries and the Soviet Union.) It is in this way that the problem must be discussed and posed, and not in the abstract and deceiving form of "freedom". They are presenting the facts in an erroneous way, speaking of the deprivation of the right to freedom, and of racial persecution. Lies! The bureaucracy is not interested in racial persecution. The Jews are an infinite minority, hardly 0.001% of the population out of 245 millions! There are 3 million out of which hardly 25,000 want to leave the USSR. That is hardly anyone.

The bureaucracy has persevered with this trial, because of very great opposition in the pro-bourgeois bureaucratic camp. It is not just the matter of the trial. The Soviet bureaucracy would not go through with this at this stage, full of events such as those in Poland, just to intimidate a group of Jews. If the bureaucracy were just worried about the Jews themselves it would put them in a car and send it out of the country. This trial is an aspect of the struggle in view of the next congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Irrespective of the importance and the quality of the judgement, the objective of the trial remains the serious and important internal struggle.

It is not only the question of Jews who want to leave the USSR, but of people linked to the enemies of the Workers State, the rich kolkhosians, the planners, the administrators, some intellectual sectors etc., who formulate the idea of democracy in abstract, because it means democracy for them, and not for the masses.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## The demonstration of the 21st expressed the will of the masses to organise the General Strike

All the most recent actions by the working class illustrate each day more clearly how the conditions are ripening for the organisation of a general strike, a general strike, which will deal a death blow to the anti-trade union legislation of the Tories, and to capitalism itself, a strike which could throw out the Tories and impose a Labour government on a Socialist programme. And it would have to be a Labour government not like the last one, which tried to bring in measures against the working class, similar in many respects to those that the Tories are now steam-rolling through Parliament, but a Labour government, which is much more under the control of the working class, where the Labour Party branches, the Young Socialist branches, and the Trades Councils will have a much greater influence in the decisions, which this government will make, and a government, which will have to make concessions to the working class in order to be able to govern. It would have to restore the health service, to increase expenditure on education, housing, public transport, etc., and would have to immediately nationalise all the profit making parts of the nationalised industries, which the Tories intend to denationalise, without paying compensation, as was decided by the N.E.C. of the Labour Party last week.

The most powerful action by the working class towards the organisation of the general strike was the demonstration organised by the T.U.C. on February 21st, this was the biggest demonstration since the war, and possible the biggest demonstration ever organised by the T.U. move-

ment. The spirit of the demonstration as the capitalist press was eager to point out was peaceful and rather like a carnival. Certainly it was peaceful, for this demonstration was not for the working class to show its physical strength against

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

# The Leningrad trials...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ses. None of these miserable people has the idea to ask, "Why don't we let the workers trade unions decide?" They do not pose any of this. To none of them has there occurred the idea of asking the question, "Why does Israel threaten the Arab states that are making such progress?" In the Arab states there is land redistribution and nationalisation of industries going forward, and the standard of living is rising after having been at hunger level for thousand of years. Why? None of these people on trial have mentioned this.

They demand 'their liberty'. It is the liberty that the assassin Dayan and fascists demand, to kill. These people want to go to support Dayan against the development of the revolution in the Middle East. It is in this way that the problem must be posed.

One of the objectives of this resolution is to discuss, and make our influence on the Communists weigh, making them understand the historic and concrete class sense of all the problems that are posed in the USSR, as in the rest of the world. One cannot pose the question of "freedom" in the abstract. It is not the time to launch a polemic about it with the Socialist, left Christian Democrat or nationalist leaders. We discuss because their rank and file have seen further than the leaderships, and are our allies. The proof of this is the absence of a mass movement against the Soviet Union. But the masses were against the Burgos trial, and for the overthrow of Franco! There are statements being made that aim at the application of justice in Leningrad, but no movement against the Workers State. That is the intuition and understanding of the proletariat, which does not act against a Workers State.

It must be demanded that the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Parties pronounce in favour of the functioning of soviets, so that an open discussion can be made. Trials with lawyers and judges must be done away with, and replaced by popular tribunals, elected in factories, trades unions and the army, for they will judge according to the interests of the Soviet Union, according to socialist interests. It must be shown that this interest is the one that we defend, and not freedom in the abstract. Nixon wants freedom too, but we are against it. Wild animals are really very dangerous given their freedom. The Communist Parties must discuss on this line.

This trial is an error on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy. In its time, the Russian Revolution showed that there are superior means of administering justice that have an immense repercussions on the world: popular tribunals. By means of popular tribunals the Soviet masses would put themselves in communication with the world masses telling them, "These people are assassins, brigands, bandits; they want to go". After having made it clear what they are, let them go! The bureaucracy does not act in this way. It wants to prevent the internal struggles that threaten its stability. In fact all this is happening about a year after the shooting attempts in Moscow, attempts that originated from the same layers.

Appeals must be made to the Jewish masses throughout the world, and to Jewish workers, for them to demand that Israel withdraws from all occupied territories, puts a stop to its militarist policy, increases wages and the standard of living of the Jewish masses, and for the Jewish trade unions to take power together with the Communist and Socialist parties, (but not with the Mapai—even though it calls itself socialist, because it has nothing to do with socialism). At the same time, Israel must nationalise all property, and plan production, in accordance with the needs of the population. The same thing as has been done in USSR, which in 50 years has transformed the old Russia to the core, must be done in Israel, although it is an imported country (even the people are imported), has experienced a constant lowering in its standard of living, because of the policy of war and invasion adopted by the Israeli bourgeoisie.

We are against the police methods of the Soviets bureaucracy. We are for popular tribunals that communicate with the world masses. These are the source of justice in this stage and a method that can be applied in the most complete way. Tribunals with judges and a court aim to defend the interests of the bureaucracy, to defend its privileges and bureaucratic conception. They aim to intimidate certain sectors. They do not communicate, nor are they a source of encouragement. They exercise no attraction on the world masses. But popular tribunals do all this. They cannot defend just the interests of those who sit on the tribunals, but the objective interest of the development of the Workers State.

The interests of the bureaucracy coin-

cide partly with the interests of the Workers State in this trial, but fundamentally the bureaucracy is still defending its own interests. This could not be the case if it were a trial by popular tribunal. If these people want to go, let them go. They would be told by a popular tribunal, "You have renounced a life devoted to the construction of socialism and are fleeing to an imperialist state." This is how they would appear, and the world masses would see clearly that this is so.

To pronounce the death penalty demonstrates no capacity for, or confidence in persuasion. These Jews are saboteurs of the USSR, like the ones who killed a pilot in Armenia. They come from a layer of privileged Jews, not workers or impoverished Jews. The simple fact that they could travel by plane shows this. These are kolkhosians, functionaries, planners, administrators and others. These are the sectors from which these people come and they are linked with sectors outside the USSR in relation with imperialism. It is in this way that the links are established.

A whole layer of the population is the product of the bureaucratic structure and functioning of the Soviet Union. As there is no democracy, no soviets, the bureaucracy dominates, and it is for this reason that the bourgeois press demands "freedom". Why is there no demand for soviets? Democracy is demanded for these people, but not-soviets for the workers. This is also true for any Workers State; the bourgeois press never talks of soviets as the solution.

The difference in behaviour of the masses in their protests against the Burgos trial, and against Spanish fascism, and their general attitude of criticism of the workers leaderships must be highlighted. On this last point, the masses have not staged any street demonstration, there have been no factories on strike against the trials in Leningrad. This is the intuition, comprehension and consciousness of the proletarian vanguard that understands that these are two different matters. In one case people are fleeing from a Workers State to go to an imperialist state; in the other it is a capitalist state under a dictatorship that is being dealt with. This is why the masses refuse to discuss freedom and democracy in abstract.

There has been no demonstration, stoppage, or protest against the Soviet Workers State, in spite of the fact that the leadership of the workers' movement, the CPs, and the SPs, has tried to put the two things on the same plane. The working class does not take any notice. No one has attempted to call a demonstration against the USSR, because it would collapse completely. But the whole proletariat came out against the Franco regime, on its own initiative, without discussion, without waiting for the orientation of its leadership. It acted on its own initiative, because, its class consciousness and comprehension led it to show solidarity with the Spanish masses through the ETA trial.

By deciding on the death penalty, the bureaucracy tried to intimidate, to terrorise a sector, and not to use persuasion to win it over. It feels it hasn't the strength to do otherwise. This is why it passed a death sentence. But the Bolsheviks led by Lenin and Trotsky eliminated the death penalty, and replaced it by persuasion. They tried to win through persuasion. The bureaucracy can not do so, because the accused are not the product of the Workers State, but of the bureaucracy itself, seeking its own individual satisfaction. For all these reasons, the death penalty has been passed. We, ourselves, like Lenin—except at special stages, such as war time, when it was necessary—adhere to the moral code, and the decision to persuade, to win over, without weakening the functioning of the Workers State. It is in this way that it is possible to intimidate the enemy. The death penalty is not useful for it contributes nothing.

If the accused are killed, what will be achieved? Nothing, except that an incapacity and insecurity in the possibility to incorporate this type of person will be made more clearly evident. They need not to be killed, but kept in jail or given some social activity, that would make it possible for the authority of the Workers State to weigh on them. For this soviets, workers control, factory committees, the functioning of the organisms of power are necessary. Thus the population will feel the authority and social superiority of the leadership of the masses through organisms. The population will see that there are no privileges, no injustice, no individual interests, and in this way, sect-

ors will be won over, persuaded, developed, and internally disarmed. This is all the more true in the Soviet Union, where these people cannot be of any danger. They are simply a detonator in a situation of struggle in the bureaucracy. They don't want to kill them, because they are Jews. It is an internal struggle between sectors of the bureaucracy.

To pass the death penalty does not tend to give the court authority in the eyes of the population. It gives, on the contrary, an impression of a lack of confidence and self assurance. The Workers State, needs instead to absorb and regain the condemned and delinquents. The best way to win them over is by the intervention of the trade unions, factory committees, soviets, popular tribunals, that have the power to persuade, and show the social superiority that they exert. They tend towards collective distribution, collective thought, organising, planning, and distributing in a collective way. In this way they win over, and persuade people. Justice is not independent and separated from the functioning of the State, but is part of it.

If the State is for collectivisation and Soviets, it cannot fear the effects of the persuasion they exercise. If the State is for privileges—as the Soviet bureaucracy is—then, it has to eliminate any rivals. This is why it wants to assassinate today. It is the bureaucracy, as a body, that acts in this way. There is no reason to do this in a Workers State. Instead of passing the death sentence—it is still very possible that the death penalty will be commuted to an other penalty—the Workers State should show that it is capable of confronting any crime. Persuasion must be used.

With this in mind, a public campaign of discussion and mobilisations, on all the problems of the world, and of the USSR must be carried on in the Soviet Union: functioning of the democratic organisms as in the times of Lenin and Trotsky, like the masses in Poland demand, and also like the new leadership in Poland finds itself forced to speak about, even though still verbally. Democratic functioning, soviet functioning are required, and then there will be no danger of any plane hijacks. Even if one did occur, the pilot could convince the hijackers not to carry their plans through to the end. The lack of soviet functioning, and the bourgeois functioning of justice instead in the USSR is determined by the interest of the bureaucracy, and not by the interest of the authority of the Workers State, that has no need to kill, or even to jail enemies, the agents

of capitalism inside and outside the state apparatus. It is possible to contain them with the mobilisation of the masses. Such is the way to contain them. The role of popular tribunals is not to condemn and to kill, but to convince! They must demonstrate that they administer justice in accordance with the collective interests of the Workers State.

The administration of justice can never take precedence over the revolutionary development of the Workers State. Such is the Marxist conception of justice. Capitalism suppresses, because it cannot educate, or win people back into agreement with the system. It must defend private property.

The bureaucracy tries to suppress, because it is afraid. The Workers State, and the masses, because of their interests have no fear of complications and difficulties. They feel the strength to persuade and win over, because they have no individual interests. They do not fight a condemned man for his crime; they win him back. Public discussion related to soviet interests, would make it impossible for people to organise an uprising against the Workers State. Where these people exist, they could be persuaded to change, and be annulled from the point of view of their social influence. When it is not possible to persuade them, as in the case of these Jews, action could be taken, so that they would find no response in the population, they would find themselves isolated. It is in this way that the Soviet Union functioned during the 7 first years of its existence.

It is necessary to maintain the use of repression and force against capitalism, to the extent that it confronts the Workers States with weapons. But it must be clear that the use of force and repression goes against capitalism. In the case of this trial the defendants have their origin in the USSR, in its apparatus. So the apparatus must be liquidated and planning be made in a soviet manner, with the organisms of soviet functioning, with workers control, popular tribunals, factory committees. There will be, then, no possibility of such people thriving, and if they do appear it would be in an insignificant way without consequences.

For all this, Soviet democracy is necessary, and not only in Poland, but in the USSR, and in all the Workers States. Such is the appeal that the IVth International makes to all the Workers States, to the Communist Parties, and to the world revolution and workers movement. We appeal for discussions of the conclusions of this trial, for the advance of the world political and socialist revolution.

International Secretariat  
of the IVth International.

## THE DEMONSTRATION OF THE 21st...

the capitalist class in a direct confrontation with the forces of law and order, it shows its strength and organising ability against the capitalist system daily in its strike actions. The spirit of this great demonstration was one of decision and resolution. It was not only the vanguard which mobilised on the 21st, certainly the vanguard were there as they had been on 14th November, 8th December, and 13th January, but on the 21st February they were joined by many thousands of T.U. militants, who wished to express their disgust and hatred of the anti-trade union legislation of the Tories, and who wanted to show to their union leaders that they were prepared and ready for action.

The speeches in Trafalgar Square showed the shifts to the left, which the T.U. leaders have to make before their rank and file in order to maintain their authority. Thus we have McGarvey of the Boilermakers Union agreeing with the necessity of the General Strike, and we have Scanlon of the AUEW, apologising for having to commit himself to the policy of the T.U.C., but calling for a general strike to be discussed at the recall Conference of the T.U.C. on 18th March, urging all trade unions to pass resolutions in their branches calling for a general strike, and calling for support for the strike of the AUEW on the 1st March. This shows how the workers leaders can be pushed by the struggle of the working class, and how honest elements in the leaderships of these unions are being regenerated by the process.

The strike on March 1st called by the AUEW and campaigned for by Scanlon in Trafalgar Square, and by Ernie Roberts on the demo of 21st, has terrified the bourgeoisie. When they see 2,000,000 workers striking, not for individual wage increases, but on a directly political question, they see that the struggle is at a very high level, and that it could escalate to a general strike immediately. A general strike, which in these national

and international conditions would not end in defeat for the working class, as the strike of 1926 did, but would only end with the successes of the working class, and, if not the complete smashing of the capitalist class, then at least mortally wounding it.

The working class gains confidence from all the defeats suffered by Imperialism on a world scale; Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam, from the advances of the political revolution in the Workers States expressed particularly in the last weeks in Poland, where the bureaucracy has had to say it is going to allow free elections to the Party, Trade Unions, and factory committees. All this compensates for the lack of revolutionary leadership and permits the class to overcome the bureaucratic obstacles which are put in the path of its organisation of a new leadership and new struggles.

Basing themselves on all the process of the world revolution, and on the increasing crisis within capitalism, the working class must prepare and organise for the General Strike in the immediate future, and must construct its leadership for this. The recall conference of the T.U.C. on 18th March is going to be very important, because the question of the general strike will inevitably be raised then, many of the T.U. leaders, who will be present at that meeting, and indeed many of the delegates present there, will be representing large sectors of the working class, who are expecting a general strike to come out of this meeting. We appeal for a full discussion of the conclusions of the demonstration of February 21st, and of the strike on 1st March in all the T.U. branches, L.P. and C.P. branches, in the trades councils, in order that all the necessary organisational measures for the organisation of the General Strike can be taken.

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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!



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
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WE SALUTE THE MEETING OF THE  
EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN CAR WORK-  
ER T.U. LEADERS AS A STEP TOWARDS  
THE ORGANISATION OF A WORLD  
TRADE UNION CENTRE

# The conclusion of the T.U.C. recall conference is the necessity to establish a revolutionary functioning & leadership in the T.U.s & L.P. on the anti-capitalist programme

21. 3. 1971

It is very significant that such a large proportion of the delegates at the TUC recall voted for the organisation of industrial action against the anti-trade union bill, although the vote was not carried. The TUC is a bureaucratised apparatus at present, and cannot be expected to represent the spirit of the class, or respond to it as a genuine Workers Centre. But the vanguard used the opportunity of the recall conference to exert great pressure for revolutionary change within the TUC by means of a nation wide engineering strike, joined by other vanguard sectors, demonstrations in the big proletarian centres, and a lobby of the recall conference. The fact that the vote was not carried, is not taken by the class with a sense of defeat: although it was not on the official agenda, discussion of a general strike was imposed by the class on the TUC, and the entire procedure was aimed at defending the TUC from this demand.

The working class has gained confidence internationally in its capacity to overcome the limitations of bureaucracy as a result of the events in Poland. The conquest of democratic elections to the unions and party organisations, and the reversal of the price increases through better common economic planning between the Workers States, are felt as a conquest by the Communist vanguard and working class in general. The British workers are concentrating in their unions to make them play a political role. Jackson went into crisis because he found that he was leading the struggle to overthrow the Tory Government, and he just was not adequately prepared to play this role, even though he had been responding to some extent to the combativity of the postal workers, because he was only trying to get something better for his members and raise their living standards. All big strikes in this period immediately pose the problem of power. And the whole union leadership is trying to avoid getting into the same position as Jackson did.

However, following the failure of their leadership, the combativity of the postal workers has not diminished, but has been concentrated into other channels. The constant mass rallies of the postal workers have stimulated a much better functioning of the union, a much greater intervention of the workers in their union which will lead to the building of a revolutionary leadership and greater proletarian democracy. Similarly, following the TUC recall, the class will be discussing and reflecting on the conclusions of the conference in their union, L.P. and C.P. branches, to carry the struggle forward for the organisation of a general strike. As cde. Posadas phrases it, the workers are in the process of taking power inside their own organisations. Fear of the results of the concentration of the class in the big unions is leading the Tories to propose bringing them before the monopolies board to break them up.

This process in the unions is having repercussions in the political struggle going on inside the Labour Party. As the I.S. of the IV International analysed in the resolution on the elections, the vanguard consciously abstained in order to deal a death blow at the bourgeois leadership in the Labour Party, and leave the way clear for the building of a new revolutionary leadership. A much greater

use has been made by the class of the L.P. organisms since the elections. The trade councils have revived, and have been organising regional strikes in places like Stockport. The London trades councils have just decided to allow the Communist Party to intervene directly in the trades councils, thus breaking the old bureaucratic proscription of the "left" from L.P. organisations, which is a step

towards granting the right of revolutionary tendencies. L.P. branches are being organised in the Birmingham factories. The L.P. has announced that it will repeal the industrial relation bill when it gets back into office, whilst before the elections it was trying to get its own "In Place of Strife" through. The L.P. is being obliged to act as a power in the interests of the working class, counterposing the strength of the class against the Tories. When Rolls Royce and Vehicle and General Insurance crashed, Labour M.P.s proposed their nationalisation, and now in the case of Fords some left Labour M.P.s are putting forward its nationalisation without paying for the "goodwill" (because they say none exists between the firm and the workers). This is an attempt by these M.P.s to associate with, and draw confidence from the fighting spirit of the Ford strikers; as yet they lack the courage to come out clearly, and demand nationalisation without compensation. They be-

long to sectors that never intended to wage an anti-capitalist struggle, but which are finding that they are moved by the efforts of the class, and that history cannot progress in any other way.

Wilson found it impossible to cast a vote when the NEC decided to renationalise without compensation sectors denationalised by the Tories, and this decision increases the feeling of pessimism in the bourgeoisie, and encourages the advance of the class. The pro-capitalist wing in the L.P. cannot have gained much security, when it saw capitalism suffering a great social blow as the Tories had to resort to nationalising part of Rolls Royce. But the bourgeois leaders are still at the head of the L.P., even though they haven't the authority they had before, and Wilson can still ally himself with the bourgeoisie, and attack "political strikes". The L.P. must rid itself of this old leadership, taking full advantage of the sentiment of defeatism that per-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## The invasion of Laos, the growing pessimism of the world bourgeoisie, and the approach of the final settlement of accounts

24 FEBRUARY 1971

When making analysis of the advance of the process of the revolution, the most important thing is to see what forces are in movement, and what is the action of the enemy, what imperialism is preparing, and, at the moment, what the activity of imperialism in Indochina means. It is Yankee imperialism that has the power in its hands to determine when to decide. It is very important to see how imperialism is moving, what it seeks, what strength it has, how much decision it has, and whether it can take the decision it is preparing to take, that is, to launch the atomic war. The measures taken by imperialism must be observed, to see how much progress is being made in this preparation, what weaknesses there are, and what internal struggles and irritations it has to cope with, like those democrat and republican senators have just caused; thus the possibilities that imperialism has of doing what it wants, and is decided to do, can be measured. Even though it is ready and resolved to launch the atomic war, what strength has it got to do so, what possibilities? This must be discussed in concrete terms to see the meaning of the present world situation.

Amongst other things there is Laos. The meaning of the events in Laos is not simply that imperialism has failed to do what it wanted there; this was an attempt to stimulate and encourage the American and world bourgeoisies to accompany the action of Yankee imperialism, to give it confidence in its capabilities, and to show that it has security—that it has the means to launch the war and is decided on doing so. For, although imperialism is failing in Laos and will fail there, its aim, amongst other things, was to demonstrate that it is prepared to go to the full extreme to keep up its policy of a war initiative and offensive, in order to give strength and decision to the American and world bourgeoisies.

The situation must not be measured simply by the fact that imperialism is failing and losing in Laos, but on the basis that imperialism wanted to take the initiative of invading Laos to keep its war machine in constant preparation. However, at the same time, no sector of the bourgeoisie in the world has supported Yankee imperialism except the

British. This is decomposing the political link up of the capitalist system, because it does not make for agility, security or an increase in the capacity to concentrate forces. So imperialism will have to enter into the war with its forces dispersed, as they are at the moment. In the middle of the invasion of Laos, American senators are voting to get out.

Everything is turning out the wrong way for imperialism! In other historic conditions these people would have been dealt with as unpatriotic and enemy agents. When American senators pose the question in this way, it is because they feel that they are going to find, and have to confront, resistance to the invasion of Laos from the American people, not from the world in general only, but from the American people. When they listen to the American people, it is an expression of the fact that they feel lost. If they were ready to go forward, and felt sure of winning, they wouldn't care a thing about the American people. They are not the representatives of the will of the American masses, but they are sounding an alarm bell, which is a reflection of the fear of the bourgeoisie. Part of this fear is to see the reaction of the American masses against the war.

The war in Indochina cannot be won by Yankee imperialism, but it is a symptom of the fact that it is prepared to launch the atomic war in any case. Soviet reaction in reply to the Yankees indicates, announces the fact that the Yankees are preparing for the atomic war. If this were not so, the Soviets would not reply in such a way. These are not just containing manoeuvres, but threats in a diplomatic form, so that the Yankees are not forced to respond. Nevertheless they are diplomatic manoeuvres, by which it is clearly said, "If there is to be a war, we will intervene!" This is one of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## Viva the Nationalisation of oil in Algeria!

# The invasion of Laos & the growing

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

biggest of events. The Soviets have said before, "We will defend China and Vietnam!" The Yankees are in Vietnam and bombing, and the Soviets, as they are doing in the Middle East, do not intervene directly, but intervene by sending a great deal of expert help, technicians, and supporting politically, even though they are still not sending direct military help. At least that is what appears publicly. It is probable that many Soviet technical and military leaders are intervening in Vietnam, as many Chinese ones are. But the attitude taken by the Soviets now shows great progress in history: more important than the discussion with the Yankees, is that they are taking sides on the question of the possibility of a Yankee attack on China. This reduces the confrontations, and increases the possibility of agreements between sectors of the bureaucracy, which is something that will not be fertile for the bureaucracy as a whole, for they are agreements leading to a position of combat and very great struggle against Imperialism. Serious combat against imperialism stimulates all tendencies, creates tendencies and generates tendencies to unification against imperialism. Even though it is not the intention of the Soviet bureaucracy to unleash the war, or to defend China with the atomic war, it is forced to do so. This is not its intention, because it competes with the Chinese bureaucracy, or the Chinese gov-

ernment, but it is prepared to defend China, because the defeat of China would increase the strength of world capitalism and imperialism, and lessen the strength of the USSR.

When the Soviets intervene openly warning the Yankees that an attack on China is not going to catch them just being spectators, this is not just because this policy is imposed on the bureaucracy from within the USSR, but due to the material interests of the bureaucracy. Part of the world relationship of forces favourable to the revolution is the existence of China. The disappearance of China would make the balance of forces swing in favour of imperialism. This is the reason for the resolute attitude taken by the Soviet bureaucracy. It indicates that it can no longer dispense bureaucratically with the need to intervene, it has to intervene, for there is a global force in movement. In the meantime, on the capitalist side, no capitalist country, except for the British, has shown the diligence and resolution to go to the defence of Yankee imperialism. The British have shown open support, backed up by the Spanish and Portuguese governments; the rest of capitalism, the most powerful part, has tried to maintain a certain separateness from the Yankee intervention in Laos, knowing that it was going to be a defeat, which would pull them down too. If this is their policy, it is not because they don't share the Yankee policy.

## THE EUROPEAN BOURGEOISIE TENDS TO DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM U.S. IMPERIALISM

They share it, but are afraid of their own masses. The flirtation, in which Colombo and Moro have been included in, as have also France, Belgium and England, shows that when they don't associate themselves directly with Yankee imperialism, it is because they feel the great pressure of their own masses, feel that they are going to disappear, that they don't count for anything, and they try to spin out their historic time. There is a destruction of the political and social homogeneity of the capitalist system. It continues to maintain itself with its objectives, but in the concrete policy, there is a lack of homogeneity. This is characteristic of the situation, the Yanks need unconditional support from the whole of capitalism, but instead, as they don't have it, they have to appeal to Colombo and Moro saying, "come here so that we can discuss together..." A short time ago Nixon was in Italy, and the masses threw him out. Now the Yanks have to appeal to these allies to try to show to the world: "look, see how they rush over..." But all this is a lie; they made appeals. Colombo etc. did not go from their own choice. And even when they respond to these appeals, they try to maintain in front of the Christian Democrat masses a certain independence from Yankee Imperialism.

And now Italian capitalism is discovering this scandal involving thousands of children in the orphanages, who are exploited and tortured. They have known this for 20 years. And now they discover—a number of swindlers—all this is aimed at the Christian Democrat base. If they didn't do this, that base would go towards the communists. All this manoeuvre is to try to contain the crisis, which is in process of development. The crisis is caused by the maturing of the pressure of the masses, which finds an echo in the Christian Democrat masses. Hence their attitude. This is a very, very elevated index of the level of combativity of the masses. If not they would not do this. The process is not expressed concretely and in all its power, because in fact they are in the conditions to take power. But the policy of the Christian Democracy is directed to contain the Christian Democrat masses so that they don't leave, do not abandon the Christian Democratic territory. Hence they have to intervene in the struggle against the Fascists, denouncing them, not repressing them, but denouncing them as part of the pretence. Before, this was not the case. Before they would have supported the fascists directly, in the same way as they directly supported North America. They have an interest, like Yankee imperialism in NATO, to defend themselves from the progress of communism. They now feel that this is no use to them. NATO is going to want to intervene, but it doesn't have the strength to intervene. It is not only a question of having nuclear arms. The Yanks should have launched the nuclear

war some time ago, if they haven't done so, it is because the world crisis of the capitalist system, and within that, the crisis in the United States hampers them, and makes them feel insecure. In part this is due to the technical, scientific, military ballistic progress of the Soviet Union. But in part also, it is the opposition of the masses of the world and as part of that, the opposition of the North American masses to U.S. Imperialism. It feels itself to be insecure, to be suspended in the air. It cannot decide as to who is certain, and may take a favourable position. It has to remain in Vietnam to try to stimulate the bourgeoisie of Asia and the world, and also to maintain the North American industrial apparatus, without which everything collapses. This is based 50% on the war economy. Imperialism is forced to follow this plan, and this makes it go towards the war.

All this shows that in spite of the fact that they are not able to launch the war now, because they are afraid, they can launch it at any moment. They are not in the position to decide when to launch it—if not, they would already have done so—they don't have the strength to decide at which moment to launch it. The increase in the internal opposition in the United States, is a very great pressure against the decisions of Imperialism. But Imperialism doesn't have any other solution than the war. Certainly Imperialism cannot decide the moment, which favours it, nevertheless it is going to launch the war at any moment.

For this reason the same preoccupation constantly arises: "the war". For example now. One can measure that this possibility exists in the reply of the Soviets, in the increase of the concern of the Soviets to defend the socialist conquests, and those of the nationalist revolutions, and of the nationalist military sectors in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

It is necessary to see this process globally. But the above analysis comprehends the most important part referring to the declaration of war by Imperialism. This shows that Laos is a symptom, which is going to continue. The Yanks cannot leave either Laos or Vietnam. When knowing this, the senators propose such a measure, it is because they feel it is a debacle, they feel themselves to be conquered; it is defeatism, pure and simple. The declaration of the senators amounts to saying "withdraw from Vietnam". When these people say "the condition for our continued existence is to leave Vietnam" this is defeat. It is a debacle. It is defeatist and pessimistic feeling. This can only come about when there is a sentiment of opposition in the population, and when they feel that there is a superior military power. They take into account as a military power the USSR with nuclear arms and the world revolution. It is a single bloc. They do not take the

North American people, the USSR and the masses of the world in a separated way. They take them together. They see the behaviour of the North American masses, who move in accordance with the interests of the world revolution. This united them to the USSR whilst the senators say: "Leave Laos, withdraw from Vietnam". This shows that they are making an alarmist campaign saying: "the war is the end of us, because of Soviet arms and the North American people". And they are trying to win time. It is an attitude of indecision; they vacillate and are insecure. This increasingly disconcerts Yankee Imperialism, because they should all be united now.

The defeat which the Yanks are receiving in Laos shows a combination of factors. There is the incapacity of the Yankee command, which has not been capable of understanding and cannot understand the process, because it doesn't have either the intelligence or the capacity; and there is the capacity for fighting of the masses of Vietnam, who don't fight to defend their land, as they say, but to develop socialism. If it was to defend

## THE INVASION OF LAOS INDICATES A SHARPENING OF THE CRISIS WITHIN U.S. IMPERIALISM

This intervention of Imperialism in Laos, which is a concentration of the process, shows that there is going to be a very serious crisis in a short stage in the heart of American Imperialism; a crisis which can lead to a coup d'état in order to launch the war. When such a team of senators in the United States intervenes in this way, it is because the internal climate is one of very great insecurity. It is a campaign, which is directed at the world. Whilst Nixon is saying "we are taking care that our soldiers don't die, we are taking care that the communist empire doesn't extend itself", the senators are telling him "get out of there". And this amounts to saying to people, "don't believe this character, he is an assassin". The senators are working as part of a warning campaign to try to maintain the capitalist system, and contain the colonialist invasion, the murderous and atomic preparations of Yankee imperialism.

The fact that there is not an open unquestionable support of the Italian bourgeoisie for Yankee imperialism, when Italy functions within NATO is a new index of this. The Communist Party is making a blackmail with this. It is trying to exert a pressure on the Christian Democrat masses with its policy, attacking the Christian Democratic leadership, correctly attacking, but without making a revolutionary policy, which allows the Christian Democratic masses to advance. But the crisis amongst the Christian Democracy is tremendous. It is motivated not only by the rejection of the war, but also because there is a process of growth, of maturation, of advance, of extension of the capacity for action of the working class. In France the communists concern themselves with the unification of the workers' movement. Seguy in a recent Trade Union meeting posed: "We have made incorrect interpretations of the thought of others, and we have substituted ourselves for democracy. It is necessary to allow complete freedom for discussion..." He is seeking the unification of the trade union movement. At the moment, in which he does this, and reaps success, because they have been holding meetings in a large number of places, the bourgeoisie has the case of the two deputies who resigned, the Tomassini case and then the case of the judges who attacked the government. They are events directly determined by the advance of the revolution. It is not the situation of accidental, occasional events that happens on one side without repercussion on another. Everything arises from the essential centre that the masses want to take power. But it is also the policy of the USSR which stimulates the masses. And in its turn the Soviet bureaucracy is stimulated by the masses. There is an incessant process of cause, and effect in which the will of the masses impels the bureaucracy so that it is obliged to advance. This stimulates the masses, and through the communist parties the process returns to stimulate the struggle, the discussions, the political life in the Workers States. The change in the programme of the Soviet bureaucracy is not determined only by what is happening in Poland, it originates from preceding events. It was Czechoslovakia which determined the change. Poland came, de-

their land, they would already have yielded. They are fighting to defend socialism, socialist morality. Hence they can continue fighting with a knife against atomic arms.

It is not a question of a mistake of the Yanks to have intervened in Laos, and it is not because they are incapable of understanding events. But they don't have any other remedy than to do this, this is their only initiative. Before, the initiative was to invade countries and to impose presidents, now they have to send hundreds of thousands of troops to a country where they are killed. Now the Yanks do not have the initiative to decide. The same in the Middle East. The Yanks have decided to take Israel as a means of negotiation, and now they have to weaken in order in part to make an arrangement with the Soviets. And on the other hand the Yanks feel that Egypt already has the strength and the resolution to confront Israel. Already Israel cannot sing about victory as before, it cannot say that it has the air power which decides. The Egyptians have sufficient power now.

manding, perfecting, impelling. As the bureaucracy don't have resolute ideas, events push them along. But why are they pushed along? Why don't they confront them? When instead of making a confrontation as in Czechoslovakia, events push them along, and they accept, it is because they are answering also to an interior process. This interior process indicates that they must yield to this to maintain their relation with the masses. Now they seek to maintain their relation with the masses, before they sought to smash them.

Whilst in the heart of Imperialism, the opposite is the case. Angela Davis is a symbol of this. All the masses are against this action. They haven't been able to make one movement in defence of the invasion of Laos, not one. There is the enormous "silent majority"... so silent that it is neither seen nor heard. If this was not the case, they would have already had a demonstration to support the policy of Imperialism in Laos, which is to prevent the triumph of communism in Asia. Nevertheless they have done nothing, whilst the senators come out against the policy. They are expressing public opinion. Such a disintegration may provoke a sector of imperialism to launch the war. It can do this. But now it doesn't have the security nor the courage to do this. It feels itself to be isolated. It is certainly going to launch the war, but it feels itself to be isolated. And hence it has doubts.

This simulation of an atomic alert could have been done for various motives. It could have been an action of the Pentagon to show: "you see, we don't have the strength, we are not organised". "If the atomic war comes, we are going to disappear." This has for its objective to increase then the power of decision of the CIA, and also to exert a pressure on the government. It is not an accident. It is a lie that it could be an accident. If it had really been an accident, they wouldn't have made so much publicity. This is not the time for such accidents. This is not the problem of a person who puts out a mistaken programme. There are electronic controls in which 10 or 20 people are concerned. When this happened, it was because they deliberately sought a commotion to deliver a blow at certain people. It is part of the internal struggle of a sector of the CIA or of all the CIA which wants to have the decision, the power to decide the nuclear war. It seeks with this to shock the North American population. The result is that 90% of the American senators ask the government to withdraw from Vietnam. When these people confront the threats of the CIA—and they know very well that it is the CIA that killed Kennedy—it is because they feel themselves to be strong and supported by public opinion. It is necessary to take into account that this weakens American imperialism. At the same time that it impels a sector to launch the war, it favours the other sector which is more important to prevent the launching of the war or to seek agreements. This has the effect that the economic, social, political structure of Yankee imperialism constantly weakens. They feel that they are entering into the war in the weakest possible form.



# pessimism of the world bourgeoisie...

## IMPERIALISM HAS GAINED NO ADVANCE FROM THE EVENTS OF POLAND

For example they have not used anything of Poland. They sought to use Poland, but they saw that if they really became involved the result would be embarrassing for them. For this reason they haven't used Poland. Otherwise what a marvellous opportunity. And the Soviet bureaucracy treats Poland on one side differently from the case of Czechoslovakia, and resolves or is resolving the problem of Poland with concessions, which are more important socially than economically, and it is confronting Imperialism. The bureaucracy is making this policy seeking the support of sectors of the proletariat, because it needs to defend the structure of the Workers State. It is not a question of defending one or another party, but the structure of the Workers State. They see the threat of the war, which imperialism was threatening. It is necessary to feel that this situation is a very great step in the preparation of the war by imperialism, but at the same time it is an example of the weakness of imperialism to decide when it wants the war. We can win an enormous advantage by directing ourselves at the communist, nationalist, socialist parties. The more advantage we win the better it is. If the Communists were resolved to take power now, the process would be much more rapid. But as they are not decided, the more stages we win advancing the revolution, the less damage imperialism is going to do with the atomic war. It is going to enter the atomic war in the worst conditions. Now they have decided to launch the war. The events in Laos, like those in Cambodia, like the false alarm are acts of war. They are ready to launch the war at any moment, though they don't have the security or the capacity to do it. Everything creates problems for them. It is the first time in history that the American senators acted like this. In a war in which the American government is involved, the senate says to them; "we are against this war, come out of there". And it is the first time that this has happened in history, because if until now the senate was opposed in part, it was a minority opposition. But now, no. Now it is the majority of the Senators who are deciding, which has a very great political weight in the United States. It is the confirmation of the fact that there are very great resistances to the Pentagon within the United States.

The communists do not use this circumstance, neither this nor all the other conditions, which there are in the world. Our duty is to communicate with the communists, and to say to them "this is the situation that exists. It is on this that you have to base yourselves to launch a resolute policy throughout the country and the rest of the world."

It is important to mention all the world events to analyse the whole situation for them, for this conclusion. "This is the weakness of imperialism". Then it is necessary to make an aggressive policy. And with this to unite now the defence of Vietnam, "out with Imperialism from Vietnam and Laos", with "unification of the Socialist, Communist, left Christian Democrats, trade unions throughout Europe to push forward a programme of progress, a programme which responds to the immediate and historic necessities of the masses." It is necessary to unite the struggle in Vietnam with this. On the other hand the Communists, who have such an opportunity do not use it. Now they have to do so. It is a marvellous opportunity. There is an immense disintegration of capitalism, the crisis of French imperialism is immense. Pompidou has just finished making a tour through six countries of Africa, which are of no great importance. This is all that remains of French imperialism.

Pompidou has made an enormous round trip to try and bolster up the French

empire. He hasn't gained anything! Whilst he was on his trip, the socialists and communists were uniting inside France, carrying through common action. Two Gaullist leaders resigned and a movement parallel to Gaullism was formed, and Tomassini had eggs thrown at him to encourage him to go to the devil! In Belgium there is in process the preparation of a new French May. In Britain the masses are launching themselves to defeat the Conservative government. Strikes upon strikes. Amongst them is the postal strike, which has been going on for more than a month now. There have been demonstrations everywhere in Europe against the invasion of Laos. This is the repercussion that the invasion of Laos by imperialism has had. It hasn't succeeded in getting any support or solidarity, not even a movement 15 people strong! Meanwhile the European masses, even where the communists have little weight, as in Britain, are mobilising against the intervention of imperialism in Laos. This indicates the immense struggle going on in Europe and throughout the world to make the communists launch a campaign of mobilisations against the intervention of imperialism in Laos and Vietnam, to get imperialism out of the Middle East, and to make Israel withdraw, and at the same time to appeal for the unification of the European workers movement with a programme giving a socialist solution to the crisis of capitalism in Europe.

Imperialism is trying to keep going in Vietnam, sticking to a war programme to keep its production apparatus in work and to constantly maintain the bellicosity of capitalism. This is to keep it resolute in confronting the revolution and prevent further deterioration of capitalist unity, the security of capitalism and the advance of defeatism and pessimistic feelings. As the Yankees are carrying on this policy, the bourgeoisie in Europe is entering into very great conflict with it. It is an economic conflict, and this is not the reason for the talk of establishing a European currency, so as not to depend on Yankee imperialism. But they have to defend Yankee imperialism, for it has the most powerful industry, and financial resources, and the structure of world capitalism is determined by this. Nevertheless, they are looking for a new manager. Who is it to be? Germany? Germany hasn't the power, capacity or military strength to sustain the role played by the Yankees. Imperialism is in an enormous crisis from all points of view, structurally and in its joints, everywhere! It hasn't got the possibility of going forward. What has happened in Laos shows the stupidity and madness of the imperialists. This is not the stupidity of a bloke, who is unable to think, but of a madman, who cannot take other measures or do anything else, for if he stops for a minute to negotiate and withdraw, everything will go down for him. This is why the imperialists have to carry on with such a policy. The communists are not taking full advantage of the situation.

But at the same time the Soviets are making great progress. They have intervened to stop imperialism from intervening in China, they keep their fleet around and maintain a base in Cuba. Moreover, they are saying to imperialism, "Yes, submarines with atomic arms are there, and they will fire too". They are not there to look after the garden! Submarines with atomic arms are there for firing. And they are so very close that there is no need to launch them with rockets. They can just be thrown by hand! The Yankees know this. Even through the attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy is not one of alacrity, of saying, "Yes, they are submarines with atomic arms", it is breaking the commitment it made to the Yankees not to make a base out of Cuba. It does

not own to having a base on Cuba, but it does admit to having atomically armed submarines. What's more the Soviets say, "The Soviet marines will be anywhere in the world that it is necessary, and will navigate every ocean until they are free." They are reminding the Yankees that they have arms that will reach anywhere, any-

time and very rapidly besides. The Yankees must feel this Soviet pressure as they become more arrogant in Laos. This pressure increases the interior strength of the Workers States, seeking an ascent of the Workers States, so that they can weigh more.

## THE COMING CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U. WILL TEND TO ACCENTUATE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LINE OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The coming Congress in the Soviet Union will be an example of this, but not the most important. The most important factor in the whole process, of which the question of Laos is an aspect, is that the Soviet bureaucracy is having to unite in a much more decided and profound programmatic way: military measures containing imperialism, the military struggle against imperialism, a political and programmatic struggle to defeat the capitalist system. To defeat it does not mean making the revolution, but gradually trying to eliminate the strength and bases of the capitalist system. This is not either a homogeneous or a constant policy, but the Congress in the USSR will show this attitude. The attitude of the bureaucracy in Poland shows it. The support of the Soviet bureaucracy for Gierk shows this tendency. To defeat the capitalist system does not mean making the revolution, but it does mean encouraging forces, which increase the weight of the proletariat, and contain tendencies linked to the capitalist system. The bureaucracy is seeking to carry out this policy.

While imperialism is in the midst of difficulties, the Soviet bureaucracy advances and progresses with this policy. Laos is a demonstration of the insanity, the stupidity, but at the same time, the impotence, of the capitalist system, represented by Yankee imperialism. The Yankees are carrying on a policy, which is sapping the courage of half the Yankee military apparatus. This brings about their disintegration. Proletarian authority increases; the loss of prestige of capitalism increases constantly. In Sweden the army is forming a trade union to defend itself from the government, and the soldiers consider themselves to be "public employees". Even if this does not have an immediate repercussion, it will have one. The officers have declared that they are for "public use". They are showing that they don't want to be in the service of assassins. It's a plain and simple declaration. They are stimulating opposition to, rejection and sabotage of the capitalists.

The "New York Times" is doing the same thing, though not with the same aim as the Swedish officers, when it denounces "the war of imperialism". Its aim is to contain the hard-liners, in an attempt to make it possible for capitalism to survive, and not be destroyed by the atomic war, and to stimulate the opposition forces to the war being carried on by imperialism. But imperialism cannot live if it does not go on with the war. Without carrying on the war in the Middle East and Indo-China, imperialism would have collapsed already.

This is the way in which to discuss and intervene, to draw the precise conclusions that can be drawn now. In Europe a programme for the unification of the workers movement—left Catholics, Socialists, Communists and Trotskyists—can be put forward, a movement united with a programme to make great progress against the capitalist system, planning

production, drawing up a plan of production, which decides on the building of houses, hospitals and roads, the installation of running water, electric light, and sanitary arrangements, and the production of food and household goods, which the people need. Launch a programme like this, and give unconditional support to the struggle of the masses in the Middle East against imperialism and against the function that Israel is fulfilling. Appeal for the socialist unification of the whole of the Middle East with self determination for the Israeli masses. The communist parties must carry on this offensive now.

Yankee imperialism is suffering a defeat. The Italian government government has received Thin Bin officially at the same time as Colombo has gone to the U.S.A. This is intended to satisfy the Christian Democrat masses to compensate for the defeat that the trips make by Colombo and Moro mean, and the crisis of Italian capitalism. But when it has to resort to such measures in order to contain the Christian Democrat masses, it is because they are inclining to the side of the revolution. It wants to contain them with this action.

Colombo and Moro have had to disguise their activity. Why? Why don't they say openly, "We support N.A.T.O. We are with Yankee imperialism. We are associates." Why did they try to make it look as though they no longer have relations with Yankee imperialism? Because the Christian Democrat masses are controlling them, and have got their eyes on the proletarian masses—the communists and socialists—to the extent that they want to move out of the bourgeois camp. This is why Colombo and Moro have to indulge in this comedy, but as they are bad actors, for they represent interests foreign to the progress of history, they have not been able to deceive the masses. While Colombo was in the U.S.A., the ACLI (Italian Association of Catholic Workers) and MPL (another left Catholic movement) held a meeting with 2,000 worker militants present. Amongst them were many communists, but the majority were left Christian Democrats. The communists should discuss this.

We must intervene to weigh in the communist parties, to facilitate their intervention. The conclusion of the defeat of imperialism in Laos is to decide what to do about it. Wait for more defeats? The response to defeats by imperialism will be to launch the atomic war. So advantage must be taken of the situation. One thing would be to make the unification, with the programme we propose, of the European masses. The masses must say, "We will decide what must be produced, where the money is invested, where the money is to come from, and what is to be done with it!" Show what kind of a government can put this into operation, in Italy a left government (communists and socialists with the support of the trades unions), in Britain a left Labour government, leading to a Workers Government etc. The situation is just right for this. 24. 2. 71

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# On the last meeting of the Communist Parties in London

(From "Lutte Communiste" organ of the French Section of the IV International, 12th Feb)

*The recent meeting of the Communist Parties of Europe in London is a important initiative, which they never took in the past. This meeting has a significance as great as it has, because it comes after Burgos and the immense mobilisation of the European proletariat in support of the Spanish proletariat, for the comrades of ETA, after the events of Poland, and while a great series of great struggles, of strikes, and of occupation in all the great European capitalist countries, where there are even actions of civil war as in Italy and in Ireland.*

*Even if the resolutions adopted are not at a very elevated level, as far as the programme, the concrete objectives of the struggle against capitalism are concerned, they none the less mean a certain advance in this sense. The communists are still limiting the extent of their decision to maintain the possibility of alliance with the bourgeoisie in each country. In order to push forward the resolution, which appeals for 'the struggle against the monopolies and against foreign capital, it must be linked to the struggle for power. It is impossible to do it in any other way, because capitalism cannot live without monopolies. It is its normal structure of functioning in this stage.*

Also, when the meeting of London poses the struggle against the monopolies without linking it to the struggle for power, it is because the Cps still hope for possibilities of alliance with capitalism, and of penetration in the regime with the development of struggles. They still seek to conciliate with the capitalist system. But nowhere in Europe, can capitalism accept and allow such a policy of gradual reforms under the pressure of the deepening of the mass struggles.

If, for example, "foreign" capital pulls out of Italy or of France it is the whole of the capitalist system which falls to pieces. Only German capitalism could resist for some time. It is impossible for a capitalist regime to maintain a functioning outside of the structure, and the domination of monopoly capitalism. To fight against the monopolies, is to fight against the capitalist system and to take power. This is what should have been the central resolution of the meeting of the C.P.'s in London.

The meeting posed the "necessity of an independent single and collective response of all the trade unions throughout

the whole of Europe". It is necessary to reply to the capitalist Common Market, with the Common Market of the workers movement, the workers parties and trade unions says the leadership of the IV International. In this sense, this resolution is of very great importance, for it is socially necessary. It opens the road to forms of continental unification and centralisation of the struggle. And even, without posing openly the struggle of expulsion of NATO, it gives a series of arguments and of analyses, which are going in this sense. It is necessary to draw all the conclusions for the concrete organisation of the struggle.

These types of resolutions and positions go outside the range of a parliamentary and electoral policy. They are already forms of social response to the needs of the struggle of the masses. The correct position is to appeal to organise the struggle for power. They are not doing it. Nevertheless unlike a previous stage, they pose measures, which are situated outside a bourgeois policy, and which seek a support in the workers movement. It is in this sense that this meeting

is going to be a support to the struggles, and that the conciliatory limitations which are still imposed, are going to be bypassed.

This is already on the march. The C.P.I. has made a series of articles in its organ *Unita*, in the course of a meeting for its 50th anniversary showing that it is disposed to advance in the struggle to overthrow the government. It calls openly to the other socialist and democratic forces to form a new majority for "changes of the structure of the state." There is even a discussion at the present time on the role of the factory councils, on "penetration", the CPI none the less finds itself obliged to advance in a discussion and action with a view to overthrowing the government and to advance on a slogan of the left government as a stage previous to workers power. None of this could have been discussed before.

Under other forms, these things are going on in France. We have already spoken in the last editorial of *Lutte Communiste* of the significance of what the last Central Committee of the C.P.F. has posed at Stains, when it seeks to analyse and understand in a more left form as shown by the search for new "forms of organisation permitting the intervention of the masses". Without still foreseeing big actions being prepared, the C.P. must yield to the force from the factories, and to seek the way to orientate itself in relation to this mass pressure, as the CGT must do even in a still limited fashion in Renault, in the mines, in Nantes etc.

In Sweden, after the electoral progress of the C.P., this today finds itself as a centre of encouragement of the present struggles; as also in Finland, where the C.P. hurls itself against an anti worker policy of the social democratic government, supporting the wild cat strikes of the engineering workers. More and more the small communist parties seek to establish better relations with the workers

vanguard, with the trade unions, with the exploited masses. It has the same significance as the recent appeal of the Spanish C.P. for a general strike at the moment of the condemnation of the Basques. After tens of years, the C.P. launches itself to appeal in Spain for a general strike against the regime, and it advances on the road towards power.

This is why this meeting of the C.P.'s in London is important as an expression of the changes, which are being imposed in the communist parties. The events of Poland, the letter of Bresnev, the present self criticism of Liberman on the reactionary character of the market economy, and on the necessity for a centralised planning to make socialism advance, show as the IV International analyses what are the forces which synthesise the political revolution.

These are some of the forms which express the interior changes today in the C.P. And the meeting in London is one example of it. It is necessary to organise the applications of the conclusions of this meeting, by impelling the organisation of the single centre for the workers of Europe, for a united anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist front in each country and on all the continent, giving full support to the strikes of the postmen and the Ford workers of England, to the struggle of the Irish, Italian, Spanish and French masses. It is necessary to organise and co-ordinate the struggle for trade union democracy, assemblies and workers councils, for the forty hours without lowering of salaries, for the sliding scale of wages, workers control, nationalisation of the big enterprises without compensation, for the expulsion of all the bases of imperialism, for the overthrow of Franco. This is the way to impel and to apply the decisions, which the communist parties have taken in London, enlarging them for the organisation of the struggle for power.

## EDITORIAL

# The conclusion of the T.U.C. recall conference....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

vades it as much as the bourgeoisie. We appeal to the trade union vanguard to take control of its party by imposing a workers programme on it, which will attract the whole population. In a very limited way Vic Feather is attempting to put forward a TUC alternative to the havoc that Tory policies are causing, striking at the basic conquests of the class, such as the health service, and causing mounting unemployment and soaring prices. The TUC must adopt a genuine workers plan for production, putting forward the nationalisation of all key industries, and posing workers control in the factories, and this must be fought for simultaneously within the L.P. Why wasn't any left Labour M.P. invited to speak at Trafalgar Square on 21st? Not only must the TUC debate the calling of a general strike against the bill, the L.P. must organise a special conference to debate the question. The struggle against the bill is not being treated as a defensive one by the class, but as a step towards taking power, and for this the necessary instruments must be prepared. The L.P. as well as the trades councils must call mass meetings and organise demonstrations and strikes. The adoption of a workers plan of production requires the methods to implement it. The class must demand proletarian democracy in the L.P., all delegates being subject to recall.

Yankee imperialism is encouraging the Tories to take a hard line in order to

exercise some authority over the whole European bourgeoisie, which is losing heart and doesn't feel confident in the future of capitalism. Henry Ford made his visit in the interests of world capitalism to make sure that the policy, characterised by the industrial relations bill is kept up and strengthened. Yet imperialism is not able to prevent the growing disintegration of the bourgeois front. The Tories are losing their social base, and there are open splits between the hard liners and those who would like to make concessions to stave off the revolution. Unionist M.P.s are talking of breaking with the Tories, because the British Army is not using strong enough tactics in Ulster. Meanwhile the London Young Conservatives have advocated for some time the disassociation of the Tories from the Unionists, because of their repressive line. Capitalism will inevitably resort to more intensive repression to maintain its privileged position in N. Ireland, just as Yankee imperialism will resort to the atomic war against the revolution, but it weighs on the ruling class that conditions are not favourable to it, and it has no perspective of winning. In N. Ireland the postal strike, March 1st and March 18th strikes were largely followed (even though the T.U. bill does not apply there), and the masses show that they are not intimidated by the repression. The vanguard can accelerate the disintegration of the bourgeois front by struggling for the inclusion of the class line on N. Ireland and Laos in the programme of the TUs, LP and

CP. A TUC delegation cannot visit N. Ireland without taking up an anti-capitalist position on the question, and openly declaring support of the British working class for the Irish masses. The demand for imperialism out of Indo-China must be linked to the struggle against the bill, and both the TUC and LP must add their strength to the position of defence of Vietnam, taken up by the Soviet Union and China.

We appeal for the discussion of these conclusions in the TU, LP and CP branches, to contribute to the organisation of a general strike against the bill leading to a **REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE TO IMPOSE A LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME**. Hold factory meetings and assemblies in working class areas to discuss a revolutionary solution to all the problems of the class, and establish factory and workers area committees, intervene in the trades union, L.P. and C.P. branches, imposing proletarian democracy with all delegates subject to recall. This is the way to organise the continuation of the struggle on the basis of what has already been achieved, to build the revolutionary tendency and a new revolutionary leadership in the TUs and L.P. Whilst still campaigning to get the TUC to call a general strike, vanguard sectors, like the C.P. and AEUW and TGWU, should make the appeal independently, because they have sufficient authority, and the class is ready and waiting to launch the strike.

21. 3. 71

We apologise to our readers for the late appearance of Red Flag, which has been due to problems at the printers. We are now reverting to publishing on the 10th and 25th of each month.

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## Elevate the political life in the L.P. on the basis of mass meetings to discuss program- me and methods for the struggle for power

The brutal intervention of the army of Yahya Khan against the masses of what is termed East Pakistan, has to be seen as an aspect of the process of the third world war. The deliberate massacre of the population, the lack of any perspective to win the population to capitalism, is in line with the imperialist war in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. In the same way, under the instructions of his Yankee imperialist masters, Hussein carried out a massacre of the population of Jordan and the guerrilla movement. But all these massacres have failed. Yahya Khan is in no position to control East Pakistan, the result of all the massacres in Laos etc. has been finally a catastrophic military defeat for Yankee imperialism, and in the Middle East, all the terrorism of Israel, Hussein etc. has yielded no social gain for imperialism, only a deteriorating military and social situation. The masses of the world know that in their struggle against the exploiters they are not alone. They see the changes in the Workers States, where under the impact of the changes in Poland, they see that Brezhnev at the 24 Congress of the CPSU, has to appeal for a better functioning of the trade unions, to defend the interests of the workers, and for the recognition of the role of moral incentives. And even if Soviet foreign policy statements are still clouded with nonsense about "peace", the most significant remarks, the ones that carry most weight, are those that show an aggressivity in relation to imperialism, such as those of Grechko, who makes it clear that the missiles of the Workers States can reach anywhere, and no aggressor can escape. The reply of the world masses to the sanguinary methods of imperialism is the armed strength of the Workers States, and their own unbroken concentration around the Workers States and their own organisations.

In Britain with the inability at this particular stage of the TUC to act as a real revolutionary centre, and the lack of confidence among the leaders of the main unions to launch the slogans of general strike action independantly of the TUC, plus the failure of the Postal Workers Union leadership to pursue the struggle to engage in the struggle for political power, the workers vanguard is faced with the necessity to engage more and more fiercely in a struggle to transform the Labour Party, to impel for this a deeper political life in the trades unions and stimulate the Communist Party to extend the scope of its political discussions and life. But the opportunity for a general strike can develop again within a short period, and if the experience of the last phase has thrown up the limitations of all the existing leaderships, it has on the other hand shown all the strength of the masses and the vanguard. It is on this latter basis that it will be possible to force a struggle to the finish with the conservative sectors in the LP, and impose a new leadership in the LP geared to the needs to impose a socialist programme. The Tory Government is essentially besieged by the masses. Like the Nixon regime or the regime in Pakistan, it knows that it cannot win over sectors of the proletariat or the petit bourgeoisie, it has nothing of any importance to offer, it has no expanding economy, or empire, by which to attract sectors, or develop new sectors of social support. Its policy is one of taking refuge within its own strata, trying to maintain the social support and cohesion of these sectors, so that they feel strong to meet the crisis, and the war that is coming. This is the meaning of the Tory Budget, which is a series of free gifts for the wealthy and robbery of the masses. A regime such as this, which can offer nothing except to the wealthy, is clearly a regime, which has no future. It is based on a pseudo-confidence. And hence it can be toppled socially and politically at any time, provided there is a leadership in the Labour Party, prepared to impose a socialist programme, and base itself for support on the independant organisms of the masses-factory committees, workers area committees, and mass assemblies. A coherent leadership based on a determin-

ed team is what is lacking at the moment in the LP. Individually good statements have been made by various Labour MPs, but there is a reluctance to pursue the struggle with the bourgeois sector in the Labour Party to its limits, in part through lack of confidence, in part through lack of understanding of the world and national process, and the need to lean all the time on the extra parliamentary actions of the masses to impel the struggle against the Wilson clique in the LP. It is absurd that after the conscious decision of the vanguard to abstain in the June Elections in order to administer a death blow at the right wing in the LP, messrs Wilson, Callaghan, Jenkins etc., still act as though the LP was their patrimony, and constantly impede the proper intervention of the LP in the struggle of the masses. They give support to the policy of the Tories in Ireland, and they are all wedded to the sending of British troops there. Wilson calls the value added tax a "fiscal monstrosity", but he and the rest do not intend any fight, their line is one of tacit support of the Tory Government. It is a "monstrosity" that these obstacles are still there. They must be repudiated in all their policies, because all the superior functioning of the LP demands the removal of these elements. To stimulate the calling of mass meetings, where revolutionary tendencies, such as the IV International can speak, to stimulate the call for the break from NATO, to stimulate the call for the independant functioning of the organisms of the masses, and the preparation of the unlimited general strike, for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, requires a sharp struggle with the right wing. The bourgeois sector of the Labour Party remains where it is, because of the lack of a vigorous political life in the LP, and the left MPs could develop this by open rejection of the rightist "front bench" leadership. All the relation of forces nationally and internationally favour the left not the right—it is the latter, who are going to be ejected not the left. Every lost opportunity to fight the bourgeois sector in the LP gives that much more time to the survival of capitalism in Britain. The Nixon-Heath alliance has conspicuously failed to harden the sentiments of the defeatist bourge-

oisie in the rest of Europe. Thus in Italy, Colombo is obliged to take measures against the fascists in order to try to prevent the disintegration of the social base of the Christian Democracy, attracted by the communists. Within France and Belgium acts suggestive of the spirit of civil war multiply whether it be the demonstrations of the students in Paris, or the revolt of the police against the Pompidou regime, or the violent irruption of the Belgian and E.C.M. farmers in Brussels.

It is within this context that it is necessary to analyse the situation in Ireland. There the situation is clearly one of civil war, contained on a relative scale by the presence of British troops. The Unionist regime can only survive with the support of British bayonets, and the growing debacle of the whole regime is shown by the fact that the regime already narrowly based turns further to the right with Faulkner—who nevertheless feels it necessary to bring in a rightist ex-representative of the Northern Ireland LP. It remains a gangster regime founded on terrorism, but the continuation of the crisis is going to feed the internal crisis of the Tory Government, faced as it is, with a situation, which drains away the social support for capitalism. We appeal to the Left MPs in the LP, the left MPs in Northern Ireland, and the Northern Ireland LP to have a united policy on Ireland, calling for the withdrawal of

British troops, and an immediate programme of public works, and a total repudiation of the alliance between the Tory leadership and the bourgeois group in the LP, who are preoccupied with the attempt to separate the struggle of the British and Irish masses. In fact the situation in Northern Ireland is only a specific form of the whole crisis throughout the British Isles—the struggle for power to overthrow capitalism.

The signs of the continuous struggle to overthrow capitalism cannot be seen only in the more spectacular industrial struggles, but in the dynamic of the Young Socialists and the student movement. In the former the socialist programme is again reaffirmed for the YS Conference at Skegness, with many resolutions showing a good internationalist spirit. However, there still remains a reluctance to speak of the need to form the independant class organisms of the masses-factory committees, workers area committees, mass assemblies. There is clearly a revolutionary current in the YS, which is being limited by parochialism and the isolation of the revolutionary programme from the revolutionary methods due largely to the anomalous role of the 'Militant' group. But the limitation of the outlook of the YS means in fact that they do not play the role of the spearhead of marxist though into the LP, which

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

### The political prisoners in Mexico demand the release of Angela Davis

We are publishing this resolution of the political prisoners in Lecumberri Jail, (signed by 58 prisoners), which has been delayed, because of the postal strike, because it shows the great internationalist spirit of these comrades, who don't feel in the least intimidated or separated from the struggle for socialism by being in prison. We urge the worker,

student, intellectual vanguard, the L.P. and Y.S., the C.P., and Y.C.L. and the unions to make resolutions for the release of Angela Davis, and the Basque militants, and also the release of these Mexican political prisoners. (A photocopy of the declaration with the signatures is available on request).

We, the political prisoners, in Lecumberri Jail, Mexico City, Mexico D.F., express our complete solidarity with those accused by the Franco dictatorship, in the military tribunal of Burgos, and we salute the revolutionary attitude taken by these friends to confront the fascist tribunal. We support, and we call for support, for the struggle for the liberty of the accused of Burgos, and of all the political prisoners in Spain, as part of the struggle of the Spanish proletariat and people for the overthrow of the Franco dictatorship, the ally of Yankee imperialism and world capitalism.

We also manifest our solidarity with Angela Davis, at present in jail in the United States for her militancy in the Negro movement, and who they intend to extradite to California, where they can succeed in imposing the death penalty on her. We demand the liberty of Angela Davis and all the revolutionary militants imprisoned in the jails of North American imperialism.

We appeal to the workers movement, to the student movement, to the trade unions and workers organisations, to the committees of student struggle to all the workers, anti-imperialist and popular parties and organisations to make declarations in defence of the accused of Burgos through resolutions, meetings of protest, assemblies and every other act of solidarity with these political prisoners, and  
LECUMBERRI JAIL 10. 12. 70

# The planning of the Workers States, Soviet functioning & Communist Internationalism

## (1st Part)

### 9-6-1970

### J. Posadas

The construction of Socialism is not complicated, it is the simplest thing there is. What is missing is the leadership, the programme, the preparation of the party, the intervention of the masses for the programme. Party and leadership must have as an aim, to draw together the social thought of the masses, to make them participate, so that they can give opinions, feel, judge, control and determine the economy in relation to their interests. For whom must we plan the economy? Who must determine the functioning of the economy when the "development of the country" is discussed, what does this mean? To develop in the sense that the masses have the possibility, the means to increase their standard of living.

Why is it necessary to increase the standard of living? What are the objectives? What does it mean to improve social relations? The objective, in this sense, is that the masses should feel sure, dominate the development of society. They must feel themselves to be the determining factor. The aim of the economy, is the masses. How to plan for this? On the basis of whom? Of what? This structure is not determined by the market economy. It was one thing when there was only one Workers State, when the Soviet Union had to confront the entire capitalist system, but now there are 16 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, there are powerful communist parties which can take power in countries such as France and Italy. There is the development of great struggles in England, Belgium and Holland, there is also the development of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Capitalism is besieged by the world revolution.

In order to plan the economy, one has to take into account the world social situation, which determines the state of behaviour of the masses, the judgement of the masses, the receptivity of the masses, and the overcoming of the notion of "to every one according to his ability", in favour "to everyone according to his need". And even though the economy is not strictly determined by "to everyone according to his needs", because still there are not the means to achieve this, there already exists in the consciousness of the masses, the idea that it is possible, to distribute according to the needs of everybody, and to eliminate in this way one of the essential bases that fetters the development of the economy and of society, i.e. the struggle for wages. The conditions already exist to advance in this way.

If the leaders of the Workers States, or of the Communist Parties in France and Italy do not act in this way, it is because they are against it. They have a bureaucratic and administrative conception of directing the plan. The masses on the contrary, have already demonstrated that they are ready to make all sorts of sacrifices and efforts, they have the necessary understanding to develop the means and to generalise the moral stimulus. They are not interested in everyone collecting the maximum, but they have shown that they want to develop society and impel it.

The existence of one Workers State was one historic condition, the existence of 16 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States is another. Now that there is a superior historic situation, it is necessary to base oneself on this, on the fact that there is not a struggle on the part of the masses in relation to the market, nor about the market economy. It is necessary to organise the economy, based as it is already on planning, so that it is consciously supported by the trade unions, tenants organisation, committees of workers districts, factory committees, committees of the country side.

The sectors who accept the collectivisation of the land are in the majority, those who don't are in the minority. It is necessary to be based on this, and on the world situation.

To plan and develop the economy in this stage, on the basis of a market economy is an error, it is a bureaucratic administrative conception, determined by apparatuses that have no conception, no marxist notion of the stage of social decomposition of the capitalist system, the state of elevated resolution of the masses to construct socialism, and of the enormous daily demonstration by the masses,

that they are prepared to make any sacrifice to overthrow the capitalist system.

But so that this determination of the masses is able to express itself in an organised form, it is necessary to form the organisms. They don't have any organisms. Their organisms are determined by the bureaucratic apparatuses.

They see the world through the bureaucratic apparatus, and they don't see the decision of the masses. They don't see the world united as it is by the decision of the masses to smash capitalism and to make the progress of socialism. This is the image of the world of today, united by the masses, who are smashing capitalism and constructing socialism.

It is necessary to plan in accordance with this conclusion. There isn't any problem of the market. The market exists in the Workers State as a conclusion of the administrative-bureaucratic apparatuses. The Market Economy does not have any need to exist anymore.

It is not necessary that the market economy continues any longer. The market is necessary, but not the market economy. The market exists, because it is still necessary to go and buy. But the game of supply and demand, and prices is already being eliminated. The prices should be determined by the cost of production plus a small amount for the cost of sustaining the revolution and the development of the Workers State, the defence of the Workers State and reinvestment. This is what should be done, it is very simple.

But at the same time it is necessary to form organs which determine, regulate the functioning of the Workers State, eliminate the salaries of the bureaucracy today, eliminate the waste of the bureaucracy, or eliminate the planning of the economy in accordance with the interest of the one who can buy more, and plan it in accordance with the necessities of the population, the armaments, the potential economic and military development of the Workers States for the development of the world revolution. This is the basis of planning. The condition is the interventions of the organisms, in which the masses give their opinions, judge and resolve. Then they feel that the development of the economy is determined by their own interests, and that if they do not distribute more, it is because there is not any more. But the sentiment of justice and equality exists in the masses. The moral stimulus already exists, why shouldn't it exist if there are 16 Workers States? Who constructed the Workers States? There are 16 Revolutionary States, there are powerful communist parties in Italy and France, capable of taking power. Imperialism is encircled in Latin America, in Asia and in Africa. Why maintain the market economy then? Who is it for? Is it a historical necessity? It is not, because the object of the Workers State now is not to compete with the capitalist system. It does not have the essential objective now to compete with the capitalist system based on economic capacity, but based on military and social capacity. It is not necessary to try to show or justify the historical necessity of the Workers States, it has already been demonstrated.

The conditions exist for the development of the planning of all the Workers States. It is no longer possible to speak about the planning of the economy based on a single Workers State, but on all the Workers States. That is the condition to achieve it. It is necessary to plan all the Workers States together, this will give a hundred times more, because the planning of the Workers States together gives a better economic and social power without increasing the material costs, and with a better technical capacity and technical means. Such planning will arrange things easily, but instead, all the planners of the Workers States do not speak about this. They speak about how to plan country by country. Everyone speaks about how to plan his own country, because they respond to the individual interests of each bureaucracy. It is not a communist interest, but an individual one. Communism does not have national interests, but international interests. The process of construction of the Workers State, the first one, which was the S.U., imposed norms and limitations in its functioning. Today, no. Today, it is necessary to make all the potential force of the

masses intervene, it is necessary to develop Marxism, Marxism, Marxism. Then everyone becomes a planner. It can be so now. It can be so today without having to wait for tomorrow. There are now all the technical means to do this. The cost necessary to smash Imperialism in the next war—which Imperialism is preparing to launch, because it does not have any other means of living—has already been completely compensated for by the efforts, and the surplus of the production of the Workers States, and it will be even better if there is a common planning of the economies among all the Workers States.

It is necessary to plan the economy among all the Workers States, and also to plan the intervention of the masses among all the Workers States. The existence of the market economy in the first Workers State, in the USSR, was determined by the economic poverty of the Workers State, its internal economic poverty and its relationship with capitalism. Today it is not so. Today the Workers State has an economic and military power superior to the whole capitalist system. It is not then a question of trying to justify to the world the necessity and the force of the Workers State, but how to organise these forces.

There is not a conscious marxist leadership in the Workers States, but there are bureaucratic leaderships of the apparatuses, which don't have confidence in the masses, don't let them participate, intervene with the historic capacity of the Workers State, the capacity of the masses to think, reason, intervene, decide, lead and control. This is what's to be done. Then one sees that the market economy is not necessary, though the market still exists so people can buy goods.

The economic potential of the Workers States is still not employed, because they do not plan among themselves, the masses do not intervene, and they introduced the market economy. What is the market economy for? For what purpose? To buy luxury articles that are still inaccessible to the majority of the masses, and further more they are unnecessary. For example what is the individual car for in the Workers States? Socialism is going to eliminate the private car, and the individual use of things. One of the conditions for the development of the Workers States towards Socialism is to create in the Workers State a consciousness superior to that of a capitalist state, that is to say to eliminate the conflict about who earns more, to create the consciousness that it is possible to eliminate the dispute even if the economic means do not exist. In this way, it is possible, for the masses have accepted Socialism without actually having lived in Socialism. There is great progress in the Workers States, but there are no socialist social relationships in any of them. The masses have already accepted socialism, and are struggling for it. In the same way,

the Workers State are already capable of eliminating competition, the conflict for wages. They are already doing that in the Workers States, in part in China and Cuba. They are doing that now. The next Workers States are going to start from this level, at a more elevated level with the elimination of the dispute for wages. On the contrary, there is going to be equality, and wages will be settled according to the needs of each one.

It is capitalism that created this tendency, the custom and habit of conflict over wages, but the workers used this because it had no other means of defence, did not have any other means of consciousness, and elevating their understanding. They don't have this now in the Workers States. In capitalism, he who is more able, tries to acquire more for himself. In the Workers State the workers tries to work a great deal for the development of the Workers States. As is the example of the Chinese, who make tremendous efforts, to create new machines, to discover new methods of progress of the economy at the cost of the working time, without asking for more salaries or for more economic profits. It is the moral stimulus. This creates the socialist consciousness, and on this basis, it is necessary to discuss.

The "planners" say nothing about the moral stimulus. They speak as if how to plan the economy is still to be discovered, and as if there weren't any Workers States. It is on this that it is necessary to discuss, and to base oneself on the historic experience of China and Cuba, which showed that it is possible to plan the economy on the basis of moral stimulus, with the elimination of the difference in salaries, with the distribution of goods determined by "to everyone according to his needs", even though it is not strictly so yet.

Before everything else, it is necessary to eliminate the salaries of the big bureaucrats. All leaders of the Workers States and of the Communist Party have to receive no more than the average wage. The Workers States have to eliminate the grade of general and the military ranks and say "Military comrades". Ranks are simply distinctions in a body created by capitalism, and which the bureaucracy has not been able to dispense with. Ranks do not indicate any reasoning, any ability, any intelligence, they are a reflection simply of social submission. It is necessary to eliminate all this. The general should be equal to the bricklayer, equal, equal, equal. There is no difference. If the bureaucracy maintain this difference in ranks, in relations, salaries, it is to justify its remaining in power. Because it does not have confidence in the revolutionary methods for the construction of socialism. It believes that it is going to construct socialism. Otherwise, it would have eliminated ranks and then wages.

(To be concluded in next issue)

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

they could play. The election of the Communist President in the NUS shows once again the search in the student movement for a firm revolutionary leadership capable of fusing the student movement with the struggle for socialism. And the student movement must direct its activity to the LP, stimulate its political life, programme and objectives.

The situation is over ripe for the elimination of the bourgeois wing of the LP. But to do this requires a superior level of understanding among the vanguard in the LP, CP, YS, student movement, and also in the trade unions. The latter must struggle directly and openly to shift the Wilson clique out of the LP. It must be an open struggle not one of surreptitious manoeuvre, but one of programme and policy. The slogan put forward by the International for this country, a government of the Labour left on a socialist programme means a government without the bourgeois collaborators with capitalism, without the supporters of NATO, without the supporters of British troops in Ireland.

We appeal to the LP branches, the left MPs, the trades councils, the CPs

and the Unions to begin the process of calling for mass meetings, so that the population can intervene directly in the mass organisations, so that these are made adequate for the struggle for power. We repeat our appeals for the study of the documents of the International and Posadas to stimulate the political life in the LP as a fundamental part of the construction of the new leadership there. The Communist Party, as in its recent meeting with "left" tendencies in Camden, shows a tendency which wishes to develop a discussion on the left. We appeal for the continuation of these discussions and the calling of mass meetings by the LP to involve the vanguard in the formulation of policy and the preparation for the struggle for power on the anti capitalist programme. 5. 4. 71

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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

## VIVA THE FIRST SOVIET ORBITAL SPACE STATION

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 134 25th APRIL 1971 PRICE 3p

### EDITORIAL

## For a full discussion on programme — organisms — leader- ship — for next stage

The latest events in the Middle East show the approach of the final settlement of accounts. The newly formed Federation of Egypt, Syria and Libya with a policy of no conciliation with Israel, the welcome to this federation as being progressive and anti-Imperialist by the Soviet Union, the supply of Soviet Arms to the U.A.R. and Algeria are expressions of the advance of the revolution, and the growing alliance of the revolution and the Workers States. At the same time the supply of more Phantoms by U.S. Imperialism to Israel indicates that a new war is being prepared in the Middle East, and one which will draw in the principle force of the revolution and the counter revolution i.e. Soviet Union and Imperialism.

This union of Egypt, Syria and Libya is a major blow to imperialism, and is an encouragement to the Arab masses. It does not signify a strengthening of the feeble bourgeois forces of these states, but on the contrary, the highest level of social, political, economic advance will tend to be generalised throughout the Federation. Similarly the increase in oil prices in Algeria, the breaking of economic ties with France is going to stimulate the advance towards the Algerian Workers State, and have important economic and social repercussions in France.

It is in these world conditions that the class struggle develops in this country. After the strikes of the Postal workers and the Ford workers the working class has seen that its present union leadership is not ready or prepared to lead the struggle in the next round against the capitalist policies of the Tory Government. All the strikes now put the General Strike on the agenda, and raise revolutionary perspectives, and all the T.U. leaderships shrink from this. The vanguard sees this, sees that it doesn't have a leadership, which is adequate or prepared for this stage. For this reason the perspective of the General Strike has receded a little, and a period of reflection, of discussion and of reconstruction is taking place, and will take place in the organisms of the working class. At the same time the working class will seek to use other means than trade union action in its struggle against capitalism; it will use principally the Labour Party, but also the Communist Party, and will raise the level of political demands in the trade unions. An example of this increased political discussion within the unions is the resolution, which we salute of the A.C.T.T. for the nationalisation of the Cinema industry without compensation. This is an expression of the desire on the part of the film technicians to intervene to control the content and the quality of the films, which as an expression of the decay of capitalism are getting worse and worse. The decadence of capitalism on one side and the advance of the revolution on the other stimulates discussion in all the organisations of the masses. The YS conference (a balance of this conference appears separately in this issue) even if it did not respond to all the necessities of the situation, reflected a preoccupation of the YS vanguard with all the problems

of the revolution. The Conference of the Young Liberals (the youth of a completely capitalist party) denounced the actions of US Imperialism in Latin America and gave support to the land reforms in Bolivia, Chile and Peru. What an expression of the power of penetration of the world revolution and the social weakness of capitalism! As Posadas has said, this is the epoch of intelligence and reason, where the masses are discussing, absorbing the most advanced experiences and seeking to apply the conclusions.

In the Communist Party this discussion has shown itself in "Marxism Today" in a reexamination of the 'British Road to Socialism'. In the last issue a letter from a Communist Party militant posed the need for right of tendency in the C.P., the smashing of the bourgeois state, workers militias, a soviet form of government, put marxist positions for the first time for many years in the C.P.G.B. The most important thing is not that this is a line being put forward by a communist rank and file militant, for it always has been the position of a sector of the rank and file, but that it is an indication of a changed relationship of forces, which means that today the Communist Party leadership must permit the publication of such ideas. This discussion is going to encourage the advance of the Communist Party vanguard.

The Communist Party through the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions has played an important role in organising the struggle against the anti-T.U. Bill. But now this struggle must take a different form with the refusal of the T.U.C. to organise a General Strike. The Liaison Committee is faced with the problem that the existing workers leaderships are not at the level required for the General Strike, and so it must develop the new leadership by concentrating on the question of increasing workers democracy within the trade unions, of forming factory committees with all representatives elected in mass assemblies and subject to instant recall, of constructing committees which link the factories with the working class areas so as to be able to mobilise all the support there, for the strikes when they come. But so as to attract all the rest of the population to the strikes it is necessary

CONTINUED OVER

IN THE NEXT EDITION OF RED FLAG THERE WILL APPEAR  
THE LETTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE  
IV INTERNATIONAL TO THE 24th CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.

### APPEAL OF THE R.W.P.(T) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL TO THE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES IN THE L.P.Y.S.

## Push forward the struggle for the new leadership in the Labour Party, on the basis of the anti- capitalist policy of the L.P.Y.S.

The Labour Party Young Socialist Conference held at Skegness over Easter indicated, despite the numerical growth of the YS since last year, that the Young Socialist are approaching a crisis, which stems from the fact that its leadership does not understand what the YS is doing, or where it is going. This lack of clarity in its role and perspectives was reflected in the general level of the interventions at the Conference, which were not as enthusiastic, or combative as last year. Unless this crisis is resolved, unless the militants of the YS can feel the importance of their activity in the L.P.Y.S., a sector of them is going to fall prey to feelings of impatience and leave, going to marginal ultra-left groups.

It is necessary that the militants of the LPYS make an analysis of the activity to see how it is that the movement, armed as it is with the Trotskyist transitional programme, in a tremendously rich situation, can have such a feeling of impotence and lack of purpose. Fundamentally it is due to the lack of comprehension of how to develop the programme, how to make it advance in the LP and unions, how to win acceptance for it in broad layers of the Labour movement, and how to use it as the programmatic basis for the struggle against the bourgeois leadership of the LP. In the period since the last conference the YS should have been present in all the big mobilisations of the class, putting forward their programme as the solution to all the problems, caused by the decay of capitalism. But while the working class has empirically adopted points of the programme, for example, the dockers demonstrating for the nationalisation of the docks under workers control, the YS has been concerned with marginal issues. The YS and particularly its 'Militant' leadership has not understood nor learnt from the powerful advance of the working class, which has used the anti-TU bill as a centre around which to mobilise and express their anti-capitalist sentiment. Thus at the conference there was no real discussion of the strike movement, or the development of the workers vanguard, because 'Militant' have a paternalist view of the working class, seeing it only as acted upon by the crisis of capitalism, and never acting consciously for itself. It fails to see that the electoral defeat of the LP, which was above all a defeat for the bourgeois leadership, was due to the conscious action of the vanguard, and it fails to see that the advance of the Left in the LP now, is due to that defeat and to the huge strike process, which has followed the election of the Tories.

It is true that some of the resolutions to the Conference did express an advance over last year, particularly those relating to the Middle East and Vietnam, but not merely to pose demands for higher nevertheless it is an expression of the confusion of the YS that these resolutions calling for support to the N.L.F. and El Fatah were amended to make them abstract. Again in the discussion it was 'Militant' who headed the sectarian tendency, refusing to give support to the N.L.F. for example, because of its 'Stalinist' leadership, failing to understand that the masses of Vietnam are centralised in and using the N.L.F., despite the limitation of its leadership, in a similar way to the use the British working class makes

of the Labour Party. It is essential at this stage of the world revolution to understand the multiple forms the revolution takes, so as to be able to impel the forces and leaderships which emerge without sectarianism or opportunism; but 'Militant' is far from this comprehension. This same lack of understanding has shown itself in relation to the revolution in Ireland, where 'Militant' rejects all the tendencies and movements, which have developed outside the N.I.L.P., (precisely, because the N.I.L.P. has not reacted adequately to the situation,) seeing them only as competitors.

It is possible to see that now 'Militant' has a bureaucratic possessive attitude towards the YS. It has certain positions of leadership, which it seeks to defend in an administrative fashion. Last year it was in favour of instant recall, now it says that there is not better structure for the YS than the existing one with the National Committee elected from the annual conference. It seeks to maintain itself by curtailing discussion, by preventing the circulation of ideas. It is this fear of ideas what led it to refuse to allow our comrades to speak at both the 'Left' and 'Militant' meetings, when it would have been easy for them with their numerical superiority to have many speakers to reply to our ideas. The hostility shown to us by some of their leaders outside the Conference showed the fear which they have of our ideas, for they never discussed with us politically. The 'Militant' leadership has abandoned Trotskyism, and the IV International, and for this reason it has lost its perspectives.

But at the same time the balance of the Conference cannot be entirely a negative one. The world revolution advances and penetrates the YS, helping the political development of sectors and tendencies. There is a development of political tendencies in 'Militant', who want a more profound discussion and a more coherent policy, and outside 'Militant' there is a development of revolutionary currents like the one around 'Chartist'. The reception to the intervention of the Party, to the bulletin which we produced, and the very great sale of our literature showed that there is a current which is sympathetic to us, and which looks to us for orientation. In an earlier period the policy of 'Militant' could have led to a disintegration of the YS, or an advance of the right within the YS, but now the world revolution prevents such a process.

CONTINUED OVER

# The planning of the Workers States, Soviet functioning & Communist Internationalism

## (2nd Part)

### 9-6-1970

### J. Posadas

Eliminating all the differences in wages, the Worker State would save a lot of its costs. The elimination of the bureaucratic functioning, and planning in a soviet form increases the efficiency by 40%. The collectivisation of agrarian production increases the production by 100%, and incorporates into soviet society the 1000% of the forces, which are disputing today among themselves in the form of kolkhoz and of private property. One must speak on this, and not say that there are difficulties in constructing socialism. It is the easiest thing in the world, to construct socialism, because people are in agreement immediately. And in this stage humanity seeks to place itself in agreement with this conception. It is not possible to speak in the abstract about the construction of socialism. Where are we? In what epoch? In what year? This is not the epoch in which we have to show that the Workers State is capable of competing with the capitalist system. The proof is the "Ostpolitik" of Willy Brandt, who seeks the support of the Workers States, in order to compete with capitalism. It is the Workers State that has the potential.

China showed that they started with nothing, and in 20 years they eliminated dying from hunger, and today they have space rockets. It is shameful, and the communist leaders should be ashamed when they bring out articles in which they say that it is difficult to construct socialism. It is difficult for them! But the construction of socialism is not difficult.

The objective of the economy in the Workers States is to elevate the security and the confidence of the human being not to depend on the economy, and to elevate the consciousness above material possessions. This is the conclusion of communism. Under communism the possibilities for catastrophic cyclones or natural catastrophes to occur are not going to be eliminated—it's not excluded, that they occur. There is going to be an immensely greater dominion of nature, more complete and certain, but it is not excluded that natural catastrophes occur.

But the consciousness of a human being having reached a certain level, there is no going back. It is so with science. Humanity has already the socialist level of understanding and of consciousness, and this is guided by this reasoning of

humanity. The proof is in Vietnam; Yankee imperialism threatens Vietnam with atomic war. The Vietnamese masses fight every day, and say that any plane which comes we will shoot down. Is it not necessary to be guided by the state of spirit of the masses? Is it not necessary to be based on this? It is sufficient to see the behaviour of the masses, to see that they are disposed to accept socialist planning. Now. It is necessary to eliminate the market, the bureaucratic market closer to capitalism than to the Workers State.

In no Workers State is the market economy necessary. The market exists because still it is necessary to buy. But the final forms, lesser forms, are not so harmful to humanity. The conflict and the competition of the market, which is the capitalist system is removed.

An immense advantage in the planning of the Workers State is that it eliminates competition, conflicts, among other things, over price. It eliminates this. Then all is determined in relation to necessities. This can be done today. The conditions exist today. What does not exist is the party to carry this out. The marxist preparation does not exist, the cadres do not exist, the soviet structure does not exist to do this. This is nevertheless what it is necessary to do.

Then in speaking of planning of the economy, it is necessary to speak of the soviet structure, of the organisms of control of the masses, workers areas, zones, everywhere. Then the market economy disappears. The market exists, because it is necessary to buy. But the market becomes less and less determined by necessity, and exists simply as the structure by which to be able to distribute goods. Today in Cuba there have been a series of progressive steps in this direction, the same in China.

Every honourable communist has to base himself on this world experience, on the world progress of the revolution, not only to see what has to be stimulated, which has not responded to necessity, but also to see the level reached by social development. We invite the communist comrades to pay close attention to the world situation, and determine their conception of the construction of socialism in relation to our criterion.

Today one cannot assimilate or com-

pare the planning of today with the epoch of the Soviet Union, the first Workers State, which was isolated in the world. Today there are 16 Workers States, 16 revolutionary states, and imperialism is surrounded in Asia, Africa, Latin America. In Europe capitalism sees itself obliged to retreat and retreat. It is necessary to be based on this to determine the construction of socialism. It is necessary to make the masses participate, not with the "democratic right to give their opinions in the factories", but to construct everything. What policy? What type of economy? What is to be produced? Eliminate the luxury dwellings of the bureaucrats. Eliminate the high wages of the bureaucrats, and make wages equal—for him and any other functionary—with the average wage of the worker. This has to be done for all, from the generals to the teachers, leaders of the party and the state. It is necessary to eliminate the presidents of the Workers States, so that they do not exist anymore. Let them establish a commission in the form of a ministry to determine. This is not adventurism, nor ultra leftism. Who does the president represent? Capitalism has presidents, because through its personalities, it stimulates, determines, influences, dominates. In the Workers State, the presidency is not necessary; there are simply organisms, which represent one necessity or another. In the capitalist states there have been forms of representation superior to that of president i.e. the collegiate form of governing.

The same with Parliament. For what reason do we want a Parliament in the Workers State? What function does Parliament play? Parliament is an organ-

ism distant from the Workers State, and inferior to the Soviet. It is necessary to make Soviets, the form of Parliament is the Soviets in the Workers State. All this is necessary to plan the economy. On this basis, it is possible to advance a hundred times more than now. It is necessary to eliminate the bureaucratic forms and the bureaucratic conception, to develop the economy, which now makes houses, roads, cars for the bureaucrats. On the contrary, it is necessary to produce houses, roads, electric light, running water, hospitals, schools in the workers zones. This gives an immense confidence to the masses, develops the social socialist consciousness and eliminates conflicts over wages. It elevates the ability for understanding, analysis and resolution, for the acceptance of "to each one according to his needs". It is necessary to press more today for "to each according to his needs" than "from each one according to his capacity". The conditions already exist. The economic means still do not exist, but the social consciousness, yes. In the same way capitalism retreats more and more, and the petit bourgeoisie and the backward masses are already gained by socialism.

For this reason in the countries, in which the problem is the distribution of the land, the agrarian revolution has as a result, a collective form, or a socialist co-operative collective, not an individual distribution of the land. Already the peasant accepts this, he has been won by the collective notion of the world. It is necessary to be based on this in the planning of the Workers States.

J. POSADAS

9. 6. 1970.

## ITALY

### The red councils, points of support for mobilisations and the struggle for power

The information, which we publish below has a very great importance not only for Italy, but for Britain at the present moment, where the local elections are coming up. All these facts show how it is possible today, taking account of the combativity of the working class, the tremendous social weakness and economic crisis of capitalism, to resolve directly the problems which confront the masses, in those areas, where the exploited masses dominate socially; in the factories, and in the municipal councils, where the LP and the CP together are in the majority. We appeal to the LP and the CP, to the council candidates and militants of these parties to discuss these Italian experiences, to make them known, and take them as points of support, to apply them in the councils dominated by the workers parties.

from 'Lotta Operaia'

In Sesto Fiorentino, the Local Council has municipalised gas, which has allowed it to supply 4000 new houses in a few days, and to reduce the price of gas by 11%. The red council has beaten the sabotage of the enterprise by mobilising the population, and the gas workers to distribute the gas at a more just price. Following this, the state apparatus, through the prefect decided that the Council would have to annul the municipalisation.

The Council refused to do this, and maintains the municipalisation of the gas distributive enterprises. On the contrary, it distributes the gas to more and more homes, making an appeal to the population to mobilise to defend these measures.

Now, the government must either put all the population in prison, or renounce its decision.

It is possible to do the same everywhere; this is how the red regions must resolve the problems of the population, without waiting for the government to accept, and even to act against the government. It is not necessary that such measures be sanctioned by the law. What counts is to apply the decision, and make all the services function for the good of the population. This is the best way to

apply reforms, and to gain the base of the Christian Democracy. This is the way the red regions must function.

In Piadena, in Lombardy, the red Communes function on the basis of permanent assemblies, where the masses discuss what has to be done to resolve the problems of taxes, of schools, of health etc. They control their elected representatives daily, giving their advice on all the problems. This also it is necessary to do everywhere.

In the province of Vicenza the workers councils of every category are functioning in several localities like the Permanent Unified Councils, the Congress of Councils, functioning as a workers parliament with the participation of the students and the workers parties. They discuss the reforms, but also the struggle against fascism, and the political situation.

It is necessary to generalise, and deepen this experience, and to apply it for the whole of Italy. Everywhere; workers councils with student and peasant delegates, delegates from the population of the neighborhood, from the workers parties and trade unions, to decide all the problems, and plan production locally, and apply the reforms.

## EDITORIAL

wages, shorter hours etc., but revolutionary class demands for the expropriation of capitalism without compensation and under workers control! Capitalism is bankrupt, it cannot provide jobs, (the unemployment level is the highest for over 30 years), it cannot provide houses, education, health service, or a dignified and full life for the masses.

The Liaison Committee must stimulate the discussion in the unions, in the Labour Party, in the Communist Party on the whole programme, which gives working class solutions to all these problems. No worker to be unemployed, work sharing without loss of pay! All the wages to rise with the cost of living! all the pro-

fits of automation to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours! workers control in the factories to be imposed by factory committees! out with British troops from Ireland! For the establishment of a European Workers Centre (already developing on the basis of the co-ordination already established between the car unions in America, Britain, Germany, France etc.), the perspective of a United Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

We appeal to the vanguard in the Liaison Committee, in the LP and YS, in the CP, in the Unions to make a united front with our participation to fight for this programme.

## L.P.Y.S.

We launch an appeal to the base of 'Militant' to 'Chartist' to enter into discussion with us, with the objective of undertaking joint activity on specific issues. This Conference has not served to deepen the understanding of the YS militants or prepare them for the coming period. What position must the YS take on the General Strike? How must the YS combat any attempt against it, by the right wing leadership of the Labour Party? These are questions which have to be discussed. But the central one is how to carry forward the struggle in the Labour Party to eliminate the right wing and make the LP an adequate instrument for the British masses in their struggle against capitalism. To do this the struggle must be for the democratisation of the Labour Party, for the ending of the high salaries of the bureaucrats, for the right of instant recall, for the right of revolutionary tendencies, like the IV International and the Communist Party to function within the Labour Party. This must be the central preoccupation of the

YS; the struggle for the new leadership based on the anti-capitalist programme, which is the programme of the YS. None of this was discussed at the Conference, and as a result there is a feeling of a lack of purpose, lack of direction.

We appeal to the revolutionary militants of the YS to discuss all these points with us, to study all our documents, particularly the documents of Posadas and the International Secretariat, which will give an understanding of the national and world balance of forces, which is completely favourable to the development of the revolutionary current in the YS. From the understanding comes the confidence to struggle audaciously for the programme, for the democratisation, and for the new leadership in the Labour Party.

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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. 135 10th MAY 1971 PRICE 3p

## VIVA THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE RENAULT FACTORIES

# Letter of the International Secretariat of the IV International to the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Dear Comrades,

22 March 1971

In the name of the International Secretariat of the IV International, we salute your Congress with our most complete fraternal sentiments. We repeat our demand to be able to participate as a revolutionary tendency of international communism in the Congress, so as to be able to collaborate in the elaboration of analyses, ideas, positions, programme, and the necessary tactic for the revolutionary development of the Soviet Union, of the Workers States of the world, of the revolutionary States, of the world socialist revolution.

Dear Comrades,

We believe that among the fundamental problems to resolve in this stage of history, is posed the world development of the socialist revolution and consequently, the need for the elaboration of a plan of action, of a programme, tactic, and revolutionary objectives, with a view to consciously impelling this development in a centralised way. This must be done in liaison with the advance of the Soviet Union, and of the other Workers States; of China, of Cuba, of Poland, of Czechoslovakia etc..

Another fundamental aspect is the preparation of the atomic war by Yankee imperialism. The triumph of the masses of Laos, the triumph of humanity crushing imperialism has prevented the latter from accomplishing its objectives of destruction of the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian people. All humanity concentrated to support the struggle of the masses of Vietnam, and did this through the concrete, and material, and military help supplied by the Workers States, by the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the Workers States, thanks to the help of the revolutionary states, of the strikes and mobilisations of the masses of the world who have interfered, participated. They have intervened by making pressure, thus multiplying the obstacles, making the plans of Yankee imperialism fail. Nevertheless imperialism prepares for the war. A world strategy is needed of all the Workers States, of the revolutionary states, with the masses of the big communist parties, of the big workers trade union centres in the world, to crush Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to organise the united front of all the workers parties, of all the Workers States, of the communist parties, of the revolutionary tendencies, and movements to confront Yankee imperialism.

Another aspect is the world public discussion for the solution of the differences between the Workers States, of all the existing problems between them about organisation and planning. The overcoming of differences is done through a public discussion, in such a way as to co-ordinate the policy, the objectives, the tactic of all the Workers States.

The fourth point is the revolutionary, political, social development of the Soviet Union and the Workers States; the return to soviets, their reanimation, the independence of the functioning of the trade

unions, workers participation in the control of the functioning of the economy, be it in production, prices or salaries. The active participation of the working class, as an organism of power and of control, is indispensable as is the extension of soviets throughout the whole world. A concrete, objective, public planning is needed, which takes into consideration the need for unconditional support to the world development of the socialist revolution, and the preparation for the atomic war, against the intervention, and the consequences, which imperialism will produce.

We believe that there are the bases for the World United Front of all the revolutionary tendencies, of the communist tendencies as we ourselves, the IV International, of tendencies which approach and can be gained to communism, like the existing movements in the revolutionary states, in Chile, in Bolivia, in Egypt, in Libya, in Sudan, in Congo Brazzaville, in South Yemen etc.

Another aspect is the discussion of the processes of crisis in the Workers States and the communist parties. The recent crises of Czechoslovakia, and of Poland show the need for fundamental changes, the need to look at these problems in a revolutionary way, as in the epoch of Lenin. The fundamental problems of policy, of science, and of the war are resolved politically. This means with the participation of the masses, of the organisms where they intervene, with their discussion to influence it, decide and give the confidence and the invincible stability to triumph. One of the objectives of the discussion of the crisis of the Workers States is to be able to influence the masses of the United States, to help them to organise the marxist revolutionary party, which they still lack, with a view to giving organic forms to their struggle to overthrow Yankee imperialism.

It is to resolve all these problems that we ask to intervene, to participate in the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As we cannot do it, we repeat that the sense of this letter is to make a synthesis of our positions which we will expound again in new documents, which we will send. This is the synthesis of the positions of the IV International, of its International Secretariat. The texts of Cde. J. Posadas are the base on which our positions, our tasks, our objectives and our tactics as the IV International are developed.

## THE INTERVENTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL IN THE WORLD CLASS STRUGGLE

The IV International is a tendency within International Communism. It exists in 18 countries, participating actively in the class struggle, in revolutionary struggles, with its 18 papers, its theoretical reviews, its bulletins, and an infinity of texts on all the fundamental problems of this stage of history. The IV International intervenes on the process of the Workers States, of the struggle against imperialism, against capitalism. It orientates theoretically on the problems of the economy, of policy, of science, of art, of the sentiments, of the social organisation of the life of the masses. Our IV International has all its positions exposed in hundreds of documents published under the name of the International Secretariat, or signed

by Cde. Posadas. We place at your disposal all these texts. The majority of them have already been sent to you, but we reiterate our proposition to send you them again.

Our demand to participate in the 24 Congress of the CPSU as a world communist tendency, is made in the name of democratic and socialist revolutionary rights. We were born as a part of world revolutionary communism. In the present process of changes, of advance of the revolution, we believe that the moment has come to accept our public participation in the discussion of the problems of the Workers States, of the Communist Parties. We are part of the communist movement.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## In front of the Tory policies of unemployment, inflation, pre- pare for factory occupations imposing workers control

NO FACTORY TO BE CLOSED DOWN, NO WORKER TO BE  
DISMISSED!

TAKE THE EXAMPLE OF THE RENAULT OCCUPATIONS!

The uninterrupted advance of the world socialist revolution finds more and more a direct reflection even within the heartland of Yankee imperialism itself—the demonstrations broken up by the troops in Washington shows the continuous approximation to actions of civil war within the USA, the desire of the petit bourgeois and worker masses to be rid of Yankee imperialism. It is all the more criminal that in this tremendous weakening of world imperialism, the Chinese leadership should indulge in a "ping pong" diplomacy with the Nixon gangsters, when what is required is a direct intervention by all the Workers States in the United States appealing with programme and policy for the overthrow of world imperialism in its vital centre. The conditions could hardly be improved upon when world imperialism is smashed in Laos, and cannot contain the tide of the Latin American revolution in Bolivia, Chile etc.

The renewed crisis of the dollar shown in the floating of the German Deutschmark is simply the financial reflection of the chronic instability of capitalism, its inability to provide a coherent programme of world economic development, the devolution of its capacity to the preparation of the war against socialism and the masses. War expenditure, inflation and perpetual speculation lead to a permanent absence of a stable international currency and persistent crisis. In a sense everything under capitalism lives under the shadow of doubt and speculation. It survives from day to day, and has no prospects. The crisis of the dollar takes its dramatic form in Europe at the very moment when the French workers carry out the Renault Factory occupations confirming the analysis of Posadas and the IV International, that May 68 opened a process of advance in the French revolutionary vanguard in controlling their own trade union and party organisations. A new and immensely more powerful May 68 is "in the wings"; following the demonstrations of police and the children of Paris, a whole society is preparing for fundamental social changes, and on the other hand Imperialism is preparing for

the final encounter, all its diplomatic manoeuvres in the Middle East are so much dust to conceal its fundamental objectives.

Within Britain the world process acts as a permanent stimulus to the struggle of the vanguard in its efforts to develop a new leadership and control its own organisations. It is clear that a profound crisis of growth is smouldering in the Labour Party, still in part contained, because of the lack of a sufficient confidence in the opposition to the bourgeois sectors. Objectively the situation in the Labour Party is preposterous, we have seen the strenuous and confident mobilisations of the masses from the dock strike onwards accompanied at the top of the Labour Party by connivance with the Tories, support for their policy in Ireland etc. But the growing crisis shows itself in a variety of ways. Wilson is basically paralysed by the situation, despite various pseudo criticisms of Tory policy i.e. saying what we all know, and then doing nothing about it. He writes his memoirs, and sees his ally in failure the Yankee assassin Johnson, and returns to the familiar buffoonery of proposing an incomes

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF RED FLAG, WE WILL BE PUBLISHING

"THE MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY" OF THE I.S. OF THE

IV INTERNATIONAL

# Letter of the International Secretariat of the IV International to the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

and as such, we act at every instant as a revolutionary world communist tendency, whose object is to impel communism. Our interest is not to polemicise or dispute the problems of the past, of history, for that is not the way to resolve them. They will be resolved in the advance of the process of the world socialist revolution, of the Workers States, of the Communist Parties.

Our objective interest is the development of the Workers States, of the Soviet Union, of all the Workers States, of the revolutionary development of the CPs. We support an unconditional aid and solidarity to the Communist parties, who take the road to struggle for power, who advance on the road to power. Our desire, our aid, our participation and solidarity has the object of seeing that the world communist movement finds the ways to constant progress in the theoretical, political, tactical understanding with the object of organising its forces to take power. Such is the sense that we give to our participation. We express our desire, our will, our demand to participate in the discussions with the object of providing a solution to, of elevating, of surmounting the disputes, the divergences, the differences, between the Communist Parties of the USSR, of China, of Albania etc... Our desire is to participate in this discussion, whose solution is not governmental, but theoretical, political, organisational. These are divergences, which have no logical base, because there are no divergent interests in the communist development of the world socialist revolution. We have participated, and participate actively with texts, documents. We try now to impel a collaboration for the solution of these divergences and these problems. Since our demand for participation cannot be accepted we are obliged to limit our intervention in this written form.

We repeat our appeal, our desire to participate in this Congress with the object of being able to participate, collaborate in the solution of the great problems of the world development of communism, for an elevation of its forces as an essential base of the theoretical and political understanding of a programmatic

understanding, of the necessity to discuss in leaning on the experiences of the life of the Workers States.

The recent crisis of Poland shows the necessity for the discussion of the theory, of the programme, of the policy of experience. There exists the necessity for the return to the constituted organisms of the Workers State, to socialist democracy, proletarian, soviet democracy, in such a way as to be able to develop the power which is still contained, of the Workers States, on the basis of the development, the direct interior line of the re-establishment of soviet organs. All the economic, political plans for the military preparation to confront Yankee imperialism and the capitalist system are determined by the established organs of the development of the forces, of the creative capacity of the masses. These are the democratic soviet organisms of functioning. The democratic form of interior functioning is fundamental for the solution of all the problems of the Workers States. That also allows one to cope with the greatest strength, the elevation and the development of the economy, of policy, of military capacity.

All the problems in discussion including those of the economy have to be on the basis of the historic experiences realised until the present. In Czechoslovakia, the market economy and the decentralisation of planning have failed, just as the functioning on the basis of the technocrats and the planners has. The position represented by Sik and Dubcek is the result of the absence of revolutionary communist organs, of soviets. It is these which allowed the intervention of the masses. Poland shows again that these positions have been checked. It is necessary to discuss these problems, because they determined the later course of the development of the economy and all soviet society. The problems of the market economy, of the way, and of the organisation of planning, of the contribution, of moral stimulants can only be determined by the participation of the masses. If the masses participate, the whole process of the development of the economy, of policy, of the military preparation against imperialism will acquire an infinitely greater effect.

It is necessary to face up to these problems. Never have the problems of social, economic, political and military development been so narrowly united and interdependent with the development of the socialist revolution, the preparation, and the perspectives of the atomic war, and the necessity to solve the problems of the divergences, of the contradictions, of the conflicts with the Communist Party of China, with the other communist parties, with the object of realising a world united front against the imperialist and capitalist systems. The planning of the Soviet Union must be organised in such a way as to be united, unified with this necessity.

We believe that it is necessary, as a consequence of all the recent experiences, of the divergences, which exist in the communist camp, for a return to marxism, to the marxist method, with the effect of being able to analyse, to be able to draw out the experiences of the development of the world socialist revolution, and to reiterate the need for the participation, the organisation of the masses, in organisms with the object of being able to canalise the creative capacity, and the will of the masses, to weigh on the world course of the socialist revolution in the economy, in the military sphere. This will have an immense effect on the North American masses.

If the North American masses see in the Workers States, the objective development of the socialist democratic political life, of the participation of the masses, of discussions, of public political life, of demonstrations, assemblies, discussions of all the problems of the economy, of the policy, of the military problems, the problems of science, of art, the resolution of all the problems, which impel society, on the basis of the economy, this will have an enormous influence on the North American masses to help them to decide, and to impel them to the organisation of the class, revolutionary independent organisms, the mass marxist Workers Party based on the trade unions, to give organic, historic, revolutionary forms to the intervention of the masses to smash Yankee imperialism, to subject, impede, defeat it, to help the masses of the world to defeat Yankee imperialism.

It is necessary to take into account in every way the North American masses who already participate in the world socialist revolution, although in an inorganic form, without their own organisms, but they already weigh within the United States, oblige Yankee imperialism to modify its plans, they distort and disintegrate

part of the economic and military forces of Yankee imperialism. This is expressed in capitalism's lack of will to struggle, in the crisis in the Senate, in the mobilisations of the students, in the struggles of the masses, in the mobilisations and strikes, including the police. All this must be considered as an integral part of the forces of the world socialist revolution and that of the Soviet Union. For this reason it is necessary to rely on, and discuss this situation in the world as one of the necessary conditions for the planning, the economic, political, social plans, and the revolutionary objectives of the Soviet Union.

We believe that one of the fundamental points to resolve is the necessity for the organisation of the anti imperialist, anti capitalist united front. This discussion of the 24 Congress of the CPSU is made on the base of the perspectives that imperialism is preparing the war, and that at any time it can be unleashed.

We believe that the measures, the intimidations, the preventive actions, which the Soviet Union has made in relation to Yankee imperialism, have the effect of containing imperialism, it concretely dissuades an action, or measure, as imperialism pushes forward in Laos, Cambodia or Vietnam, but these cannot dissuade it from preparing to launch the war. Imperialism will do so at any moment, when it finds the opportunity or through desperation at feeling itself besieged. With this perspective, it is necessary to make all the economic, political, revolutionary plans of the Soviet Union.

For this a world appeal for an anti capitalist, anti imperialist front is necessary, an appeal for the unconditional support for all the revolutionary struggles of all the peoples of the world. The political, economic, military support already in part realised by the Soviet Union should be made in a more extensive form, publicly, but above all politically; seeking agreement and understanding in a world united front of all the revolutionary tendencies, above all the communist tendencies like ourselves the IV International. This has the effect of increasing the theoretical, political, organisational, tactical capacity to be able to intervene, attract and give conscious forms to movements beginning with the left Christian Democratic bases, the nationalist bases, to elevate themselves to the socialist revolution. Like the revolutionary movements in Latin America, Asia throughout the world, we believe that this is the fundamental aspect of this process.

## ACT FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

It is necessary to discuss all these problems, and we believe that our participation is necessary. It is necessary to count upon this in the world class and revolutionary struggle with the object of aiding the solution of problems. While impelling the economic development of the Soviet Workers State and the Workers States of the world, it is necessary to impel the world development of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to aid the revolutionary states to become Workers States, to advance in socialist revolution. It is necessary to make the nationalist revolutions and movements advance towards revolutionary states and Workers States.

The economic problems of the Soviet Union must be considered together with all these problems. The Soviet Union realises partially this activity with its aid to the masses of Vietnam, of Syria, of the Middle East, in part of Latin America. It is a response to this necessity, but still in a very partial way, not homogeneous, not planned, which prevents in consequence a greater deepening and extension of the aid, the solidarity, and the united front with the revolutionary struggles of the world. It is necessary to do this in a conscious way, linking the participation, the political activity, the planning, to the necessity of fixing the revolutionary concrete objectives in such a way as to be able in a brief delay, to elevate the progress of the world socialist revolution.

It is necessary to envisage the immediate possibilities, for new advances of the revolution, and the coming to power of the Communist Parties as in Italy and France. It is necessary to envisage the crisis of capitalism in Europe, in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa. The totality of the capitalist system is breaking up, is being destroyed within itself. It is disintegrating. The interior crisis of the bourgeoisie is the expression of this. The acceleration of the preparation of the atomic war is the answer to its own social, political and economic powerlessness. It cannot contain or stop the world development of the socialist revolution. All these problems are part of the internal concern of the Soviet Union to develop its military, social, economic, political plans.

The CP and the government of the USSR answer to all the problems, but in a way which we believe is still unilaterally feeble and limited, which still allows Yankee imperialism to remain. Never have the developments, of the policy, the plans, the perspectives, of the world socialist revolution been so narrowly linked and connected with the atomic war, which imperialism is preparing. All the problems must be submitted to this, Yankee imperialism is preparing the atomic war; Israel, Jordan, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, are so many bridgeheads of Imperialism.

## THE WHOLE WORLD IS IN REVOLUTION

In Europe, in Latin America, in Asia and Latin America, and in Africa, there is a constant disintegration of the capitalist apparatus. All the forces that serve the capitalist system are being affected by the revolution, the police, the army, the church, the administrative organs of capitalist power in the university. There are strikes of firemen, police, military as in Sweden. In Sweden the soldiers demand the right to organise themselves in trade unions. The police in Paris demonstrate to put themselves in contact with the population. The police of the Argentine go on strike in solidarity with the strikers. The firemen of Paris make demonstrations and ally themselves with the students in the streets. The representative organs of the capitalist system yield, continue disintegrating before the unconquerable force of intelligence and reason which is the world socialist revolution.

The masses of England, of France, Italy, of Holland, of Latin America, of the Argentine, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Mexico all the masses of Africa and Asia are in a constant advance of the revolution. The organs serving capitalism are affected, influenced by the revolution and its disintegration. Imperialism will respond with the atomic war before allowing itself to disintegrate. It can still sustain itself through the enormous military strength which it has, but it cannot do so for much longer. Hence it is necessary to base oneself on this situation, on the world advance of the revolution to launch oneself forward to the taking of power in every country.

In the Christian Democratic parties, serv-

ants of capitalism, bases of support for capitalism in Europe, and in part of Latin America also, there is an enormous disintegration. Complete wings are won by the revolution and revolutionary ideas. In the socialist movement and nationalist movement also. There is a permanent progress of the influence of the revolution on these movements, which express themselves in a programmatic and political form. On this basis it is necessary to determine the intervention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to help the developments of these movements. For this reason it is necessary to make a world strategy with the economic, social, military plans of the Soviet Union in co-ordination, in combination in the perspective of this process. It is necessary to consider that Yankee imperialism is going to launch the war in a short stage. The reply must be military-political, but the solution is revolutionary.

For this reason there is the necessity to prepare, and to co-ordinate all the communist parties of the world, all the Workers States, to make a co-ordination of economic, political, military planning, a planning of all the Workers States, and communist parties of the world, and of these with the revolutionary, nationalist, Christian Democrat, socialist movements; a united front of all the workers organisations, of the trade union centres, of all the workers parties, and great trade union organisations of the world against imperialism; for the planning of political action has the effect of smashing the plans of imperialism and impelling the world socialist revolution. These are all plans, which

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2  
must be united to the analysis, to the development of the economy of the Soviet Union. On this basis it is necessary to develop at the same time the discussion in the communist camp; the discussions to overcome the divergences between the communist parties of China, of the Soviet Union, of Albania, of Rumania, of Poland etc.

This recent crisis of Poland shows this necessity, and the existence in all the Workers States of the bases to be able to resolve it. The masses want to intervene, they want to discuss, they want to decide. They want to participate in socialist democracy. On this basis, it is necessary that it should exercise a very great concrete and great historic interest on the North American masses. It is necessary to count on the North American masses, to attract them, to influence them consciously in organised forms, in this process of the world socialist revolution.

It is necessary for an appeal to discuss all the problems of divergences between the Workers States, to see they can be discussed publicly, so that the exploited North American masses, the African masses, the masses of Asia, of Latin America feel and see the Workers States, to discuss the problems of the economy, of policy, to militate in a public form without fear, so that they see that they do not respond to the interests of caste, of cliques, of apparatuses, but that they must respond to the interests of the objective development of the socialist revolution, and for this it is necessary to make the organs function so that the masses participate to create soviets, democratic, socialist organs of discussions dealing with all problems.

The planning of the economy is determined by the objective interest of the welfare and development of the masses, of the conquests of the economy, of policy, of science, and of the technique in the service of the socialist revolution, so that it is not determined by apparatuses, by cliques which decide, but by socialist democratic intervention and planning of the masses, which is what can then decide to determine and impel without limits, the interest of the development of the socialist revolution. On the other hand the cliques, the apparatuses determine the economy, the military, social, and political plans in accord with a caste or group interest, of a sector and this limits in consequence the historic capacity, the capacity itself of the Workers States. They do not take account of the invincible capacity of the Workers State, which is the participation of the masses.

#### INFLUENCE THE MASSES OF NORTH AMERICA

The planning of all the Workers States is necessary. They have to have a discussion to plan the economy of all the Workers States, to tend to plan the economy, production, military objectives, the plans for aid to the development of the world socialist revolution, a public discussion where the masses of the Workers States can intervene, in the trade unions, in the workers areas, in the factories, in the party, in the cells and the reanimation of the soviets. It is necessary to establish the functioning of the soviets. The present reports from within the Soviet Union, Poland, and even from China indicate the desire, the demand, the concern for the restoration of the soviets. We believe that it is necessary to reestablish consciously the functioning of the soviets immediately.

The Soviet-Chinese differences the conflicts, the attempts at armed confrontation, the social, political and economic differences weigh in a considerable way on the masses of the United States. The North American masses, cannot be attracted, nor stimulated to organise their revolutionary class organisms, when they feel that the Soviet Union and China discuss, polemicise, confront themselves, insult each other, and quarrel mutually and see that they do not respond to the objective interests, of the economy, or the socialist development of the revolution. They do not see logical, scientific, dialectical arguments. They see lies, insults, disagreements. There are no marxist discussions. Then they can only exercise on the North American masses, a very limited influence. They impede the influence and authority, which China and the Soviet Union have on the North American masses, an authority, which comes from scientific, economic, social and political development. They have a great influence on the North American masses, but this cannot help them in organisation. This has the effect of paralysing, of creating an obstacle, a diversion, indecision among the North American masses. These need understanding, the help of the Workers States, with the object of organising their revolutionary class organisms to make a revolutionary and independent movement against imperialism, to organ-

# Letter to the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

ise consciously the North American masses, and with the masses of the world to help to smash Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to take into account that the North American masses are an essential factor in this process of the world socialist revolution.

We believe that there must be a public discussion on "returning to marxism". It is necessary to discuss all the experiences of the socialist revolution, the world development of the socialist revolution, the return to the soviets. In this Centenary of the Paris Commune, the North American masses, the masses of the world feel the necessity for a world co-ordination to smash imperialism. "All humanity is in agreement". Humanity even without the Mass Communist International already functions as an historic International. Humanity seeks to articulate its movements, its mobilisations, seeks the way

#### FOR A NEW DISCUSSION BASED ON MARXISM

This is the epoch of intelligence and reason. The masses want to weigh, tend to weigh. It is not possible to advance more by being based on the apparatuses. It is necessary to have the discussion, the programmatic formulation, the experience, the dissemination of the experience, leaning on the conscious advance of the revolution, the programme, the policy. It is necessary to discuss again on the basis of Marxism. In this epoch "humanity seeks agreement among itself".

It already shows itself to be unified to crush Yankee imperialism. It is because of this that it has been crushed and beaten in Laos. Humanity intervened there with a common accord, seeking to link up its world forces in the measure, where a

to inter influence and to weigh, and to concentrate all its measures, the actions of progress. The proof lies in the support of all the masses of the world to Vietnam, to the masses of Laos, and of Cambodia, the freedom for Angela Davis, the Mexican political prisoners, including the six arrested Trotskyists, those condemned in Burgos. For this reason in the most backward countries of the world, the mass movements assume the most advanced forms from the point of view of programme, policy, military objectives and struggles. In so far as they can do it, they have the means, they tend to assume power. It means that they are attracted by the most advanced aspects of the socialist revolution. The peasants of the European Common Market, the police, the firemen adopt methods, from the struggle of the proletariat, and are influenced, and won by their struggles.

conscious centre, which directs the process does not exist.

It is necessary to go back to the mass Communist International. Everywhere in the most backward places, as in the most advanced, the masses are mobilising, moved by the same sentiments, impelled by the same revolutionary political objectives; to install themselves in power. It is on this basis that the 24th Congress must discuss. This linking together is produced in an empirical fashion, because it lacks the Mass Communist International, which before, during and after the war, remains irreplaceable. It is necessary to discuss the preparation of the atomic war, as much from the economic, political and social points of view, as for the

military, with a view to confronting the devastation, which imperialism is going to cause.

It is necessary to discuss the economic plans of the USSR starting from a return to marxist planning, and not starting from the interests of the technocrats, of the planning technicians. As in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky, the epoch of the seven first years of the USSR discussion must be the basis. These years have shaken all the history of humanity, for they have given the fundamentals of a new stage in history, a new cycle of human life; that is to say the Workers State. It is necessary to begin to discuss in a planned way, based on soviets. Make discussions where all the masses give their opinions, for the planners have a very limited capacity. They can only see on the basis of a reduced, limited group interpretation.

It is completely absurd and false to speak of the market economy. During the 7 first years of the USSR, and under the leaderships of Lenin and Trotsky, they planned with the participation of the masses, and on this they created the bases for a new epoch in human history. This was not a market economy, but a planning on the basis of the intervention of the party, of the trade unions and of the masses. This is what it is necessary to go back to. Far from being a retreat, it will be a powerful factor of progress for the USSR and the world socialist revolution. Progress is in effect determined by the centralisation, nationalisation of production and centralised leadership. It is necessary to start from these irrefutable historic experiences, but enlarging them to soviet organisms of discussion, of planning, of decisions, which allow the elimination of bureaucratic functioning, the existence and the weight of the bureaucracy. It is necessary to permit the participation of the trade unions, the soviet organs from the districts, the factories, the regions. It is necessary to take account of the interests of the masses in planning. Also it is necessary to order the production in such a way as to respond to these needs, together with the military needs, to crush Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to support the world socialist revolution, in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, unconditionally.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

policy. All this has the marks of retreating into the bourgeois cocoon, and hoping that something will turn up.

On the other hand opposite tendencies are at work, which as yet are not prepared, and do not comprehend enough to use all their strength to develop a new leadership. The maturing of the growing dissatisfaction with the present impasse in the LP can be seen in a variety of incidents. Mikardo at the meeting of the Scottish TUC said, it would be good if those already discredited were no longer leading the party, Renee Short has attacked parlour pinks (although one would hardly call her a raving red) and Wedgewood Benn called for a May Day greeting to the Chinese workers, and demanded trade union time on Television; his positions are characterised by vagueness, but in the main reflect a confused desire to open a communication between the LP and the masses. These are only limited expressions of what is undoubtedly a profound process in the LP. The ease with which the Women's Section was abolished in the LP, a healthy step we thoroughly support is also an indication of the depth of interior entristment. The process in the LP parallels similar problems in the French and Italian C.P.s i.e. the objective process develops rapidly, but the problem of leadership takes time to overcome, an organisation such as the LP cannot be changed overnight. The turn to Labour shown in the Local Elections, although there are not the most important centre of class intervention will increase the pressure on the LP.

Similarly, there is a suppressed crisis in the British CP. This is most clearly expressed at the moment by the results of the recent conference of the YCL—there, a massive current is against the line of conciliation of the official leadership, and this reflects a situation throughout the CP, where the desire for a more coherent policy uncompromised by right wing electioneering grows, and finds no solution at the top level. If the CP in the local elections inevitably weighs, it does so with a tendency still to intervene at a low level from the programmatic point of view, it does not utilise all the means that it has to propel the vanguard, and above all their understanding, because there is still a block on a comprehensive political discussion, and consequently the

real weight of the CP in the vanguard and the LP is only quarter used. There is certainly an objective united front between the LP and CP vanguard, but it has still not found the proper conscious organic form. The fact that the Posadists are still not accepted by the leaderships—as opposed to the workers at the base of the CP—as part of the international communist movement, means an absurd limitation in the understanding on how to take power.

In the actual class struggle the masses are in no way contained by the impoverished response of the leaderships. On the contrary, they advance in understanding and confidence. For example, the Ford workers made a fundamental criticism of the way the union leaderships handled the recent strike, and attacked the whole conception of "secret ballot" as a weapon used to diminish the effectiveness of discussion. On the basis of this, it is possible to advance to further demands to effect union democracy i.e. the right of immediate revocability of mandates; no official to have more than the average wage. The continuous process of the unions calling for comprehensive socialist programmes and policies is shown again by DATA calling for the general strike and the nationalisation of the car industry.

The ambience in Britain is one which demands the total overthrow of the exist-

ing social order. Even a small incident such as that at Croydon, where a headmaster was overruled in his efforts to discipline the pupils shows the pressure of social criticism, and the inability of the government of Heath to create a counter climate of repression—save on the narrow bourgeois base that sustains him.

Imperialism and capitalism lose all initiative and capacity. In this over mature situation for the overthrow of capitalism, we renew our appeals for the anti capitalist programme to be adopted by all the class organisations, LP, CP, Trade Unions on the basis of the participation of the masses in factory committees, workers area committees, mass assemblies, and we appeal to the LP and the CP and the trades councils for the right of the IV International, the Posadists to be able to intervene as a recognised integral part of the world communist movement in the political organisations of the masses.

Prepare the way for the General Strike to impose the Left Labour government on the basis of the anti capitalist programme. Form the factory committees, workers area committees, mass assemblies. Nationalisation under workers control! All wages to rise with the cost of living. All the profits of automation to the workers. All education to be related to the needs of the masses. Out with British troops from Ireland. Out of NATO! For a European workers centre. For the Socialist Soviet United States of Europe.

## Reply to the Tribune attack on the L.P.Y.S. by pushing forward the struggle for the new leadership in the Labour Party

We denounce the attack, which was made on the L.P.Y.S. conference in Tribune by Key and Walsh. The conclusion of their article was to direct the Labour Party leadership to take administrative measures against the Y.S. This attack, which has the objective of intimidating the left, has to be met by the Y.S. with a more aggressive activity, to win acceptance for the Y.S. programme in the Labour Party and unions, and to isolate the right wing as a step towards the construction of a new revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

It is necessary to draw conclusions on all these.

The recent experiences of Poland and Czechoslovakia demonstrate that the market economy leads to the organisation of technocratic layers, which dominate the economy, and later wish to express their interests politically. This policy of theirs is alliance with imperialism, with capitalism. They take measures which prevent the development of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to go back to the planning of the Soviet economy on the basis of the development of the economy, based on foreseeing and preparing for the atomic war, by calling at this very moment for the development of the world socialist revolution.

We repeat our appeal to resolve the problems of the differences between the Workers States. It is necessary to make a public discussion and return to marxism. We appeal for a return to marxism, to discuss all the recent experiences of the development of the socialist revolution in France, in Italy, in Belgium, in England among other places. Ripe conditions exist in these countries for the struggle for power. It is necessary to discuss the ways to be able to help the masses of these countries, the communist parties, the socialist parties, by appealing for a United Front of all the workers and communist organisations, of all the revolutionary tendencies, with a view to crushing what remains of the capitalist system.

The fundamental problems of the economy must be determined by these conclusions, and then rectified in this sense; no individual cars, but on the contrary means of collective transport. The plans of agricultural production must be rectified. The backwardness in this domain in relation to industrial production is determined by the absence of social revolutionary structures. The Sovkhoses must be increased, and the intervention of the masses in the Kolkhoses must be con-

stantly elevated, with a view to passing in a short delay, and in an infinitely greater proportion, to the generalisation of the sovkhoses with the perspective of eliminating the kolkhoses. Production must be made in a collective way, eliminating the backward forms of production, the kolkhoses, to eliminate individual interest and functioning. This is the basis for gigantic growth of agricultural production.

But here still the soviets are necessary. The life of the CP, the political life of the masses in assemblies, meetings, discussions, publications is the only way so that all the masses can participate, to go towards the reanimation of marxist thought. A certain regeneration takes place in the functioning, in the thinking, in the activity in the CP. This is still very partial and very backward in relation to the world ascent of the socialist revolution. The masses of the world put imperialism to flight in Laos and Cambodia, and elsewhere impell the CPs and the Workers States to regenerate partially. The masses force them to break the apparatuses, and to have to take into consideration their way of seeing things. It is on this that we base ourselves to launch our appeal to the leadership of the CPSU in order that the plans of production and of development of the country are based on soviet organisms, on the independence of the trade unions, on the life and the participation of the masses; factory assemblies, zonal and regional assemblies with a view to impell, to stimulate their revolutionary thinking. We believe that these are the fundamental measures.

#### RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE WORKERS STATES

Because of its influence, because of the determinant weight of the USSR in the world development of history, this congress must function as a true representative of the will of the people of the world. They wish to overthrow the capitalist system, but through other means than the United Nations, this "nest of bandits" as Lenin called it. This Congress must take into consideration as one of its essential aspects, the solution of the divergences between the Workers States, particularly between the USSR and China. It is necessary to launch an appeal to a world united front of all the Workers States, for a planning which takes into account not only the development of the USSR, but the development of measures which stimulate the revolution, and the re-establishment of the liaison and the co-ordinated functioning of the communist parties. The massive assistance of all the revolutionary tendencies of the world comes from the fact that they want to make of the Soviet Union a centre of functioning of the Communist International. It is not the question of making of the CPSU the leadership, but to act in such a way that the USSR gives a centre which permits it to meet, to discuss, to organise the programme and the action.

This Congress must launch an appeal for a World Anti-Imperialist Conference whose concrete objective would be to impel the United World Front against imperialism and the capitalism system. The planning of the economy between all the Workers States must stimulate the development of the production of the consumer articles not from an individual point of view, but from a collective one; increasing in particular housing and transport.

It is necessary to discuss the elimination of the differentials in salaries, going towards an equalisation of salaries in the USSR, which would be another source of influence on the american masses. The moral stimulus must be substituted in place of material stimulus.

Moral stimulus is in harmony with socialist ideas, of the well being, the human fraternity, communist sentiments. It impels humanity, it exerts an enormous influence on the american and world masses who are ready to take power.

The production plans must be based on moral stimulus, on the sentiments of moral solidarity, on communist consciousness. The progress of communism is expressed above all in human consciousness, and behaviour of social solidarity and understanding, of the moral stimuli. Anything which tends to stimulate materially tends to separate the components of society into individual interests. This is, in one way or another a continuation of the capitalist system. The Workers States already have the force, the capacity to replace, to eliminate all material stimulants in

favour of conscious stimulants. It is necessary to finish with the layers, the groups, who put themselves above society. The Workers States can already be determined by moral stimulants.

The Vietnamese masses, the masses of the Middle East, of the world who have made Yankee Imperialism fail in Laos show that they act in agreement with moral stimulus. Humanity already has a communist consciousness. This is what it is necessary to base the plans of production on, and as part of this eliminate the production of individual cars. In their place it is necessary to make coaches and collective means of transport. Instead of

money for great buildings, ministries, and houses for the leaders and the bureaucrats it is necessary to make houses for the population; to electrify all the country, to put in piped water for all the population and develop the means of aid to the world revolution. It is necessary to try in a short period to eliminate the Kolkhoses by integrating the Kolkhosian into the collective production in the countryside. In a short while this would increase production by 100%.

The resistance of the bureaucrats, of the interested groups of Kolkhosians would be compensated by the active participation, by the will of the masses of the USSR to surmount any obstacle, which the existence of this form of property signifies. This would be an encouragement to the world socialist revolution; an example for the peasant masses of Africa, of Asia of Latin America to see how to organise themselves in order to lead forward the revolution. All these plans must be made in relation to the preparation of the atomic war, which Yankee Imperialism is preparing.

At the same time it is necessary to push forward a plan of discussion in all the Workers States, on the reason for the differences between the Workers States. What are the plans for the construction of socialism? What means are there? What are the experiences which emerge from the construction of socialism? It is absurd that different plans exist, different measures or roads exist for the construction of socialism. There is only one form for the construction of the Workers State, and from there to socialism. They are the soviet forms, based on the participation of the masses, with organs, which eliminate all form of repression and oppression, or coercion on the masses. Organs are needed, which represent, and are directly lead by the masses. It is possible to do it and it must be discussed.

Such are the experiences, which emerge from the seven first years of the Russian revolution, and on which are based Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. This is also the experience of the Paris Commune, which found its triumph in the Russian revolution. It is in relation to all this that we want to participate, and we express our desire to collaborate in the discussions in the Congress of the CPSU.

We believe that it is urgent and neces-

sary to conduct such a discussion in such a way as to be able to envisage in a planned way, the perspectives of the atomic war, which Yankee imperialism is preparing. The enormous economic, social and scientific progress of the USSR can be tripled in a short period, by eliminating the obstacles, which material stimulus signifies. In effect they stimulate individual interests, and limit the creative capacity of ideas, of solidarity, of fraternity. This capacity is the most stimulating basis for the development of the economy of soviet society, of the Workers States and of the world socialist revolution.

We believe that it is necessary to base all this discussion on the fundamental following points. The intervention of the USSR in unconditional and public support for the world development of the socialist revolution; the planning of all the Workers States between themselves; the discussion to reorganise and reform the Mass Communist International on the basis of the objectives, of the programme of the socialist revolution; the elimination of all bureaucratic forms of organisation, of leadership, of planning, and of functioning. Also it is necessary to overcome the differences between all the Workers States by discussing in a revolutionary fashion to co-ordinate, homogenise the objective and revolutionary plans of action of all the Workers States against the capitalist system, and to give a world support to the socialist revolution. It is necessary to prepare at the same time, in order to confront the nuclear war which Yankee imperialism is going to unleash, and to do it, by giving an unconditional support to the masses of the world in their fight for the socialist revolution. This is the most complete form to prepare the intervention for the atomic war.

It is necessary to programme the next plans in the USSR in relation to the development of soviet organisms, eliminating the kolkhoses to elevate the collective forms of agricultural production. It is necessary to eliminate the plan of individual production, of individual interest, to eliminate the market economy to the profit of the planned economy on the basis of soviet functioning, to eliminate the differences of salary, and tend to make them equal, to eliminate all hierarchy and all differences of category, be it in the army, in the economy, in society, or in the party. They are the forms of communist functioning, which will have an immense influence on the American masses, the masses of Asia, Latin America, Africa, which will consciously stimulate them towards communism.

The discussion of the plans must be based on the experience of the Paris Commune, of the 7 first years of the Russian revolution, of the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. Planning must be conscious, and soviet, with a view to allowing the development of the creative, marxist, soviet capacity of the masses of the Soviet Union, of the CP of the USSR. It is necessary to appeal for the mass Communist International, for the planning between themselves of the Workers States, which by itself is going to augment the economic, political, military and social power, and the historic influence on the masses of the world, especially the American masses.

It is on all these problems that we wish to discuss and ask for our participation at the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

We salute with our revolutionary affection and our solidarity the soviet masses, the masses of the Soviet Communist Party, and express our desire for a powerful stimulus to the plans of the economy, to the revolutionary development of the USSR, and to the world development of the socialist revolution.

For the solution of the differences between the Soviet Union and China, for the world United Front, the planning of all the Workers States, with the objective of crushing what remains of the world capitalist system.

**LONG LIVE THE WORLD DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.**

**LONG LIVE THE UNIFICATION OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES.**

**LONG LIVE THE SOVIET UNION.**

**LONG LIVE THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.**

**LONG LIVE SOCIALISM.**

International Secretariat  
of the IV International

22 March 71.

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## Letter to the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

### The first anniversary of the death of Olavo Hansen

One year ago, our comrade Olavo Hansen, militant of the POR(T) the Brazilian Section of the IV International, leader of the Textile Federation of Sao Paulo, who for a long time had been an engineering trade union militant and leader, was arrested coming out of a 1st May meeting. He met his death 12 days later, murdered under torture. It is with all our revolutionary pride and affection that we remember his example on this first anniversary of his murder.

Today the trade unions of Sao Paulo render homage to his struggle and to his courage, and important currents within the unions continue and elevate his struggle with a view to constructing class trade unions, instruments of struggle of the working class to overthrow the government, the dictatorship, the capitalist regime, in order to construct socialism.

The death of Olavo Hansen has been the starting point of a great campaign of denunciation, organised by the Brazilian Trade Unions against the tortures. This campaign has been made through interventions with parliamentary representatives, through declarations, meetings, and different types of actions, which have continued to grow throughout the year.

The murder of Olavo Hansen was a part of the terrible campaign of repression against the P.O.R.(T) the Brazilian Section of the IV International, in which some ten of our comrades have been arrested, tortured, and who are still today in prison. According to the declarations of the torturers themselves, the objective of this murder and of the repression against the trotskyists was to destroy those who "even if small in number, represent the greatest danger, for they have the programme and the policy; they have the intelligence".

In spite of this brutal repression, the POR(T) of Brazil continues all its activities, maintaining the regular, clandestine publication of its organ "Frente Operaria", developing its strength in the working class, in the trade unions, among the students and the intellectuals, through the communist and revolutionary nationalist vanguard.

We give our salute to the Brazilian Section of the IV International, and express our Posadist pride for his courage, his decision, his inextinguishable fusion with the leadership of the IV International, with Cde. Posadas.

Long Live the Brazilian Section of the IV International

Long Live the example of Olavo Hansen

Long Live the Programmatic and revolutionary political advance of the of the Brazilian masses

Long Live Cde. Posadas.



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**

**OUT WITH  
BRITISH  
TROOPS  
FROM NORTHERN  
IRELAND**

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 136/7 25th MAY 1971 PRICE 4p

# MANIFESTO OF THE 1<sup>st</sup> MAY 1971 OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

- TO THE EXPLOITED AND LABOURING MASSES OF THE WORLD
- TO THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, SOLDIERS, INTELLECTUALS, CLERKS
- TO THE MASSES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, SOCIALIST PARTIES, LEFT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENT
- TO THE NATIONALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS
- TO THE MASSES OF PALESTINE, EGYPT, SYRIA, ALL THE MIDDLE EAST
- TO THE MASSES OF LAOS AND CAMBODIA
- TO THE HEROIC PEOPLE OF VIETNAM
- TO THE MASSES OF THE SOVIET UNION, OF CHINA, OF CUBA, OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, OF POLAND AND OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES.

*This first of May 1971 shows an immense, imposing, uncontrollable advance of the world development of the socialist revolution. The uncontrollable advance of the revolution is the most decisive and important aspect of this stage of history. Everywhere in all continents the revolution advances, progresses, extends itself in profundity, in the elevation of political, social and programmatic content. Yankee imperialism, world imperialism, world capitalism are defeated on a world scale, and in each country. In all the continents the masses of the world defeat imperialism and capitalism. The masses seek to link themselves together, to unify themselves, to centralise themselves in common actions of the united front. Even if divided into parties in different trade unions and workers centres, in distinct communist, socialist, Trotskyist, left Christian democrat, nationalist, currents, the masses tend to unify themselves in action, and to elevate themselves together, in a centralised way in the struggle against the capitalist system.*

The struggles of the proletariat, the methods of the class struggle and revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, which are the methods of struggle against the capitalist system, against authority, against capitalist centralisation are influencing and organising the activity of the whole of society. In Sweden a fundamental majority sector of the military including soldiers and officers organised themselves in trade unions to demand the same right as civilian functionaries, and the same social treatment between soldiers and officers; the right to be able to function and decide as trade unions in the army.

The police of Paris organise demonstrations to explain to the population that they are not responsible for, and are against the repression. They come out to answer to the hatred, to the resistance, and to the rejection of the population against the terroristic, repressive function of the police. The firemen of Paris, launch demonstrations of protest, sitting down in the streets, resorting to proletarian methods. The young students of 14-18 demonstrated to the number of 80,000 in Paris, and succeeded in liberating an arrested student comrade.

The proletariat influences, orientates, determines with its action the behaviour, conduct, militancy against the capitalist system, of the other sectors of the population; employees, petit bourgeoisie, police, soldiers, nationalists, left Christian Democrats. The progress of the revolutionary struggles is incessant. In every part of the world such struggles develop.

The farmers of Europe unite and demonstrate to the number of 100,000 in Brussels against the European Common Market, in defence of its livelihood. They resort to methods of confrontation with the police, demonstrations, meetings, and

the seeking for an alliance with the workers trade unions.

The triumph of the Popular Unity in Chile in the political elections was followed by its triumph in the municipal elections, with increases in votes by 20%. The triumph in Japan of the communist-socialist administrations, capturing the administration in the principal cities in Japan, among them Tokyo and Osaka; the continuation of the triumph of the Social Democracy in Germany, on the base of the programme for the opening of diplomatic, economic and social relations with the Workers States, which means the moving away from the absolute dependence on Imperialism; the triumph of the revolutionary movement in Bolivia, led by General Torres, supported on the trade unions, and on the revolutionary parties, linked to the working class, among them the Trotskyists; the triumph of a socialist senator in Chile, Sepulveda, known for his Trotskyist tendency; the development, the progress of proletarian unification in Britain, in Belgium, in Germany, Holland, Italy, in France, in all Latin America; the development of the great struggles of the proletariat in the Argentine, in Uruguay; the development of the Frente Amplio in Uruguay, which is a centre of political concentration, of political alliance between the petit bourgeoisie and the workers parties, Socialist, Communist, Trotskyist, and the great progress of this movement, concentrating the attraction of the immense majority of the population; the advance of the revolutionary nationalist process in Mexico, in Peru, throughout Latin America, the great strikes with factory occupations in the Argentine, and the development of the struggle of the masses, including the petit bourgeoisie throughout Latin Amer-

ica, in particular in the Argentine; the development of the crisis of growth of the Workers States, which expresses itself in the defeat of the tendencies which seek the policy of conciliation with the capitalist system, the policy of self management, of decentralisation, of the planning of the economy, the policy of the market economy; the defeat of these tendencies in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in the Soviet Union, which returns to the programme of centralised planning as in the epoch of Lenin; the development of the struggles of the masses in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, partly in Yugoslavia, which imposes itself on the leaderships of the Workers States to contain the decentralised measures, which facilitate the alliance with the capitalist system; the development of the revolutionary states, which advance with programmatic, econ-

omic, social, political measures, towards the establishment of new Workers States like Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Bolivia, Chile; the defeat of imperialism in Laos determined by the concentration and centralisation of the revolutionary action of the world proletariat, of the great strikes, of the mobilisations of the masses, workers, peasants, petit bourgeoisie, police, tend to weaken the apparatus of the capitalist system, to decentralise its forces, to disconcert its capacity for concentration, and to increase on the contrary the forces of the Workers States, the forces of the revolutionary world movement, of the anti capitalist and anti imperialist struggles, of the alliance of the Workers States, with the revolutionary masses of the whole world, with the revolutionary nationalist movements, soldiers, civilians, Catholics of the left and socialists.

## HUMANITY HAS TRIUMPHED OVER IMPERIALISM IN LAOS

Humanity has defeated imperialism in Laos. The struggles of the masses of the world have influenced the Workers States, and have impelled the masses to maintain, to increase, develop their resistance and opposition to the war, they have influenced the whole apparatus of the capitalist system, they have influenced the petit bourgeoisie, and great sectors of the public administration of the United States. Through them is expressed the world revolution in the United States. This is expressed in the Senate apparatus. It has divided, made North American capitalism vacillate, and doubt, and has produced internal division. This is the product of the world revolution, and of the advance of the revolution. This has contained the capacity for action of Yankee imperialism; it has disintegrated, and has prevented it from achieving the objective of smashing Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and afterwards invade China.

It is a world concentration of the process of the revolution, which expresses itself in actions in different parts of the world with a constant progress of the revolution i.e. the defeat of Yankee imperialism in Laos, the progress of the struggles of the masses in Europe, in Latin America, the organisation and development of new revolutionary states like Bolivia, the development and progress of others, like Algeria, Libya, Congo Brazzaville, Sudan, the partial progress, which means the seeking for the establishment, and the unification of the Workers States, is progress only in part. The progress was demonstrated in the 24 Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, which as central points had the resolutions for the appeal to the anti imperialist united front, the support for the anti imperialist struggles, the containing of the policy of decentralisation of planning, and of the market economy, and the turn to the centralised economy, as forces essential for the construction of socialism. The alliance and the world anti imperialist objective of all the masses of the world against imperialism and capitalism, the

unification of the university, peasant, worker, nationalist, communist movement, concentrates itself in measures, positions, actions against the capitalist system. It has provoked the partial withdrawal of imperialism from Laos, the interior division, the interior doubts and vacillations of the capitalist system, and of Yankee imperialism. They have contained it in their immediate objectives in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, and have impelled the struggle and development, the confidence and security in the world united front of the masses of the world.

"Imperialism is surrounded by the world revolution". It tries to justify its existence, to concentrate its strength, to defend itself from the progress of the world revolution, and seeks the reply of the atomic war. The world progress of the revolution has shown its uncontrollable power. "Humanity seeks to find agreement with itself". In different parts of the world, revolutionary developments are realised in different forms. But all seek in the process of elevation, to smash the Capitalist system, together with the development of the resolutions of the 24 Congress of the CPSU, which appeals for the United Front against imperialism.

It is a fragmented process, which seeks to articulate itself. It has no conscious leadership, it is not planned. The programmatic leadership is missing, based on the anti imperialist, anti capitalist programme. The world revolutionary leadership does not exist, nor does the leadership of the communist parties, or of the Workers States exercise the function of a leadership, nor appeal for the constitution of a world united front to co-ordinate the struggle against the capitalist system in a programmatic form. They appeal for the unification of this movement, but do not appeal for the creation of an organism. In spite of the absence of organisms, the whole of humanity seeks to link itself up in these struggles. All

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

# MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY 1971

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the nationalist, left Christian Democrat movements, Socialist, Communist movements seek to link up. The base and the centre of this linking are the most elevated processes of the revolution, they are the socialist measures of the revolution.

Every movement, which begins, even in a limited form, a struggle of resistance to capitalism and imperialism in as much

as it wins the support of sectors of the masses, tends immediately to take on the character of anti capitalist, socialist measures. Humanity has already felt that progress lies in the struggle against imperialism, against capitalism, for the measures of planning, of collectivisation, which tend to elevate the process of production to the benefit of the great masses of the country and directed by them.

## THE ADVANCE OF THE UNIFICATION OF THE MASSES

In the trade union movements of France, Italy, Germany the masses through the trade union leaderships seek to intervene in a decisive form in the leadership of society. They exercise the function of trade union leaderships, centralisers of the masses and at the same time act partly as political leaderships. This process occurs because of the resistance, the negative attitude, through the incapacity of the communist parties to exercise the function, of planned leadership of the revolution, appealing for the masses to organise themselves to take power, appealing for the United Front of the trade unions, the workers, communist, socialist, nationalist, left Christian democrat parties. In the absence of this role being fulfilled by the communist parties, the trade union movements in Germany, France, in Italy, in England the trade unions seek to respond to the great pressure of the masses for an anti capitalist, anti imperialist political solution. This is the process, which expresses itself also in the Argentine, in Bolivia and Chile. It expresses itself in every part of the world where the trade unions are, the essential factor in the centralisation of the masses.

These are the base for a world united front of all the revolutionary movements. It is imperialism which is in retreat. Imperialism had planned to invade Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam in order afterwards to invade China. Thus the atomic war was prepared. The result was the opposite. The masses of the world with their mobilisations paralyse imperialism, defeat it in Laos, force it to retire, and the answer is the triumph of the socialist communist united front in Japan, the socialist communist triumph in Chile, and soon the united front of the CPs, Socialists, Trotskyists, Communists, with the sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, who are impelled to free themselves from the capitalist system through the means of the Frente Amplio in Uruguay.

All the petit bourgeoisie, the functional sectors of the capitalist system, are influenced by the revolution. This process of the revolution influences the great masses of the world, and impels sectors and countries to take the road of anti capitalist measures. The triumph in the election in India of Indira Gandhi is a triumph against the capitalist system. Objectively the masses have voted for this conclusion. In the division of Pakistan, a sector seeks to make itself independent of the reactionary government of Yahya Khan, and proclaims its readiness to struggle for measures of socialisations and nationalisations.

The development of revolutionary struggles in Belfast takes the social road, overcoming religious divergences and produces confrontations, social struggles, in which the British proletariat is included. There is the development of the intervention of the peasant masses, as in the European Common Market, who now like the peasant masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America seek to centralise themselves in a united front with the proletariat, seeking the help and the leadership of the proletariat. There are the electoral triumphs of the socialist, communist parties, the nationalist, left Christian democrats. The progress of unification of the masses expresses itself in the concentration of the trade union struggles, much more than in the electoral struggles, it expresses itself in the united fronts in the great capitalist

countries of Europe, and in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The trade union united front and electoral front in France and Italy, in England, in Germany, in Belgium shows the inclination of the proletarian masses to attract the rest of the population, to unite in the anti imperialist, anti capitalist struggle. This is the world panorama of the revolution.

Imperialism is preparing the atomic war, but in the most difficult conditions itself. The masses of the United States have already been incorporated in the world process of the revolution. They feel and receive the influence of the world revolutionary process. They express it with their

## THE CENTRALISATION OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD ATTRACTS THE MASSES TO CRUSH CAPITALISM

It is the progress of the world revolution, which determines the conduct of humanity, which is influencing the progress of humanity, and weakens, and disintegrates the functioning of the capitalist system. It does not paralyse, nor is it going to paralyse. But it does disintegrate the force, and hinders its ability of concentration. Imperialism prepares the atomic war, and it is going to launch it, but in the worst conditions for its existence. Because the American masses are included in the revolution, and unified in the objective process of the world Anti-Imperialist United Front. Important sectors of the intellectuals, of the petit bourgeoisie, of the students, of the professional, workers and of the trade union leaders receive the influence of the world revolutionary process, and are unified with the masses of the world fighting against the Nixon administration, and against the political leadership of Yankee imperialism, favouring in this way the world development of the revolution, and being a factor in the integration in the world revolution. This is the objective process of the world revolution.

The big communist parties of the world grow and develop. The Socialists and the Trotskyists, the nationalist movements, and the left Catholics grow continuously and develop. There is a constant progress of the workers parties; communist, socialist, trotskyist, left christian democrat. All the process of the struggles lead to the need for the taking of power, to overthrow the capitalist system. Capitalism is impotent to maintain its authority over the petit bourgeoisie, it is in constant crisis. There is not any stable capitalist country. They are all in constant crisis, starting with Yankee imperialism. All the capitalist countries of the world. In Ceylon, a petit bourgeois sector, which intended to take nationalist measures, allied to the Communist Party, and to a group, which calls itself 'Trotskyist', but which does not belong to the IV International, which was expelled in 1960 from the IV International for collaborating with capitalism, all are in crisis. Even intending to make measures of progress in relation to the capitalist system, they are in crisis.

There is not a single stable capitalist country. All of them are shaken up by the mobilisation of the masses, by the intervention of the proletariat, which attracts the petit bourgeoisie, and the peasantry, and is proceeding to constantly take away political and social force from the

mobilisations against the war in Vietnam. There is the persistence, the obstinacy, the constant mobilisation of the masses, the intellectuals, of the students, and of sectors of the proletariat against the war in Vietnam, the great strikes against the capitalist system made by the police functionaries, by the state functionaries, by intellectuals, and employees linked to the preparation of atomic armaments, but won by the pressure of the masses, who declare themselves against the war in Vietnam, against the continuation of the manufacture of atomic arms. It is imperialism, which is feeling itself isolated, and is being surrounded by the masses of the world. This is the clandestine enemy. For this reason it hides its intentions. In Laos, it tried to invade, so that afterwards it could invade North Vietnam and China, and it had to withdraw. It is imperialism, which feels itself beaten into withdrawal with the intervention of the masses of the United States, who receive the influence of the world revolution, and express it by pressurising the Senate, and forcing an internal division, an internal struggle, containing the centralisation of the military, political functioning of Yankee Imperialism, weakening its capacity of action. It is like this in all the world capitalist system, in the capitalisms of England, of France, of Germany and Italy.

capitalist system, from the political parties, and leaderships of the capitalist system. And on the other hand it increases the influence of the proletariat on these sectors.

The refusal of the Communist Parties to take power, the lack of decision, and preparation of the CPs to take power, is expressed in a series of crises. Among these is the growing in importance and weight of the trade union sectors and the trade union movement in Italy, in France, in England, in Belgium. At the same time the emergence of tendencies, of groups, of mobilisations, of sectors of students and of the petit bourgeoisie, who in actions which are sometimes heroic—small group actions—try to replace the centralised leadership of the trade unions and the workers parties, trying to shake or attract the population to take anti-capitalist measures. They are expressions of the combativity, which express that the conditions already exist for the taking of power.

These "leftist" groups emerge in social conditions, which are already ripe for the taking of power. Because of this they can exist and proliferate. They are not products of the police. The police use them, they have police agents inside them, they have provocateurs, but they do not originate in the police. These groups have an origin in the existence of ripe conditions for the struggle for power, which is expressed in these conclusions, the mobilisations of the police and the firemen in Paris, who come out to speak with the population, and make sit down strikes in the street, like the workers. The mobilisation of the police in Argentina, who form trade unions and organise demonstrations against the government posing their own demands and supporting those of the population.

All these so-called "leftist" groups are an expression of the situation ripe for the taking of power, joined with the refusal of the communist and socialist parties, and the big trade union leaderships to organise the struggle for power. They facilitate in this way the persistence of the capitalist system, the persistence of the authority of the bourgeois parties on the sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, and certain sectors of the trade union leaderships and the proletariat.

Capitalism does not have the force to maintain itself. These so-called "leftist" groups would disappear immediately, would be absorbed as soon as the workers centres, the Communist, Socialist, left Christian Democrats did what the Trotskyists propose to do, and act with the Trotskyists to decide to replace, to liquidate, to overthrow the capitalist system. In this way the so-called "leftist" groups are going to be gained by the revolutionary struggle. It is necessary to give a social, political, revolutionary answer to them, to integrate them into the mass movement. They are an expression of the

discontent, of the refusal of the workers parties to take power, but at the same time also the decision of wide layers of the population, who show that they want to take power.

This is realised in a world panorama of progress of the revolution, in united front with the Workers States, of the revolutionary states, of the struggle of the worker, peasant, petit bourgeois, state employees, who are advancing in the progress of the revolution.

Yankee Imperialism is besieged constantly, more and more by the world revolution. It is not going to desist in its objective of the atomic war. It is going to seek the moment, in which it can launch the atomic war. It is not going to desist. It tries to gain time. It feels shaken internally, it vacillates, it doubts, but it is not going to abandon its objective of the atomic war. It seeks to gain time, to understand, to dominate, it tries to compensate for a lack of centralisation of the world capitalist system.

One of the essential aspects of the advance of the world revolution, is its affect on the capitalist system, which it disintegrates. Capitalism is completely unified in the interest of the world counter-revolution, of preparing and making the atomic war. But it is divided among itself by its immediate political ends. The advance of the revolution, the progress of the Workers States, the political crisis of growth of the Workers States provoke the disintegration of the capitalist system. The objective unification between the crisis of growth in the Workers States, in the Communist Parties, and the progress of the world trade union movement, the electoral and social progress of the Communist, Socialist, and left Christian Democrat, Trotskyist, nationalist parties, provoke the disintegration of the political unity of the capitalist system. And it is because of this that there are the struggles between them. The struggles of Yankee imperialism with French imperialism and German imperialism, the French bourgeoisie with the English. All the capitalist system feels shaken, has doubts, and vacillates, because the process of the revolution attacks its social base; the petit bourgeoisie, the middle sectors of capitalism, who feel shaken, timid, are frightened, and feel isolated and hesitating. But what decides are not these sectors, but it is big capital, the great international monopolies, who prepare the atomic war.

Because of this world imperialism directed by Yankee imperialism loses electoral force, loses social force, and increases its military concentration to make the atomic war, which it is going to launch in one way or another. This is the essential conclusion of this process of history. On the other hand, the progress of the world revolution is immense; the progress of New Workers States, the progress of the incorporation of new revolutionary states, like Chile, Bolivia, Peru. The progress of the struggle of the masses in the trade union and political field, the great success of the trade union, and centralised electoral mass movement in Italy, in France, in England, in Japan, in Chile, in Bolivia, in Uruguay. The immense progress of the unification of the struggle of the masses for the progress of the revolution.

The campaigns of unification of the masses, which have had world echoes are expressed as much in the trade union field as in the electoral field, in the social field, in the campaign for the liberation of the revolutionary prisoners like Angela Davis in the United States, like the prisoners in Mexico, among them the Mexican Trotskyists, and like the world concentration of forces in defence of the marxist nationalist militants imprisoned in Burgos. Such a campaign is not only the index of the world solidarity for the defence of the revolutionary movements, but it is the expression of the centralisation of the proletarian and world revolutionary vanguard, which attracts the masses of the world to concentrate and centralise to overthrow the capitalist system. This is the panorama of today in the world. This is the first of May 1971.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

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# MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY 1971

## THE POLITICAL INCORRECTNESS OF THE CHINESE GIVES IMPERIALISM FALSE AUTHORITY

The attitude of the Chinese Government and Communist Party, its seeking for measures, which tend to bring it closer to Yankee imperialism, affects the world process of the revolution. It is just and legitimate that the Chinese Government seek recognition of all the countries of the world. But its way of doing it is not good. The United Nations is not a centre, which facilitates the world development of the revolution. The world relation of forces are not decided there, nor in commercial agreements between countries. Only the impelling of the revolution determines this process, in the way that we have analysed.

Even if the USSR and the other Workers States are in the United Nations, it is outside this organisation that everything is decided. Yankee imperialism has been bombing Vietnam for 7 years, and UNO is still powerless. The USSR and the other Workers States must intervene outside this organism. Imperialism invaded Santo Domingo and there too UNO showed itself powerless. Yankee imperialism is the boss of Israel, spearhead of the counter-revolution in the Middle East. In what way has the United Nations changed anything? But neither the USSR, nor China, nor the CP have done what they could have, and they did not decide to prevent this action of Yankee imperialism. Everywhere, the struggle develops outside the United Nations. The USSR gives arms, economic and military aid to North Vietnam, to Indochina, the Middle East, Syria, Iraq, Egypt to prevent the action of imperialism. There again, it is outside the United Nations that the struggles of humanity find their solution, in the socialist progress of history.

The crisis of Yankee imperialism is expressed in the United States through the crisis of the Nixon administration. It is expressed in all the influence that the US masses receive from the world revolution, creating doubt, vacillation and division for imperialism, creating a thousand difficulties for the Nixon administration. The military and political concentration of the action of Yankee imperialism finds itself considerably weakened. It is necessary to start from the base that the American masses are united to the world revolution.

Instead of taking measures, which impel the struggles of the masses of the United States, by launching appeals to develop political and revolutionary action, united to the political actions of the masses of the United States and of the world, the Chinese Communist Party takes measures, which tend to give authority and political credit to Yankee imperialism, through the authority of Nixon. This is why the attitude of the Chinese CP is disconcerting and incorrect.

We appeal to the Chinese CP and government to correct such decisions, which are not the road for the diplomatic, commercial and political recognition of the Chinese Workers State. Once again we say that it should be recognised by all the countries of the world, but by revolutionary ways, and not by conciliation, which in this concrete case gives political authority to Yankee imperialism. The appeal of the Chinese to be recognised must on the contrary be accompanied by an appeal to the masses of the United States, showing strongly that Yankee imperialism in Vietnam has been bombing it for 7 years, that it seeks to invade China, the Middle East and to make the atomic war. This is the appeal which should be made. If Yankee imperialism recognises China before, it is because it could not do otherwise, thanks to the advance of the world revolution. All other forms of explanation tend to deceive the American masses, making them believe that the problem comes from a lack of understanding, from a confusion, from a lack of diplomatic co-ordination, or from the Sino-Soviet dispute.

It is necessary to show clearly that Yankee imperialism is the enemy of the Chinese revolution, and that it would be the same whatever the government was. Establishing commercial exchanges, taking diplomatic measures, is not the correct way to profit from the divergences, the weaknesses of the capitalist system. The correct method is to appeal to the Amer-

ican masses, the masses of the Middle East, of the Far East to overthrow imperialism and the capitalist system.

China has developed in the course of the last 20 years, in spite of the blockade of Yankee imperialism, in spite of the blockade of Stalin, of the CP and the Soviet government. It found support in the world revolution, which helped it to develop, preventing imperialism intervening, shackled by the advance of this revolution. This is the same way that the masses of the world have expelled imperialism from Santo Domingo; made the revolution advance in the Middle East, forcing the bureaucracy of the Workers States and the CPs to intervene, giving them support.

There then is the road to follow, and not this road of 'ping-pong', which makes the masses of the USA believe that it is a question of a problem of a lack of co-ordination, or of diplomacy, of understanding. No! This is an error, which is a question of a problem of a lack of the development, and the interests of the world revolution.

Imperialism is besieged by the world revolution. Politically and socially, it is in constant retreat. Economically and militarily it increases its power, but socially and politically, it diminishes it, and it is this, which is decisive. The world capitalist system finds itself now in this situation, and it has to take it into account globally. Consequently, it is necessary, to take measures, which tend to impel the revolution, the Workers States, the new Workers States, the progress of the CPs, the socialist, trotskyst, parties, the left Christian Democracy, the nationalists with a view of developing the revolution.

The attitude of the Chinese comes from their bureaucratic function; they defend regional interests, and not the international interests of the proletariat. Every Workers State must function according to the interests of the socialist construction of humanity. But each leadership, be it that of China, that of the USSR reflects the interests of the bureaucratic sector, which directs the country, and consequently does not express the interests of socialism. From there comes this division between the Workers States. It is not the result of a necessity, but of the policy of the leadership of the country. This is not proletarian internationalism! The construction of socialism is only made on the basis of the unification of all the Workers States. One cannot construct each country individually, reach socialism, and then unite it to other countries. Socialism is constructed by the common planning of all the Workers States. The policy of division of each of its leaderships, reflects the political interests of the leading layer, and not the interest of the structure of the Workers State, and the world future of socialism. We call for a discussion on this situation, and to finish with this policy, which the Chinese are making at this moment, and which still the Soviet Union and the other Workers States were and are doing. We appeal for a collective discussion in all the world communist movement, and the Workers States to establish a common policy, to plan the economy, the social, economic and political progress, with the aim of developing the Workers State towards socialism, confront world capitalism, and to overthrow what remains of the world capitalist and imperialist system.

China and the Soviet Union must make an agreement with the other Workers States to make a common policy against capitalism, and for a world anti-imperialist offensive. This is the true basis for the recognition of China by all the countries of the world.

The revolution is developing in the world, and capitalism is powerless to contain it. It intervenes militarily in several countries of the world. The United Nations are incapable of preventing it. It is correct to seek commercial diplomatic recognition for the Chinese Workers State, but not to make it at the expense of the revolutionary policy, and still less when world capitalism is going to be able to profit from it.

If on the other hand the Chinese sought to make agreements with the Sov-

iet Union and the other Workers States, this would favour all the later efforts for diplomatic and commercial recognition. And if this recognition wasn't made, the revolution continues to advance anyway, because it is not the least affected by it. It is not the economic problems which risk provoking difficulties in China; these problems would find their solution in the progress of the Sovietisation of China. The cause of the difficulties is the still bureaucratic regionalist policy of the Chinese, and of the Soviet bureaucracy, and the other Workers States. If all the Workers States made an agreement between themselves and planned their economy, production and policy, re-establishing the soviets and socialist democracy, the masses of the Workers States would influence the masses of the

United States and of all the capitalist world towards a revolutionary link up. This would guarantee the development of China.

Imperialism has no interest in recognising China, to develop diplomatic and commercial relations with her. It wants to crush the Chinese Workers State, because it is a permanent danger to the capitalist system. But Yankee imperialism tries to profit from this conciliatory attitude of the Chinese, to gain time to blackmail the USSR, and the other Workers States, and to present itself before the eyes of the governments of the Far East, as if it was capable of maintaining its political authority, and it can present itself to the Asian masses with the political authority, which only this attitude of the Chinese confers on it.

## THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKERS STATES IS THE CENTRE OF THE PROGRESS OF ALL HUMANITY

The division between the Communist Parties, due to the particular interests of the Communist Parties equally causes an immense damage to the world centralisation of revolutionary thinking. These divisions are not determined by the objective interest of the revolution, but by the regional interest of each Communist Party. It is necessary to go back to Marxism. What they are doing is not an application of Marxism! Marxism leads to the unification of all the Communist Parties, of all the Workers States, to the functioning of the World Communist International on the basis of an objective programme of development of the world socialist revolution, that is to say not in the interest of each country, or of each Communist Party, but in that of all the socialist countries, of the whole of the world revolutionary movement to overthrow, what remains of the capitalist system, and to construct socialism.

The fundamental aspect of this stage of history is the division between the Workers States, the lack of co-ordination between them, and the great C.P.s, and the workers centres, the world revolutionary trade union movements. The essential factor of progress is the unification of these states. The division, the lack of co-ordination, and of harmony is a factor, which permits the capitalist system to still continue to survive. The most important factor of progress of this stage of humanity is the unification of the Workers States, their economic social, political and military planning together. It is necessary to discuss all these problems and the reason for this division.

The masses of the world, among them those of the Workers States, of the different C.P.s and Socialist Parties of the revolutionary nationalist movements, of the left Christian Democrats feel affected and hesitant before the existence of this division, and before the attempts of countries like China to seek agreements with imperialism instead of seeking them with the Soviet Union.

After the defeat of the Yankees in Laos and Cambodia, after the electoral defeat of imperialism in Japan with the socialist, communist triumph, of the progress of the struggle of the masses throughout the world; to offer, as the Chinese do, a policy of "neighbourliness" with the United States, is to give political credit to Yankee imperialism. It is the least opportune moment. It is not an appropriate policy, which corresponds to the interest of the revolution. It is for the interest of the Chinese bureaucracy. It creates illusions, which contain the revolutionary offensive of the masses, and tends to give prestige to the policy of Nixon, when this has no prestige, or capacity to continue in the Middle East or to triumph. This policy gives him support, credit, time. And what imperialism wants is to win time, to see how to prepare the war, and when to decide to launch it.

It is necessary to develop, expand, stimulate the conviction that imperialism is preparing for the war. It is only through the counter revolution, the atomic war that capitalism seeks to be able to maintain to defend itself, to seek to confront the world revolution and to survive. It has no other way out.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## World Trotskyist Press

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

**BELGIUM:** *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi Belgium.

*Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi, Belgium.

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

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

**CHILE:** *Luch Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 10 D. Corroero San Miguel Santiago de Chile.

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

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

**FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc Hongar, 63 Rue Victor-Hugo 92 Courbevoie.

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# MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY 1971

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

What it is doing with China is simply to win time with the effect of concealing its intentions, to prepare the atomic reply later.

The masses of the world see and feel with surprise how the Communist Party of China seeks agreement with the United States, in place of seeking agreement with the USSR. Whilst they say to the Soviet Union that they are "agents of fascism", which is an insult and a calumny. Neither the leadership of the Soviet Union nor of the Communist Party are agents of fascism. They are bureaucrats, not agents of fascism. The masses of the world see a blow to its capacity for action, its political understanding, its political unification. This has a repercussion on the masses of the United States, because it impedes its understanding and its taking the party of independent, class revolutionary, political organisation. In the United States there is no independent class and mass party. This is the most important task, which it is necessary to undertake in the United States.

Every policy, which tends to contribute to this is a revolutionary policy. The recent ping pong diplomacy of the Chinese Communist Party and government goes against this objective interest to organise the independent revolutionary marxist party based on the trade unions of the masses of the United States.

On the other hand, the unification of all the Workers States, the social, political, economic planning, the discussion of all the problems, of all the Workers States will elevate the immediate confidence, and will teach the road forward to the masses of the United States, to organise their independent revolutionary party, based on the trade unions; the revolutionary marxist party to weigh in the decisions in the United States, and to enable the masses to take power before, during and after the nuclear war, which Yankee imperialism is going to launch.

Yankee imperialism is afraid of the atomic war, because it feels itself insecure, but it has no other way out than this. Neither in the economy, nor socially, nor politically can it compete with the Workers States. These are the forces which decide in history. And it is not a question of the economy in the abstract, but the social function of the economy. The Workers States show that they are infinitely superior to Yankee imperialism. The social regime of the Workers States is the one that determines the course of history. For this reason each new development of the revolution and movement of the masses acquires the physiognomy of the Workers State: nationalisations, centralised economy, planning of the economy, monopoly of foreign trade, elimination of private property and of the capitalist system. Yankee imperialism feels a void in history, doubts and vacillates. It feels that the masses of the United States are being influenced by the world revolution. It is necessary to facilitate this action to allow its independent revolutionary political organisation.

The unification of the Workers States, the public discussion of all the problems of the Workers States to unite among themselves, to plan their economies, the policy, and the programme, and military action, will have a decisive influence over the masses of the United States, and the rest of the masses of the capitalist countries of Germany, France, Italy, England, etc.

This is the most important task to realize in this stage of history to resolve the discussion, and the unification of all the Workers States. It is the appeal to discuss all the problems, which exist and the differences between the Workers States. These divergences are not caused by opposed interests of one or other Workers States, but, by the political leaderships of the Workers States, and of the communist parties, who promote this division and separation. The objective of socialist interest is common and united. There is a single road to construct socialism; it is the nationalisation of all the forms of property, the planning of production, the monopoly of foreign trade, the soviet functioning of society, the independent functioning of the trade unions in each Workers State, the functioning of the trade unions, as workers control of society, and the unconditional defence of the Workers State, and the unification towards the Workers State to overthrow the capitalist system, and to develop the collective economic, social, political forms of existence. It is the form by which the feel-

ings and the consciousness of the masses are constructed, and then it is intelligence and reason which determine.

In this process, there is an advance of the communist parties and of the Workers States. Impelled by the world revolution, obliged to advance, the leaderships of these parties tend to incline themselves in an unequalled, and combined form, but predominantly combined, to correspond in a close form to the interest of the revolution. It is a process of partial regeneration, of the historic re-encounter towards the necessity of functioning as revolutionary communist parties.

In this process it is necessary to intervene, to impose with ideas, with appeals to the communist parties, so that they intervene as a conscious fact of history. This facilitates the process of advance and development of the Workers States and the political revolution in the Workers States, one of whose aspects is the elimination of Ota Sik, and the struggle in Poland. But it is not sufficient save in partial aspects. This progress of unification of the Workers States is necessary, the discussion of all

## THE REVOLUTION ADVANCES THE MASSES DO NOT FEAR THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ATOMIC WAR

The revolution advances. The masses do not fear the atomic war, nor the consequences of the imperialist war. This is the example, which the great communist parties have, and the Workers States have to decide on the appeal to the world revolution. It is necessary to have the planning of all the Workers States, to unify, and plan in common the economy, policy, military forces.

The masses of the world show an unequalled heroism in history. The children of Vietnam, of the Middle East, of Laos, the children of Pakistan, the old people, the children intervene as a decisive factor in history. The masses take to arms, they have the social and political behaviour of adult persons, they behave as decisive factors in the struggle for the revolution.

Humanity is completely unified. Humanity seeks to understand together. It seeks to identify itself totally with the progress of the revolution. It seeks to place itself in agreement with itself. For this there is a process of world articulation of the revolution, which is determined by the incessant progress everywhere. Capitalism cannot conciliate anymore with the Workers States now, or with the progress of the masses. It has to withdraw. But it withdraws to launch the atomic war at any moment. Humanity does not fear it. The masses of the Middle East, of Vietnam, the masses of Pakistan are showing that they do not fear the consequences of the atomic war. They live the atomic war everyday. This is the condition, which exists at present for the world organisation of the revolution. The capitalist system is in agony, but it seeks to respond with the war. The masses of the world are centralising and unifying themselves in the progress of the revolution, of the trade union movement, and are advancing constantly. There is progress in the centralisation, in the objective united front. There is an historic objective international already determined by the centralised behaviour of the masses, who are seeking to impel the world revolution.

It is in these conditions that the large communist parties, socialist parties, the Workers States, must launch appeals for the unification, for the world united front to smash what is left of the capitalist system, to prepare the most favourable conditions for humanity, and to respond to the atomic war. By elevating the progress and the advance of the social, economic and political conquests, the progress and the development of the revolution are facilitated, and the damage that imperialism is going to provoke with the nuclear war, are lessened.

Imperialism cannot decide when and how it wants the atomic war, because it is besieged. Consequently, it is necessary to advance the maximum, in order to make the revolution progress. The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, shows that the Soviet bureaucracy is forced to respond to the world progress of the revolution, that it feels itself subjected to the pressure of the mobilisations of the masses of the world, that influence the masses of the Soviet Union, that seeks to progress

the problems of planning of the economy, the centralisation of which extends the objective revolutionary interests of all the Workers States, and the unification of the Workers States, the great communist parties, the trade union centres, and the great mass organisations, socialist, communist, left Christian democrat, nationalist, Trotskyist with the object of making the united front against the capitalist system. They are the essential problems of this stage of history. The capitalist system is in agony. Socially, politically, it is in a process of agony. It concentrates itself in an ever greater form, in the great monopolies, within the interior forms of struggle, of contradictions of the capitalist system. The European Common Market is nothing more than the effort at organising a gigantic monopoly, so that the capitalist system can survive. Yankee imperialism increases its concentration, its monopolies and financial centralisation. But it diminishes its social and political authority, and what decides is this. It increases its military power, but in spite of its military power, it has been thrown out of Laos, the Middle East, Latin America.

and to advance. The Soviet bureaucracy sees itself forced to put forward conclusions, positions, that ease the progress, the advances of the political revolution and the world development of the revolution. It is necessary to start from there to launch the appeal for the World anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist United Front to smash what is left of imperialism and the capitalist system.

On this First of May 1971, humanity has defeated imperialism in Laos. It tries to take other measures to compensate for this defeat, because it does not admit it, and is not going to withdraw, but seek to prepare new attacks. But meanwhile, humanity advances infinitely more rapidly, disintegrating all the structure of the capitalist system, of which a whole series of important sectors are won to the revolution: functionaries, military, policemen, church people, Catholics, scientists, intellectuals. It is on this basis that one must make the world anti-imperialist united front, that would allow the masses of the world to con-

centrate their action with the aim of smashing the rest of the imperialist and capitalist system.

The crisis of the bureaucracy, the development of the political revolution in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, corresponds to a crisis of growth of the Workers States. It is a reaction of the masses against the absence of socialist democracy, against bureaucratic arrogance. The masses want to impose socialist relationships. They react against material stimulus, that only benefits the workers aristocracy and the bureaucracy, and they struggle to impose the moral stimulus, and on improving communist distribution. It is for this reason that the workers in Poland, the workers in the dockyards, have imposed on the bureaucracy—after their successful strike increases in salaries for the lowest paid workers. In Yugoslavia, Tito himself has declared that the existence of the socialist regime was in danger.

The regionalist tendencies that dominate the social, economic, political apparatuses, the police, the military, tend to seize hold of them in order to serve the interest of some layer of the population against the interest of the Workers State. As much in Yugoslavia, as in Rumania and Czechoslovakia, the absence of proletarian democracy has necessarily lead to the development of these bureaucratic layers, some layers of the State apparatus that obey interests that are contrary to the development of the economy, to the structure and the socialist relationships in the Workers States. The uprisings of the Polish masses show that it is these that have imposed the partial regeneration of the Workers States. The Workers States cannot retreat any longer in their actual conquests. The masses take responsibility to defend their existence, and very quickly will impose socialist democracy.

For the moment, it is fundamental to see the behaviour of the Soviet Workers State, of the CPSU. They are forced to state that it is necessary to go back to the planned economy, as opposed to the market economy that is a retreat on the historical conquests of the Workers State. There, is an essential basis of the development of the revolution.

It is necessary to restore the right to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

## 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.



# MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY 1971

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

strike, in the Workers States, by showing how it is used against the bureaucracy, the unfair distribution, and is justifiable. The right to strike must be restored as a measure to prevent the development of the bureaucracy, as one of the essential bases to eliminate the functioning of the bureaucratic apparatus in the Workers States, but also in the Communist Parties.

The recent strikes in Yugoslavia are a significant example. All of them have shown their reason for existence, and have triumphed. Statements have been made on the necessity to restore the democratic functioning of the Unions of the Workers States. This is the basis and the guarantee for the development of the struggles towards the establishment of revolutionary leaderships.

It is the basis to avoid the re-occurrence of the conditions that have created the Ota Siks, the Dubceks, or the crisis of the Yugoslavian Workers State, that is today denounced by Tito himself, a crisis, that goes as far as endangering the existence of socialism. All these crises are the product of a bureaucratic policy and of the existence of the bureaucracy, and the absence of proletarian democracy, of the Trade Union organisms, of political revolutionary cultural organisms in which the masses can speak, comment, decide. The absence of such organisms of discussion and decision for the masses has allowed the development of a bureaucracy that took hold of the administrative, political and social apparatus of the Workers States.

The struggle to overthrow capitalism and imperialism is also the struggle to overthrow these bureaucratic apparatuses. These, from the point of view of their interests, fear, oppose, limit, hinder the possibility of such struggles, and for this reason, the two struggles are united. One must launch appeals for the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front to overthrow what is left of the capitalist system, to replace it by soviet functioning.

The marxist revolutionary analysis of the discussions in the Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union, the discussions, in Yugoslavia, in Rumania, in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, show that the economic backwardness—relative backwardness—is the product of the lack of organisms of organised representation of the masses through the soviets, the

factory committees, the workers committees. One must establish and re-establish all these organisms. One must establish the collectivisation of agricultural production, by eliminating the Kolkhoses to the profit of the Sovkhoses. These are the basis to put an end to the zigzags in the rhythms of growth in the agriculture of the Soviet Union. To finish also with the enriched sectors, that, in the USSR, oppose the revolutionary struggle to overthrow what is left of capitalism. They oppose and resist by seeking conciliation with the capitalist system of the world.

The crisis in Yugoslavia demonstrates that the absence of proletarian democracy, of soviets, of the functioning of workers control, of the independence of the trade unions, and of the programme for the centralised planning of the country, any measure that retreats from this level and goes towards the market economy, as in the case of the decentralisation of the economy, or self management of enterprises, leads to the formation of layers of sectors, that are bureaucratic, interested in the economy, but not in the future and the development of socialism. The masses are in process of imposing a reaction to combat this, going in the sense of the alliance with the world socialist revolution. It is immense progress that favours the course of the revolution. It is necessary to support oneself on this.

In Ceylon, a petty bourgeois movement is in the government with the Communist Party, and a so-called Trotskyist organisation—but one which has ceased to be long ago, and has passed into the camp of the policy of the petty bourgeoisie—and must confront the masses that pass over it, and who try to impose and develop positions and relationships that are closer to socialist relationships. The Ceylonese government represses, bombs, assassinates the masses, who have the intention to advance towards the socialist regime. Sectors like this one, enter into crisis, because once engaged in the path of certain nationalisations and state ownership, they must continue; the masses try, for their own part, to exert pressure, and impel on the way to socialism. They still lack some organisation to do so. But the uprisings of Ceylon are due to the existence of sectors linked to the peasants, to the workers, who want to take these progressive measures.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN ALL THE COUNTRIES IS A FUNDAMENTAL SLOGAN:

The capitalist system is in crisis everywhere. There is not a single capitalist country that experiences political or social stability. The precarious economic stability of the capitalist system is maintained by means of the war policy. But monstrous factors for explosions are being accumulated: crisis, inflation, unemployment. The capitalist system maintains artificially a certain level of employment in order to try to contain the mobilisations of the masses. There are no large economic crises in the large capitalist countries, but there are some in all the capitalist countries of Latin America, Asia, Africa. But, even in Belgium, in England, in the United States, there is a large percentage of unemployed. A social and political crisis of the capitalist system, a crisis of disintegration of decomposition and corruption of all the bourgeois parties is developing. Scientists, technicians, of the bourgeois intelligentsia, flee the camp of the bourgeoisie, become neutral, or pass into the camp of the revolution. They are influenced by the revolution. The revolution shows itself powerful enough to draw these sectors to itself. The longer imperialism will survive the greater will be the damage of the atomic war. The more rapidly it is suppressed, and dual power installed on a world scale, the less damage will capitalism be able to do to humanity.

This is why one of the fundamental slogans for this stage is the struggle for power in every country. In France, Belgium, Italy, as in England, conditions exist for the struggle for power. In the Socialist parties with strong proletarian and petit bourgeois bases, as in Germany, there are tendencies, which develop towards a policy of collaboration and alliance with the Workers States, that is, a policy contrary to the social and political interests of the Capitalist system.

These are the conditions on which it's necessary to base the slogans needed in

this stage; Capitalism is unable to resolve the crisis confronting it. Even in countries, like Ceylon, where they have to take certain anti-capitalist measures, as soon as the masses bring pressure to bear, the capitalist limits which the leaderships want to limit them to are exceeded, and they pass into the camp of the revolution. It's the same in Bolivia. The process of the Revolutionary States, of the Popular Government based on the Trades Unions, as in Chile, inevitably leads to measures of nationalisations, which are already leading towards a new Workers State in Latin America.

There is a world process of dual power, in which the masses find support, strength and stimulus from the struggle for the world advance of the revolution, from the objective alliance of the Workers States with the Revolutionary States, from the uprisings of the masses in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and in Latin America. This is the basis on which it's necessary to launch the appeals, and the policy of the Socialist Parties, Communist Parties, Nationalists and the Workers States. Appeals which will lead to a world alliance, to an anti-imperialist united front to smash what remains of Capitalism. To give concrete directives in every country in order to destroy the Capitalist system. An alliance of the big Trades Unions, and the workers centres with the Communist, Socialist and Trotskyist organisations, of the left Christian Democrats, of the Nationalist movements in order to plan the social, political action of the struggle for power in every country. This means planning measures and programmes to respond to the problems posed by the social crisis of Capitalism, to the crisis of growth in the Workers States and Communist Parties, with a programme answering this necessity; the struggle for power. The planning of a united front of all workers tendencies and the Trade Unions of all Capitalist countries, with the objective of tak-

ing power or of going to power; with measures and programmes responding to the needs of every country, taking into consideration local conditions.

Capitalism is preparing for war. The sooner Capitalism is smashed, the less damage will be done by the war. The sooner the advance of the revolutionary struggle of the masses to take power, the less damage Capitalism will do with the atomic war, because it will be far more surrounded by the world revolution, and capable of accomplishing far less.

Slogans are necessary, which lead to the organisation of the reply, and which do reply to the objective necessities of the social and economic development of the masses throughout the world. Including those of the United Soviet Socialist States, of Europe. The Common Market is just a trick. It's a gigantic monopoly to maintain the functioning of the Capitalist system. Against the E.C.M. it's necessary to appeal for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe, for the unification and a united front of all workers centres, workers parties, left and nationalist movements in Europe, for the struggle to take power in Europe, and the organisation of a Socialist Europe.

It is necessary to make appeals for the United Soviet Socialist States of Latin America, in order to impel and give support to the revolutionary struggle of the Latin American masses, to impel the struggle in Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, to impel the struggle for power in Latin America, expel imperialism, and unite Latin America in United Soviet Socialist States. In the meantime to appeal for the Socialist federation of Chile, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, as a step towards the formation of the Soviet Socialist Federation of Latin America. For the federation of all African countries, maintaining the differences existing between sectors, for the confederation of African countries, the unification of all the Arab countries, planning the economy on the basis of the nationalisation of the main means of production, on the monopoly of foreign trade, on the nationalisation of the banks. For the expulsion of Imperialism from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

It's necessary to make an appeal to the American masses to organise themselves in a Revolutionary Marxist Party based on the Trade Unions, and to struggle for the overthrow of Capitalism in the United States. For the nationalisation of the main means of production, of finance and of the Bank of America; for monopoly of foreign trade; for the planning of production.

During the advance of the revolution, problems are created, which Capitalism has no way of resolving, such as the situation in Pakistan. The division in Pakistan cannot be resolved within the Capitalist system, but only with socialist measures, by unifying in a federation with India, but on the basis of nationalisation of the main means of production, of monopoly of foreign trade, nationalisation of the banks, planning of the economy, of a worker-peasant alliance.

For the defeat and expulsion of Imperialism from all its bases. For the expulsion of Imperialism from the Middle East, for the defeat of Israeli Zionism, agent of American Imperialism. For the federation of the Arab countries, with self-determination for Israel, uniting themselves into one single country by means of a planned economy in the Middle East, including Israel.

For a single Latin American Workers centre of workers, peasants, students, clerical workers on the basis of a programme for the expulsion of Imperialism, and unconditional support to every revolutionary struggle. For the Mass Communist International, signifying the co-ordinated

struggle, to impel the revolution in all the world, to give power to the worker and peasant masses, for the organisation and functioning of the soviets, of workers' control, of workers power to discuss, organise and resolve, on the basis of the mass organisms, all the problems of society, and apply and control their application.

For the United Front of all the trade unions, and the workers centres in the capitalist countries, of the revolutionary states and of the Workers States, with the programme for the anti Imperialist struggle, to smash what is left of Capitalism and Imperialism. For a world United Front with the aim of organising a leadership that would co-ordinate, support, sustain the struggles of all the masses of the world, of all the countries, that struggle against Capitalism! For the unconditional support to these struggles in the aim of crushing what is left of Imperialism and of the Capitalist system!

For the Mass Communist International which would permit the co-ordination of the struggle, and would impel the revolution in the whole world, to transfer power to the workers and peasant masses, to organise and make the soviets function, workers control, workers power that organises the discussion, and solves all the problems of society on the basis of mass organisms. For the formation of mass organisms, that will allow the democratic, and revolutionary, and socialist intervention of the masses!

We appeal for the unification of all the Workers States, for their economic, social and military common planning! We appeal for the anti-Imperialist and anti-Capitalist world United Front, of the communist parties, of the Workers States, and of the socialist, revolutionary nationalist, Trotskyist, left Christian Democrats of the capitalist countries! The triumph of the United Front in Japan, in Chile, and soon in Uruguay, shows that the path for the progress of history is in the organisation of the anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist united front, with the aim of smashing what is left of the world capitalist system.

Such are the fundamental slogans on this First of May. A powerful progress of the masses is being realised in the whole world. There is an irresistible progress of the revolution and of revolutionary ideas. In the Workers States, there is the beginning of regeneration, because the masses contain the development of the bureaucracy. We appeal for the public, open discussion of all the divergences, and the dissents between Workers States, and for the common planning of all the Workers States, China and Russia included.

It is absurd! The masses of the world are stunned to see China seeking an agreement with Yankee imperialism in place of seeking one with the other Workers States. It is absurd and criminal! The bureaucratic, reactionary types of these leaderships of the Workers States—be it China, the USSR or others,—are opposing the socialist interest, they have no consciousness, no comprehension, no revolutionary interests.

One must return to Marxism of the time of Lenin and Trotsky. Discuss objectively the socialist interests of society. The leaderships of the Workers States must respond to the needs of the Workers States. We appeal to all the communist parties and the Workers States to discuss publicly all the sino-soviet divergences; discuss on the basis of a plan of struggle to smash, what is left of imperialism, and support unconditionally the revolutionary masses of the world.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

NOW AVAILABLE AS A SUPPLEMENT

THE DEFEAT OF THE BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY, THE ABSTENTION OF THE PROLETARIAN VANGUARD AND THE PERSPECTIVE OF GREAT STRUGGLES IMMEDIATELY  
Resolution of the I.S. of the IV International 19. 6. 1970

TEXT OF A LEAFLET OF THE PARTY DISTRIBUTED AT THE VAUXHALL FACTORY, LUTON, DURING THE PERIOD OF THE OCCUPATION OF THE RENAULT FACTORIES IN FRANCE

# Discuss and draw the conclusions of the occupation of the Renault factories in France, in the Shop Stewards Committees, the T.U.'s, L.P. and C.P.

We salute the occupations of the Renault factories in France, as a stage in the development of a "new May." Faced with a lock-out by the management, the workers there took the initiative and occupied the factories, demanding not only the pay increases for the 88 workers whose strike precipitated the lockout, but also, an end to the lockout, payment for the hours lost, a common pay grade for all at Renault by upgrading the unskilled, pensions at 60, a 40 hour week, and the right to speak on the state controlled radio and television to put their case. The car workers in France, as the car workers here act as a vanguard within the working class. In May 1968 the car factories were among the first to be occupied, and so led the way for the massive revolutionary general strike throughout France. While here the strike of the Ford workers, which lasted for 9 weeks, was a direct challenge to the Tory Government, who were trying to enforce a policy of keeping down wage increases, and when similar economic demands were made by the Vauxhall workers they were immediately granted. This shows the fear of the bourgeoisie in having a head on collision with a sector of the vanguard, which could act as a centre for the organisation of a general strike.

The occupation of factories is a more advanced action of the working class than strikes. It takes the initiative from the owners, it advances dual power in favour of the workers, and disputes who really controls in the factories. Faced on a world scale with a ruling class, which is hardening in its attacks on the working class, strike actions are no longer sufficient to gain concessions. As with the Ford strike, the bourgeoisie has shown that it is prepared to suffer economic losses in order to try to smash strikes. The answer is twofold; to increase the actions of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and to elevate the workers own forms of organisation.

The struggle in this country faces the same problems as those of the French workers, increases in the cost of living, and rising unemployment, due to the economic crisis and increasing mechanisation. The question of occupations is soon going to be raised. It is the answer for the 4,000 Irlam (Manchester) workers who are being threatened with redundancy, by the closing of the steel plant there. While the union leaders talk of lobbies of parliament, we appeal to the workers to occupy the plant, and run it under workers control, appealing at the same time to other sectors of workers for sympathy demonstrations, strikes and occupation. During an occupation it is essential that the worker control their organisations, that they organise mass assemblies in the occupied factories, that they elect factory committees, linking

workers from all the trade unions, that all the decisions regarding the occupation are discussed in mass assemblies, and all decisions are taken there, all elected representatives must be instantly recallable. And in the factory committees the anti-capitalist programme, policy and methods must be discussed. We appeal for the setting up of Factory Committees now in all the big factories in preparation for the coming struggles.

We appeal to the British car workers to make links with the Renault workers; to send representatives to France to discuss with the workers occupying Renault; to send resolutions of solidarity to their French comrades pledging support, and above all to discuss in the factories and the T.U. branches the question of occupations for the next stage of the struggle here. There develops each day the greater necessity and the greater possibility for the formation of a European Trade Union centre. The actions during the Ford strike showed this, with the European meetings of representatives from the British, Belgian and German Ford plants, and the declarations that the work from Britain would not be undertaken by any other Ford factory, and the strikes, which took place in Spain, France and Belgium, when the Basque prisoners were sentenced to death, show objectively how the first links of a workers centre are being forged. When Scanlon and Jones look to America and call for a world T.U. centre, they are manoeuvring, because while certainly a

world T.U. centre is necessary, on their very door-step the conditions are ripe for a European Trade Union Centre, which they ignore.

The new occupations in France come after the strikes of the police and firemen, after the constant strikes by the Italian workers, the routing of US Imperialism in Laos, and the constant battles in N. Ireland between those forces which want to progress, in however disorganised a way, and the forces of British Imperialism. Here the process is the same. After the Ford and the U.P.W. strike where the union leaderships showed that they were not prepared to take the struggle from a purely economic one to the struggle for power, and after the T.U.C. recall Conference, where they voted not to take industrial action against the Tories Industrial Relation Bill, the class is involved in a period of reflection and discussion within their unions and parties, the L.P. and C.P. They see that with their present leaderships the struggle cannot go forward to the next stage, and so the task is to change that leadership.

There is a process in the unions of discussion on how the unions should function, and a much deeper political discussion is being waged in them. There have been the criticisms made of Scanlon for the way he went over the heads of the Ford negotiating committee, and made a deal with the Ford management. There has been condemnation of the secret ballot by the Ford Shop Stewards, who demanded that in future all ballots should be an open show of hands, where the workers instead of feeling isolated, would feel the strength and solidarity of their fellow workers. There has been the demand by DATA for the nationalisation of the car industry, the demand by the Cinematograph workers for the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of the film making industry, and the resolution of the AUEW executive committee for the end of the war in Vietnam; all revolutionary anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist demands.

There is also a process of discussion within the LP, and the formation of LP branches in some of the Midland factor-

ies. We support this step of LP branches in the factories, because through them the working class will have a weight and an influence in their party, and will be able to intervene more directly in the process of the construction of a new leadership within the LP.

We appeal to the car workers here to discuss all the implications of the Renault occupations. The car workers can act as a vanguard, attracting all the exploited sectors of the population to their struggle: sectors who at the moment see that their leaderships are not prepared to wage a sufficient struggle against the Tories would be attracted by the process of occupations. This is the only way to stop the anti-working class policies of the Tory Government, rising prices, unemployment etc. It is the way to encourage the advance of the left in the unions and the LP, who will base themselves on the most advanced actions of the working class. Certainly the leadership of the LP will be against these methods, but they are against strike actions, and the struggle now is to remove them from their positions, to unite the working class to go forward to the organisation of the general strike with occupations to throw out the Tory Government, and to impose a Left Labour Government on an anti-capitalist programme.

FOR THE FORMATION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES IN ALL THE FACTORIES—FOR A 35 HOUR WEEK—FOR THE OPENING OF THE BOOKS—ALL PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS IN THE FORM OF SHORTER HOURS AND HIGHER WAGES—FOR THE LESSONS OF THE RENAULT OCCUPATION TO BE DISCUSSED IN THE CAR FACTORIES AND IN ALL THE TRADE UNION BRANCHES—FOR RESOLUTIONS AND DELEGATIONS OF SUPPORT TO BE SENT TO THE RENAULT WORKERS—FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE CAR INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION—FOR A EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE.

19. 5. 71

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## MANIFESTO OF THE 1st MAY 1971

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

It is necessary to re-build the soviets. Discuss why in the USSR the stage of decentralisation of the economy, of the market economy, self management of enterprises, was reached. For what reasons? Who decided this? Why didn't the masses intervene? Why were the Soviet people not consulted? One must discuss the consequences of the fact that the decisions have been taken without the Soviet people, and only by the apparatus of the Party and the Government. In order to prevent the renewal of such a situation it is necessary to make socialist democracy function, the independence of the Trade Unions, the intervention of the masses, to discuss all the problems of the Party, in the USSR and in all the other Workers States.

The masses of the world are already united: they function like an historic objective international, by agreeing between themselves to crush the capitalist system. They attract in the revolution, sectors of society that were still subjected to capitalism, because of their activity in it; this is being expressed in the electoral progresses, in the advance of the strikes, in the influence of the struggle of the masses, on sectors that live off the capitalist apparatuses, like the functionaries, the military, the police-

men, the judges, the clergy. It is an irrefutable proof that favourable conditions exist to organise the struggle to eliminate what is left of the capitalist system, and to do as much as imperialism which augments its nuclear power, in order to diminish the damages that it is going to provoke to humanity.

Imperialism is going to be crushed. The masses of the United States are already part of the world revolution. One must count on them, aid them to organise their independent and revolutionary marxist party based on the trade unions, in order to organise the struggle to smash the capitalism system before, and during the atomic war of imperialism.

We appeal for demonstrations on this first of May with these slogans: this is the condition for peace in the world, and for the independence of all the people of the world, and for the end of all

forms of bureaucratic domination, in order to be able to unify all the countries in the world in the common planning of their economy, in order to instal socialist and cultural relationships, that allow to impel without hindrances, without limit, the human well being, and human fraternity.

The world revolutionary communist movement—in which the Trotskyists are included—is for peace. But peace cannot be conquered by a few appeals. To gain it, one must smash what is left of the capitalist and imperialist system. This is why we say: we are for peace; we want peace, and we must realise the social and historical conditions, that allow peace in the world, and the peaceful growth of humanity. One must smash what is left of the imperialism and capitalism. This is the conclusion to draw for this First of May 1971.

VIVA THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!  
VIVA THE WORKERS STATES!  
VIVA THE MASSES OF THE WORLD!  
VIVA THE OBJECTIVE WORLD DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!  
FOR THE WORLD ANTI IMPERIALIST ANTI CAPITALIST UNITED FRONT!  
FOR THE WORLD CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM!

International Secretariat of the IV International

16th April 1971.



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. 138 25 JUNE 1971 PRICE 3p

## Document of the International Secretariat on the 'Ping-Pong' diplom- acy of the Chinese

(CENTRE PAGES)

# Enforce the decision to occupy U.C.S. to impose its nationalisation under workers control. Make it a centre around which to organise the General Strike

The immediate response of the Clydeside workers to the plan to close Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, indicates the whole climate which exists among the working class, of dissatisfaction with the capitalist regime, and moreover the confidence which the class feels that it is capable of changing this system which is unable to develop the productive forces. The decision to occupy the yards shows that the vanguard is receiving the influence of the most elevated methods of struggle employed by the world masses, and this compensates for their lack of a marxist party and leadership. Where did this proposal to occupy the shipyards come from? It did not come from the union leadership, nor from the communist shop stewards, although they have supported it, but from the mass meetings, from the rank and file, influenced in particular by the Renault occupation which has just finished. The struggle against the closure of UCS, which in reality is not merely a struggle just for this objective but is the form the anti-capitalist struggle takes, is going to signify a big leap forward for the class, because it has raised both revolutionary programme, and revolutionary methods; nationalisation of the yards, and general strike and occupation to impose it.

When the shipyard workers say 'they will have to bring the stormtroopers back from N. Ireland to get us out' they show that they are prepared for the civil war, and that they have been influenced by the N. Ireland, and are in solidarity with the Irish masses, and understand very clearly the role of the army in N. Ireland.

It is proletarian public opinion expressing itself, rejecting all the attempts of the capitalist press to present the conflict in N. Ireland as a religious one. All this intense discussion and activity on Clydeside is going to have, and is already having profound repercussions in the organisations of the class. The Scottish TUC is calling for nationalisation, Wedgewood Benn is calling for nationalisation, a half day general strike is called for Scotland, and the national general strike is once more placed on the agenda. And what can the pro-bourgeois right of the LP,

Wilson and Co. say in this situation, what capitalist solution is there? There isn't one, and so these people are silent, lose confidence, and it is the left wing leaders more responsive to the rank and file who advance, pushed forward by the struggle in the shipyard. The role which Wedgewood Benn is planning is important, because even through there is contained within his intervention a desire to keep the movement within parliamentary limits, he has to move to the left to do so, and this acts as an encouragement to the movement. It is Benn, who has been speaking on the need for workers control, Benn who sends a salute to the Chinese people, and now accepts an invitation to visit there, it is Benn who said that the TUs should have time to put their case on the radio, and now it is Benn who goes to Glasgow to speak to the workers, who meets them, together with a leader of the CP, when they ar-

rive in London, and it is Benn who proposes in Parliament the nationalisation of UCS. It is a complete consistent line against the line of Wilson and Co., and is a symptom of the discussion, and the advance through the middle layers of the LP, of revolutionary positions.

This action by the capitalist Government of the Tories, is in line with the attack on Laos by US Imperialism, or the attempt by the Government to enter the Common Market. All of these actions have in common, the desire of capitalism and imperialism to show that they still have a certain perspective, that they can still take certain initiatives. The Tories want to give heart to the European bourgeoisie, and show them that a hard, strong policy against the working class is possible. And the action they take provokes a reaction, which they cannot contain, and which accentuates the disintegration of the bourgeoisie. They propose to enter the Common Market when the strains within it have reached a very acute level; where the farmers of all the EEC demonstrated in Brussels using methods of the proletariat, where France and Italy are rocked by big strikes, where Brandt makes the Ostpolitik when he should be the spearhead of capitalism against the Workers States. France now accepts the entry of Britain as a way to make an ally against Germany, to defend itself from Germany, which dominates the community. Britain's entry, (if it takes place), and the discussion about it, are only sharpening the inter-capitalist rivalries within the market.

The picture presented by world imperialism is one of disintegration, not centralisation. In the US the publication of the secret documents on the start of the

Vietnam war in the 'New York Times', and the moves by the Pentagon to stop their publication, are just one more example of the crisis within Yankee imperialism, losing the war in Vietnam, confronting the ever growing mobilisations of the US masses, powerless to stop the process of Chile, or Bolivia, or Peru towards Workers States. And this is the world situation, where the Tories try to present themselves as a strong government!

To be a strong government they need a powerful base of social support, and this they quite clearly do not have. As the manifesto of the 1st of May of the IV International said 'The struggles of the proletariat, the methods of the class and revolutionary struggle of the proletariat... are influencing and organising the activity of the whole of society'. Capitalism's loss of social support was even expressed electorally (where normally it tends to be masked, because all sorts of bourgeois and petit bourgeois sectors intervene in elections, who have no weight or value in society) in the local elections and the Bromsgrove bye-election. What little support the Tories had in the petit bourgeoisie has been lost, attracted by the struggle of the proletariat against the policy of the Tories. The fact that the union of supervisors, scientific workers etc. (ASTIMS) decided at its conference, against the advice of its general secretary Clive Jenkins not to register as an 'official' trade union, following a similar decision by the AEUW, throws down the gauntlet to the Government, daring it to touch the TU movement, and this from a T.U. of the petit bourgeoisie! At the same time the Ford shop stewards at Halewood call a strike in the plant, and later at a national meeting of Ford shop stewards threaten to bring all the Ford factories to a stop to secure the re-instatement of a sacked shop steward. It is a striking demonstration of the defence by the class of its vanguard, and the bosses have to yield to it.

This then is the climate of the country; strikes against unemployment, for wage increases, in defence of the vanguard, against the industrial relations bill, a profound hatred of capitalism, and its injustice and stupidity. This gives the proposed occupation of UCS its fundamental importance. It can act as a centre just as the occupation of Renault did in May 1968, for the organisation of a general strike with occupations of the factories and shipyards, with the running of these under workers control. The RWP (T) British Section of the IV International salutes the workers of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders for their decision to occupy the yards. **THIS DECISION MUST BE IMPOSED.** It is necessary to make an assembly function continuously in UCS, to discuss, to take decisions, to control the shop stewards committee, to change the leadership if it is necessary. It is necessary to stay in the yard, because, as James Ramsey of the Boilermakers said, in a meeting in Glasgow 'when workers go out of the yard we lose communication, and when you lose communication you lose the battle'. This is very profound and correct, and the conclusion of it is to stay in the yard at all costs. It is necessary to make appeals, as is being done, but it is necessary to raise their

## RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

# The Bourgeois Nationalist Government, the uprising of the guerrillas and the Sino-Soviet conflict in Ceylon 24. 4. 71.

*The importance of the problem of Ceylon lies in that it is a question of an uprising of the masses, and not simply of an uprising of a protest group of the left. This movement of the masses has a quite big support; the proof of it is that the government had to bomb the factories with planes, and mobilise armed troops to face it. If it was simply a question of a strike movement, the methods employed would have been different.*

The cause of this clash is the great inclination to the left, the profound process of revolutionary struggle, which has existed since the independence of the country from England. All that does not come from now, but the importance of the situation proves the existence of a Trotskyist sector outside the government; a sector which has passed from the C.P. to Trotskyism. That shows the existence in this backward country, of a great impulse to advance towards social progress, inclining towards a revolutionary policy. There exists in Ceylon a great tradition of revolutionary struggles, which has twice made right wing governments fall, which were shown to be without a social base of support.

All the petit-bourgeoisie is influenced

by the revolution and marxism. There exists in Ceylon three communist parties and the trotskysts, the same as in Bengal and India. The marxist movement is of great importance, at any rate a movement which speaks in the name of marxism, even if it is not always based on the tradition of marxism. There also exists guevarist and maoist tendencies. In the backward countries, like those of Latin America, Asia or Africa, these movements acquire a revolutionary character, which escapes the C.P., which can neither stop nor contain them. These movements go further each time, and the communists can neither contain, nor dominate them.

The sectors, which impel this struggle forward, are the petit bourgeoisie, the

peasants, the proletariat, which is very concentrated in the tea plantations, in the ports, in the small industries of rubber and textiles. It is a proletariat to the left, in agreement with a very profound class policy. The petit bourgeoisie is influenced by the world revolution, by the national struggles for independence against England, but with a social and anti-capitalist content.

That is why, the actual struggle is not a sporadic uprising, of protest and strike against the non application by the government of its promises, but a movement which shows it wants to go further than the government; a movement, which wants to advance with a revolutionary programme. This movement is so important that it obliges the government to mobilise the air force; it has not therefore the normal character of a guerrilla. This movement covers factories and entire zones. The same thing happens in India where there exist movements of the same nature, which explains the success three

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RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

# The 'Ping-Pong' policy of the Chinese, the counter-revolutionary interests of Yankee and world imperialism, the Sino-Soviet bureaucratic conflict and the Socialist development of the world revolution

15 APRIL 1971

What is important for the Chinese Workers State is not recognition by Yankee Imperialism. Is that the way to develop the revolution in the rest of the world, to develop the Chinese revolution, to develop the revolution in the United States? No, this is not the way, because the Yankees will seek to take measures to continue to survive, to deceive the population of the United States, to utilise this as propaganda, without then recognising them, because they are strong in the United Nations.

The Chinese develop their activity, determine their concern as if it was a problem of recognition or not. As if this should decide the policy of the Chinese. In what way does the fact of not being in the United Nations limit the Chinese? The desire of the Chinese to enter the United Nations is to have a policy like the Soviets of "infiltration" and conciliation with the capitalist system. If this were not the case, it would not make such a policy. Why doesn't it seek agreement with the world revolution, seek to support the world revolution, to intervene, and to concern itself with the problems of the world revolution? They are not intervening in anything.

This attempt of the Chinese to be recognised is an opportunist measure, from whatever point of view. The way in which they are presenting it to the North American population, and showing that there is no recognition through lack of understanding, of relations, of knowledge, is a lie! It is Yankee imperialism which has sought to keep China away from the United Nations, in order to have with the Soviets a means to dominate the apparatus of the security council. Is this the force that decides the world? Not at all. All the world problems are decided outside the United Nations, whether in the Middle East, in Vietnam, the Latin American revolution, or the revolution in Africa. What are the United Nations doing? They are crap: It is all a complete hypocrisy. There is not a single intervention of the United Nations favourable to the real objective development of the truth. What is the truth in the Middle East? That the Nazi Israelis should get out; they really are Nazis.

For five years they have bombarded Vietnam. What are the United Nations doing about it? In Biafra what did the United Nations do? In Santo Domingo what did the United Nations do? Revolutions are made within the United Nations? No, outside the United Nations. All the Workers States in Africa, Asia, Latin America have developed outside the United Nations. What importance has the United Nations? It is simply a means of conciliation with capitalism. They have no obligation to do this. The Chinese are conducting a policy of opposition to the Yanks, to capitalism, to support Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, directly or indirectly without the United Nations. The development of China has been achieved without the United Nations. Chinese trade has developed without the United Nations. This means that the search of the Chinese for recognition is the same as that of the Soviets in their first phase, and still today; conciliation with the capitalist system for the policy of infiltration, and to seek to impede the revolution. It is an opportunist measure seeking thus to prevent the war, an increasing armament of Yankee imperialism. This is the conclusion of the Chinese. They are repeating what the Soviets have done.

It is a policy, which damages the revolution. It damages certainly the anti imperialist movement in the United States. The mass movement of the United States against the war in Vietnam is a movement against Yankee imperialism. This attitude of the Chinese gives authority to the Washington government. The latter presents itself before the American masses as if it was seeking agreement with the Chinese. Everybody knows, and this has repercussions throughout the world, that it is not the ping pong players, who have been received, but it is an indirect means of seeking to conciliate with Yankee imperialism. Consciously. This is a support for Nixon. Even if the Chinese continue the policy of support to Vietnam and to Laos, this behaviour of the Chinese politically damages, is an enormous damage to the revolution. Thus it is necessary to criticise this attitude of the Chinese. They

can demand entry into the United Nations, diplomatic, commercial recognition of all the countries of the world without the need to do this; but continuing to say: "We demand this, but Yankee imperialism continues to be a bandit". If they recognise them, it is because they have no other way out. The Yanks sought to invade China, to besiege China and failed. They sought to invade Latin America and failed. They are forced to recognise them. This is why the behaviour of the Chinese is insane. It is a product of an opportunist sector of the Chinese, an indication of changes, of a turn towards a very, very acute opportunism. This is to compete with the Soviets.

It is necessary to find the answer not only in a criticism of the Chinese, the insane policy of the Chinese. The responsibility belongs also to the leading bureaucrats of China, of the USSR, and the other Workers States. Instead of seeking recognition by Yankee imperialism—which gives no respect or strength to them—why do they not seek the unification of all the Workers States to confront imperialism? What agreement, what resolution of the UNO, what right of the population have the Yanks respected? They do not respect anything. With their strength, they do what they want. What are they doing in Vietnam? It is sufficient to see what they are doing in Vietnam. Does it mean that the Yanks are leaving the Middle East or Asia?

It means simply that they are seeking to win time, after the defeats they have suffered.

The Chinese seek this recognition from the Yankees when the moment is ideal to throw out Imperialism, to give an impulse to the internal movements of the United States against Yankee imperialism. What does the defeat of Yankee imperialism mean in Laos? "Humanity has defeated Yankee imperialism in Laos". And the whole process of the struggles of the masses has contributed to this. It is necessary to appeal—contrary to the policy of the Chinese—to an agreement with all the Workers States, to the planning of all the Workers States. It is necessary to appeal to Vietnam, to Cambodia, to Laos, for their unification and planning as Workers States; to appeal to the masses of the United States, to rebel against Yankee imperialism, to oppose the atomic war, the war of invasion of imperialism, to oppose the capitalist system. This is the policy, which it is necessary to launch. This is the correct attitude; to appeal to all the Workers States to discuss in the world workers movement; why is there a division in the Workers States? Why? What is the reason? Why? Does Yankee imperialism stop being imperialism, because a group of ping pong players come along? Does Nixon cease representing, leading the interests of Yankee imperialism? Imperialism continues to be the same. This was done at a time favourable to the anti imperialist united front of all the Workers States with the revolutionary movements of the world. And the Chinese have chosen the worst moment to make this policy. Thus it is necessary to condemn it.

## INSTEAD OF CONCILIATING WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM ORGANISE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE CHINESE WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

It is necessary to make an appeal, so that instead of seeking an arrangement with Yankee imperialism, to eulogise it through "ping pong" games, the Chinese seek an agreement with the Soviets, with the Workers States, with the Peruvian, Chilean, Bolivian revolution, with the revolutionary process in Europe, Asia and Africa. This is what they have to do. Agreements with these, openly to make an appeal to defeat Yankee imperialism. If recognition by the Yankees comes, let it come. But this does not demand special measures or policy. China must be recognised by all the capitalist states of the world. Certainly. But this is not the condition for China to live; It has been demonstrated that China developed without the principal capitalist countries recognising it. The United States did not recognise it, nor the principal capitalist countries of Europe. Now Italy and Canada have done so. If now, so many capitalist countries recognise it, it is because the capitalist system is besieged by the world revolution and cannot invade China. They have tried to do it. But the Italian, French, British, Belgian, German and American masses have prevented the Yanks invading China. This is the strength of the Chinese revolution! Not the agreement with the Yanks. It is on this basis that it is necessary to make the United Front. It is necessary to make a united front of all the Workers States, to plan all the economy in common, the policy in common, the military policy in common, the world support to the revolution in common. These are the measures and solutions, which will have an immense effect on the North American masses, which it is necessary to influence.

The danger of the atomic war exists. The Yanks will make the atomic war. No one can stop them from launching the atomic war. But the longer imperialism continues, the more damage it can cause with atomic arms. While the more Yankee imperialism is defeated, the more the world revolution triumphs, the less damage the atomic war will do. Hence it is necessary to make this criticism of the Chinese for this opportunist policy, which favours Yankee imperialism, whether led by Nixon or some other. It favours Yankee imperialism. Yankee imperialism has no interest in trading with, negotiating with, or sustaining China. But it is obliged to respect it, it is obliged to have to accept it, to live with the Chinese, because the masses impose it on them.

We appeal to the Chinese CP, to the government of the Chinese Workers State to discuss in the world workers movement, in all the Workers States why the Workers States are divided. There are no historic, social, revolutionary causes for the division of the Workers States. It is necessary to seek the unification, the planning of all the Workers

States. Economic, social, political, military, trade union planning, and to appeal to the masses of the United States to overthrow Yankee imperialism, to make an appeal, and campaigns directed to the North American masses, to overthrow Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to prepare for the atomic war, which Yankee imperialism is preparing. If imperialism must assume this attitude, and accept the offer of the Chinese, it is because it is drawing profit from it, to win political authority within the United States! to win political authority, to survive! And to prepare for the war later, because now it is not able to do so. It has not been able to make the war. It is because the masses of the world prevent them. There is an offensive against Yankee imperialism. Instead of an offensive, this attitude of the Chinese gives a breather, is a political encouragement to imperialism. This is not the tactic, the strategy of the revolution.

At the moment, in which the Soviets are forced to make such an offensive against imperialism, this opportunist policy of the Chinese, is launched, an opportunism of the worst sort. It is necessary to condemn them, and to make an appeal instead for the unification, the planning of all the Workers States; to make an appeal to all the Workers States, to all the trade union movement of the Workers States, to the communist parties, to the Christian Democrats of the left, the socialists, anti imperialist and anti capitalist, the nationalists, to discuss the unification and the planning of all the Workers States, for an anti capitalist, anti imperialist common policy; to appeal for the unification of the revolutionary struggles of the masses throughout the world, with the objective of overthrowing what remains of the capitalist system. The atomic war of imperialism will happen in any case. The more capitalism is reduced, the less damage it will do with atomic arms.

This attitude of the Chinese is a blow at the struggle of the North American masses, since it is mobilising to overthrow imperialism, and the attitude of the Chinese is posing the possibility of discussing, of making peace with imperialism. There is nothing to discuss. It is necessary to show now, that it is a lie. For the Soviets it is different, given that already they have relations with the Yanks. And the Soviets are confronting the Yanks. The Soviets are obliged to confront the Yankees, while before they had abandoned Spain, had abandoned Greece. Now they are forced to confront the Yanks, while the Chinese tend to give a stimulus, authority and credit to Yankee imperialism before the North American masses, above all in front of the American masses. It is not a measure favourable to the development of the revolution.

## THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKERS STATES WOULD GIVE AN ENORMOUS IMPULSE TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MASSES

This attitude of the Chinese is the result of the previous policy of the Soviet bureaucracy and of the other CPs. It is the result of the Workers States—Poland, Czechoslovakia, USSR and China—with regional interests, the product of the caste interests, of the bureaucratic sectors, not of a marxist functioning of the party. It is a consequence of this. With this, the American masses see their government, having a certain credit, while they must see their government is a bandit.

The unification of the Workers States would be an immense impulse to the American masses. It would abbreviate the stages of the war, limit the effect of the war, and shackle Yankee imperialism.

The unification of the Workers States has an immense effect on the American masses, a powerful effect, to give impulse to their struggles, to impel them to organise socially, politically, in a revolutionary class movement, because it shows them the strength, the power, and the superiority of the Workers States. They are equipped and impelled to do this. Instead this policy, whether of the Soviets or of the Chinese, maintains a certain authority of the Yankee imperialists, and besides does not allow the American masses to see the way forward to organise. While the unification of the Workers States, of the CP, the mobilisations, and the appeals to overthrow Yankee imperialism, show them the way to organise.



While the Yanks are in Laos, in Cambodia and in Vietnam waiting—as they are waiting—to invade China, such a policy of the Chinese tends to arouse the mobilisation of the American masses, tends to contain them. The Chinese trade unions must turn to the American masses, to make an appeal to them, to organise, and show how to organise; to make an appeal to the American masses to organise their class party, independent class revolutionary party to throw out imperialism, to give political forms to the mobilisation of the opposition, which the American masses are making against the war in Vietnam. It is necessary to find support in this. Instead, the policy of the Chinese tends to head off this movement, to increase the authority, and the political credit of the American government. It does not tend to develop a greater struggle against imperialism. On the contrary, it tends to calm it, while it must show with all clarity what Yankee imperialism is. Yankee imperialism does not think of abandoning its intentions to invade China, to smash China and to seek to defeat China. They are not abandoning this idea. They seek to win all possible time, because they cannot do otherwise. If Yankee imperialism had been able to do otherwise, it would have already invaded China.

The revolution does not advance either with manoeuvres or with diplomatic measures. On the contrary, imperialism through impotence—it has been impotent—has not been able to destroy China,

## The 'Ping-Pong' policy....

Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. And this is what it is necessary to show. It is necessary to go to the depth of the situation. The Chinese want by this to avoid the atomic war, and to win historic stages. And on the contrary, they are allowing the Yankees to arm more, so that the atomic war will be worse. The more Yankee imperialism is beaten down before this, the better. And it is necessary to count upon the American people. The American people is united to the struggle of the masses of the world against Yankee imperialism in its intervention in Vietnam. This attitude of the Chinese tends to give credit to Yankee imperialism, to make it win stages, authority, to disconcert and provoke confusion among the petit bourgeoisie in a country in which there is not a mass workers party, a class and revolutionary party. It is a criminal attitude of the Chinese.

The search for the recognition of the Chinese Workers State on the part of imperialism, on the part of all the capitalist countries can be achieved without the necessity of these measures. On the contrary, it is necessary to continue to show that they are bandits, assassins and scum. It is not a problem of misinterpretations, of lack of knowledge, or of bad translations. It is the weakness of imperialism, which has not been able to throw them out, and has to tolerate this.

### THE PRESENT CONCILIATORY POLICY OF THE CHINESE IS THE PRODUCT OF THE BUREAUCRATIC FUNCTIONING OF THE WORKERS STATES

This is a regionalist attitude of the Chinese, and of a sector, which has bureaucratic, national interests, not as a function of the world interests of the socialist revolution. Not even the Soviets have this attitude. The Soviets have drawn closer to the needs of the world revolution, they are forced to come closer. The 24th Congress of the CPSU has been obliged to become closer, to the necessity of the revolution. It is an impulse to support and bind the Soviet leaderships, forcing them to advance, to promote movements in the USSR, which can give an impulse to interests, policy, positions favourable to the revolution. The Chinese have done this, while the 24th Congress of the CPSU decides to give support to all the anti imperialist movements in whatever part of the world. And saying: "imperialism is aggressive, invading the world". And the Chinese make a declaration, which tends to show how "differences" developed with the Yankees. No! The Yanks are the representatives of world capitalism, which has atomic weapons to confront the world revolution. It is awaiting the opportunity to launch the atomic war. And thus it is necessary to see this. This attitude of the Chinese is the interest of a regional bureaucratic sector, which has regional interests in the revolution. It is a lie that it has interests in the world revolution!

There is a difference between such a policy and the internal development of China, which is a superior development, with communist measures; which is an indication of the contradictions, of internal struggles, which will reflect themselves afterwards. It is not the result of unity, which includes an opportunist attitude and conciliation with capitalism. No, no. There are attempts at real and profound measures in China for the development of communism, and this policy does not answer to this necessity. This lack of co-ordination will express itself in very rapid internal struggles immediately.

All the Workers States are responsible for the policy of the Chinese, because it is the result of the bureaucratic policy. It is not the result of the existence of the Soviets, of proletarian democracy, of the marxist life, of struggles, and interests, and concerns for marxism. No. It is the result of the policy of the bureaucratic summits, which are moved by regionalist conceptions and interests of the revolution. This will promote a larger crisis, will help to make emerge all these bureaucratic defects, limitations and interests of these sectors of the Chinese leadership as of those of the Soviet and the other Workers States.

The fact that the USSR and China confront each other publicly in discussions, which are the product of regional interests, is a blow given to the prestige and to the authority of the Workers States, to the power, to the objective authority of socialism. They are not discussions on political problems, on positions, programme, tactic. It is necessary to discuss this, as in the epoch of Lenin, when they discussed publicly these problems in the Communist International. These, on the other hand, are discussions on problems of national interests "state

interest". The so called "state interest" is capitalist interest. In the Workers States, in the socialist states as they call them, there are no "state interests", there are the interests of the bureaucrats who lead. "The interests of the Workers State" are the interests of the revolution, the interests to support the revolution, and to push it forward. This is the only interest of the Workers State, which exists. When they say that they are "state interests", they are the interests of the sector, which leads this country.

The proletariat of China has no difference from the proletariat of the USSR. They are the ones, who are compromising and damaging the consciousness, the interests and the authority of socialism on a world scale.

It is necessary to oppose this, and to consider that this dispute, this sino-soviet divergence is not motivated by the interests of the revolution, but by the interests of sectors, bureaucratic cliques. In this case concretely, the sector, which is doing most harm is that of the Chinese, who seek the support of imperialism for a dispute with the USSR, or for a dispute with the rest of the Workers States.

The problems of discussions, divergences between the Workers States, are resolved in the discussion for the programme of the socialist revolution, not with an intervention seeking as ally, or point of support, one or other capitalist country. This was the policy of Stalin. It supported itself on the capitalist system against the revolution, to impede the victory of the revolution.

It is necessary to condemn this attitude as much on the part of the Chinese as of the Soviets, and to demand a public discussion on the differences and divergences, with the object of orientating towards the conclusion of the planning of the Workers States, of the unification of the Workers States, impelling the anti imperialist and anti capitalist struggle; to welcome the appeal of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and to extend it. But not to leave the leadership of this process in the hands of the CPSU, but to see that a public discussion is undertaken, in which all the Workers States can intervene, and all the communist parties, on the basis of common interests, the interests of all, so that impulse may be given to the development of the policy, of the economy, of the programme, of the military unification of all the Workers States.

Imperialism is preparing for the atomic war. It is necessary to prepare for this. For this it is necessary to consider that each political measure, which the Chinese take must have as a perspective the atomic war. It is necessary to see the counter revolutionary interests of imperialism. Yankee imperialism is seeking to win time, utilising the Chinese against the Soviets, with both against the revolution. There is no need to play their game.

It is necessary to insist on the conclusions, to discuss all these problems on a world scale. It is necessary to discuss then publicly all these problems, and to discuss why there are such political divergences. Why do the Chinese seek to place themselves in agreement with

Yankee imperialism, and not seek to put themselves in agreement with the Workers States? Why not? Why do the Chinese call the Soviets the "agent of imperialism" while this is not true? They are bureaucrats, like the Chinese are, but they are not agents of imperialism. And they have just concluded a Congress which has given an impulse to the struggle against imperialism, and which has supported the struggle of the masses against imperialism. It is a struggle of the interests of the regionalist bureaucrats against the USSR. This is the depth of all this struggle.

All the leaderships of the Workers States are responsible for this policy of the Chinese. Neither the Chinese nor the Soviets, no Workers State, no Communist Party has understood the revolutionary process originating in the time of Peron, nor that in Peru, in Bolivia, or what has happened in Cuba. Before they called them all "fascists" all, as Peron, as the Peruvian military, as the Bolivians. The same in the case of socialist Cuba. They said that it was a democratic bourgeois revolution. We had to struggle to impose "no, it is a socialist revolution". And it was so, because it had socialist bases.

It is necessary to carry forward the discussions for the anti imperialist world united front, to return to impose the appeal to the anti imperialist world congress, which the Soviets formed, and which was decided in the 24th Congress

of the CPSU. The Chinese should have participated in the Moscow Congress. Why did they not go? They should have made criticisms there. If they have criticisms to make, let them make them there. If the Chinese say that they would not have been allowed to make criticisms, they could have said: "They did not allow us to make criticisms", and to fight. They have not gone in order not to commit themselves, to maintain a policy of a clique, not a revolutionary policy. This is the policy of a clique. We repeat our judgement, that there is going to be a very very great struggle in China. And it is very significant, that Mao Tse Tung does not appear anywhere. On the other hand Chou En Lai appears everywhere.

We make an appeal to all the Communist Party, to all the proletarian vanguard and world revolutionary vanguard, to discuss all these problems, and to demonstrate that this is the product of the leaderships, who do not base themselves on marxism, nor on the interpretation of marxism, nor on the objective interest of the revolution, and base themselves instead on regional, administrative and bureaucratic interests. It is necessary to appeal to the world proletarian and revolutionary vanguard to discuss all these questions, to turn ones back on all these obstacles, and to demand the unification of the whole communist movement, of the Workers States and of the communist parties to push forward the anti imperialist and anti capitalist struggle.

IS of the IV International

## CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF OUR IMPRISONED ARGENTINIAN COMRADES

We reproduce below extracts from a communique of the Argentinian Section of the IV International, published following the arrest and detention of two of its members, comrades Ana Correa de Sosenski and Marcelo Caruso. They were taken to the police station and tortured there by electric shocks.

We express our fraternal solidarity with our arrested comrades, and salute them for their dignified revolutionary behaviour under torture. Neither of them said a word to the police.

The campaign for their release has already had a great response in Argentina where the following organisations immediately made declarations. The student centre of Philosophy, and Letters of Buenos Aires, the FUA (the University Federation of Argentina), the M.A.P. (the Movement of Programmatic Action), the F.E.I.T. (the Student Front of the Technology Centre), the Student Congress of La Plata and of Cordoba, etc.

We appeal to the student movement, to the Young Socialists, and Young Communist League, to the Labour Party, and CP militants, to the Trade Unions to demand the immediate freedom of our comrades, writing to the Argentinian Embassy here, and sending us copies of any resolutions and letters sent.

Address: 49, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.

On the 23rd of April the police broke into a house in La Plata, where there were the comrades Ana Correa de Sosenski and Marcelo Caruso. It was only after having launched six tear gas bombs to put an end to the resistance of the comrades that the police had been able to arrest them. The police hadn't any search warrant, and this led our comrades to put up a violent resistance. The next day the newspapers said that the police did not find any compromising documents in the house, with the exception of some marxist publications. Nevertheless they let it be understood, that the two comrades could have been linked to terrorist actions, which had recently been committed in the town. According to the press, they had found in the house material for making terrorist instruments.

We denounce this provocation directly put up by the police, the right wing of the army, the government and capitalism in alliance with Yankee imperialism and the CIA, against our party. It is a part of the whole plan, destined to destroy the party as the living and active element of the proletarian vanguard of the country. The masses, the proletariat and its worker and revolutionary vanguard knows our positions towards terrorism very well. Through its daily action, and its publications, its positions and line are very well known, including even to the police, the government and the army.

When they make such a provocation The attempt to link us with terrorist activities has for its objective to strike at our Party, not only in La Plata, but in all the country.

It is because they are conscious of the advance of the Trotskyist process in the country. This is expressed clearly in the workers movement, in the petit bourge-

oisie, and among the peasants and the nationalist military. All the process advances towards the united front, towards the solution of a popular government, based on the trade unions. They are frightened that this Trotskyist process will find its organised and conscious expression in the Workers Party (Trotskyist). This is why they repress...

The government, the police, are conscious of the political programmatic, and organisational process of maturing going on in the workers movement, and among the masses, and conscious also of the role, the influence, the authority of Trotskyism, of the Workers Party (Trotskyist) in this process. They feel the development of nationalist tendencies, like that of Guglielmelli, influenced by the struggle of the masses, who seek to ally themselves to the trade unions to prepare a nationalist and proletarian solution for the country. They see that the Trotskyists, that our Party, with the ideas of Posadas of the IV International have been able to foresee, orientate, influence and direct this process, which advances in great steps towards a definition. And this is why they make this provocation against our Party...

We denounce this provocation, which wants to compromise us with terrorism, but it is capitalism, its organs of repression, who are the ones who are making terrorism against our Party, our comrades and the masses. We demand the immediate liberty for Ana Correa De Sosenski and of Marcelo Caruso, and denounce before workers and democratic public opinion the electric tortures, to which they have been subjected since their arrest.

Political Bureau of the Workers Party (Trotskyist)

# The Bourgeois Nationalist Government....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

times of the communist and the pro-chinese in Kerala.

It is a good example to measure the importance of the development of these groups of the left, not as protestors, but starting from a programme of progress of the revolution. Independently from whether they are connected with Rouge or not, independently from the programme they have, they are the expression of a reaction, of a resistance, of a social opposition, of the class, to the bourgeois government of Bandanaraik. They want to go much further than that, towards

## 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.

nationalisations, workers control, and towards a series of measures, which take away and limit the capitalists property.

Another aspect of this situation is the existence in the heart of the government of types like Leslie Gunawardena and Colvin da Silva, who we denounce as not belonging to the IV International, because we expelled them in 1960. They were not expelled by Livio Maitan, nor by Pierre Frank, but by the Posadist fraction of the ex-International during the VI Congress of the IV International. When we took this measure all the capitalists rose up against us, and treated us as assassins. We replied, that they "were the biggest bandits, true bourgeois". Two years later, these same capitalists in their turn expelled them from their group, characterising them equally as bourgeois. These types have denied everything. They have nothing to do with Trotskyism, with the Trotskyist policy.

The group, which is in the government in the name of Trotskyism has nothing to do with it. It is an ex-Trotskyist movement, expelled for its policy of alliance with capitalism. The united front that it makes does not limit itself to concrete points, but constitutes a veritable alliance with capitalism on the basis of a bourgeois policy. The proof of it is given by this repression, assassination against the workers, and the support, which they gave to it through their participation in this government and this policy.

As for this other group, which calls itself "unofficial", and which is bound to Pierre Frank, it does not belong any longer to the IVth International. It is a question of a revolutionary tendency which seems to have correct positions on certain points in relationship to Ceylon. It struggles for example for a series of nationalisations under workers control; we are in agreement with this, just as we are, when the Communists and the pro-Chinese pose it. But that is only one aspect of Trotskyist policy, of the IV International. The Communist, the nationalist movements, accept and practice it as well.

Trotskyism is a whole policy, which tends towards relations with the Workers States, the united front with the C.P.'s of the Workers States, and of the capitalist countries, which poses the perspective of partial historic regeneration, the historic re-encounter, the inevitable war, the preparation in view of the latter, and the struggle to impose a programme of workers control, and sovietisation. The leaders of this tendency, Mandel, Frank and Co., continue to accept certain elements of the Trotskyist programme, but they are neither Trotskyists, or of the IV International.

To be Trotskyists signifies the comprehension of this process of history, which Trotsky defines as the "political revolution". What form does it take at this stage? That of the historic re-encounter and the partial regeneration of the Communist Parties and the Workers States. Without this understanding, one cannot make a Trotskyist policy, otherwise one continues to put forward a policy which aims to take the place of the communist leaderships, that is impossible to do today. There is neither the time, nor the historic delay, and it is not the way the process goes or unfolds. By the necessity of history, the C.P.'s must change, and in this sense facilitate the political revolution, not all certainly, but the great majority.

Leslie Gunawardena and Colvin da Silva have nothing to do with Trotskyism; they are bourgeois. They are at the head of a petit bourgeois movement linked with capitalism, which takes some progressive measures, like any petit-bourgeois movement and nothing more.

It is necessary to put the accent on the character of the movement in Ceylon where a series of left tendencies arise beginning from a government composed of petit-bourgeois of Trotskyist origin having degenerated, and which timidly attempted to take some progressive measures. Similar situations are going to arise in Africa and Latin America. The appearance and development of revolutionary tendencies, not controlled by either the Communists, or the Socialists, or the left nationalists, are going above all to spring up. It is necessary to pay attention to this, because it indicates the revolutionary decision of very important layers of the petit-bourgeoisie and proletariat, disposed to be in the front of leading a programme of sovietisation, which passes above the petit-bourgeois nationalist leaderships.

In principle, we support this movement

which opposes the government, not from a petit bourgeois point of view, but from a workers point of view. It shows also the heterogeneity of Mandel groups, which call themselves "Trotskyist". While they supported the Dubcek tendency in Czechoslovakia, here they supported a movement, which approaches the needs of revolutionary development. The government of Ceylon is far from representing all the force and power of the development of the revolution; it is a petit-bourgeois government, which wants to limit the measures to their reformist aspects, within the capitalist camp.

All this situation reveals also the attitude of the Chinese, who understood nothing and continue to carry out a bureaucratic policy in defence of its bureaucratic interests. The Soviets as much as the Chinese in supporting such interests, can not prevent the movement escaping their control. The Chinese do not want to be dominated by the Soviets, and for bureaucratic interests contain a revolutionary movement, which has very great possibilities of development.

This process must retain all our attention, in the measure where it is an indication of a development in several parts of the world of left tendencies, which are controlled by neither the Communists, nor the Socialists, nor the Soviet or Chinese bureaucracies. These movements develop escaping their control, but reflecting the profundity of the revolution, its impulsion. The world process stimulates them to advance, and the traditional and old leaderships can no longer control them. All that is going to repeat itself, in Ceylon or elsewhere, radicalising a sector of the Da Silva and Bandara-

naik movement, radicalising the movements in India, in Pakistan, and in the Middle East. There exists a powerful movement in the world, which escapes from the control of the old leadership, and even the Workers States. That is also one of the reasons why the Soviets were obliged to accept the unification of the Arab States, of Syria, Egypt and Libya.

All this indicates the richness, the deepness of the world process, which stimulates revolutionary solutions, and allows whole sectors to be incorporated into the revolution, although they have no past tradition. This is shown by the revolutionary movements, which there are in the world, and which influence others. That is the process in Ceylon, Bengal, Kerala, and Pakistan; these are the phenomena, which escape from the control of the Chinese and Soviets, underlining the bureaucratic character of their two leaderships, which fight against a revolutionary tendency, instead of supporting it to impel each other to struggle against the capitalist regime. Each of them wants to maintain its bureaucratic power, and refuses in this case to stimulate or objectively support the revolution.

These movements must be respected. It is necessary to stop the murders, to allow a total liberty of discussion, the full exercise of democratic revolutionary rights for all tendencies, to intervene, participate, decide. What is so important about this movement is that it is composed in majority of young people of 18-24 years, especially students and peasants, but also in part workers.

I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

24 April 1971.

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## Inflation and deflation, two aspects of the chronic crisis of capitalism

7. 11. 1970

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## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

level, appealing to all the workers of Britain to support the occupation, particularly appealing to the steelworkers to supply it with steel. The bourgeois press sneers at the idea of occupation (to hide their own fear), and say that the workers will not work for no pay; but by this they show that they don't understand the intelligence of the proletariat. The workers will build the ship in order to show to the rest of the population the ability of the proletariat, and to highlight the total parasitism of the bourgeoisie. And this is correct, but it is also necessary to appeal to the Workers States for loans, for materials, and to buy the ship when it is completed. This would mean a very powerful advance of dual power in the country, demoralising the bourgeoisie, and impelling the process of construction of a new leadership in the Labour Party, CP and unions.

It is necessary also to use the local councils in Glasgow, which reflect, in a limited way, the social dominance of the proletariat in the area, and are controlled by the Labour Party, as an arm of the struggle. The councils must stop charging council rents to the strikers, must give free transport on municipal buses, all the technical, social, educational, health facilities of the municipality must go to the strikers, and this must be-

come a norm throughout the country. Similarly with the Co-ops; unlimited credit during the strike to feed and clothe the strikers families.

In this way UCS can be the centre for the organisation of the unlimited general strike with occupations throughout the country—as the half day strike in Scotland last Wednesday showed in a limited fashion—whose central slogan must be, apart from others against unemployment, against the industrial relations bill etc, the throwing out of the Tory Government, and the return of a left Labour Government on an anti-capitalist programme. This slogan, which can be surpassed in the actual course of the revolutionary general strike, expresses the sentiments of the vast majority of the population, and forms a bridge to the next stage of the direct struggle for power.

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## INFLATION AND DEFLATION; TWO ASPECTS OF THE CHRONIC CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.

J. POSADAS 7-11-70

Inflation and deflation are two consequences of the same cause; the capitalist system. In our days inflation is much more accentuated than in the past because the capitalist regime is more besieged than before. It lives in a permanent situation of inflation. Before, it imposed itself on the masses, now it defends itself from them. The imperialist countries can no longer unload inflation on the colonial countries. Now they are forced to put up with it in their own country. All the capitalist countries are living with an over valued currency, one which is not solid, with the exception of capitalist Germany, and in part Switzerland and Denmark. But only Germany weighs in the world economy. The others have money but not industries, they have nowhere to invest; which is not the case for the United States.

Inflation is the consequence of the incapacity of the capitalist system to reply to the process of its own functioning. The base of this is to be found in the competition with the Workers States and with everything which the struggle of the masses against the capitalist system signifies. Now it is sharper than before, because there are more Workers States, Revolutionary States, which forces capitalism to diminish the area of profit and obliges it on the contrary to increase the money spent for the war, counter revolution and repression. This breaks up its system. As it cannot unload it on what were before the colonies, and as it can no longer do it on the back of the proletariat, its interior struggles are elevated and it is decomposing. The middle layers of capitalism are tumbling down, sectors are eliminated and concentration increases.

The result of all this is a great world concentration. All the remedies which they find serve for nothing. It doesn't have any solution. Money is only a simple symbol; one can deal with it, but the economy? Money is a symbol and nothing more. Also the capitalists seek all the solutions in agreement with the sector which interests them, which is convenient to them to make the system function. This is what they are doing. All these measures tending to seek arrangements, to free themselves from the dollar, they are taking because the European bourgeoisie feel that Yankee imperialism competes with them with money which, in its turn is a world force, and they wish to separate themselves from it. But as they have neither the force nor the economic structure, they depend on the dollar, and they are going to come up inevitably against it, because 30% of the economy is in the hands of the Yankees.

Deflation is the other aspect. Trotsky said "two sides of the same coin". It is the drying up of investments, and they are going therefore from inflation to this type of crisis. They are still not there, but they are in the two situations at once. In deflation and inflation. Why? Because this is the epoch of the final settlement of accounts. Capitalism is obliged to make investments which pass beyond all its possibilities of accumulation and of competition with the Workers States. Also the growth of capitalist productivity is more rapid. Germany expresses it and not solely the United States. The former and Yankee imperialism are the representatives of the capitalist system. The Workers States advance, advance, advance, economically, scientifically, culturally in a revolutionary way and politically, forcing them to make competition. The cost of the moon trips, for rockets, the immense cost of the counter revolution are just as much expenses imposed by competition between the world revolution and the capitalist system. This is not taken into account in production but it has repercussions there.

Money is a symbol but it can never represent a force which does not exist, which was not created. It is a symbol which cannot represent anything except the forces which exist; beyond this and everything collapses.

The capitalist system is waiting to recuperate some of the things which it has lost; Roumania, Yugoslavia, and to see if it can pillage something. It can steal a Dubcek or an Ota Sik but nothing more. A sector of the European bourgeoisie is grouped together in the European Common Market which is the form of organisation of production to try to eliminate competition in Europe, faced to the Yankees and to the world revolution; faced to the struggles of the proletariat which are advancing. They impose the diminution of the hours of work, of production time, the increase of salaries, of holidays and the right to strike. There is there a series of conquests which damages the cost of capitalist production and diminishes its profits. By diminishing them they diminish its capacity for capitalisation, for accumulation, re-investment, and in consequence productivity. All re-investment serves to increase productivity and production. The more this is extended, the more profit increases, the more its costs lower and consequently the more it can centralise, increase and automate production. If they don't do it, the Worker/<sup>States</sup> will compete and trade with the whole capitalist system. Faced to this they must respond with fascism. And?... The Greek Colonels are setting everyone free! And in some prisons they are putting television, heating and have gone so far as to permit prisoners to come out on Sundays!

While the bourgeoisies are constructing the E.E.C. (Common Market) the Communists are setting out to go to the power. In Italy but also in France. The crisis of capitalism is very great in England, where the movement of the Irish is neither religious, nor nationalist it is a social revolutionary movement. While they are looking for a solution through the E.E.C. which is a gigantic monopoly the masses contest it with a European meeting to constitute a soviet socialist united states of Europe, which renders capitalism very unstable.



Now the costs of the war are a thousand times more important than before. Productivity increases incredibly; they make now in one hour what before took them 20 days. It is a very great progress. But the class struggles makes also a similar progress which one cannot measure solely by strikes, but also by the existence of 16 Workers States and by the fact that several Revolutionary States are approaching Workers States; Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Congo Brazzaville, Iraq, South Yemen, Guinea, Tanzania, Ghana, Zambia, Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Laos, Cambodia. They are all countries which are going towards Workers States, taking away the bases from capitalism. This reduces its own influence and the world accumulation of capital diminishes and collapses.

The European bourgeoisie in principal will have to depend more and more on Yankee imperialism; but there is on the contrary an intention to break the dependance on this. The Yanks seeing that they cannot limit and dominate politically are increasing their investments in Europe. Reducing each time the space for capitalism. It cannot lose all its dynamism nevertheless, because it would then lose the basis for its existence. In every way it must be dynamic. But the zones, the field, the places for investment diminish constantly.

This leads it to have plans of investment which are not reproductive, like the war. Then it reduces the plans and diminishes the bases of accumulation and of profit, because it is preparing the war. They are unproductive investments which do not return to the market. Each day this phenomenon is more intense. If capitalism does not collapse it is because technique, productivity has advanced a lot and also because the Workers States allow it to live. But the process of accumulation of capital is directed more and more each time towards ways without solutions, which are not reproductive. For example what goes to market is consumed, it goes and comes back; but on the contrary the cost of the war no; it is dead capital, it is a whole amount of capital which doesn't come back, which doesn't circulate in the market. The immense majority are expenses which do not raise the level of living, and only incorporate people into the work by a very small amount. There is a quantity of immense and non reproductive expenses, or with very little of reproductive value. Those that are reproductive are produced under the blows of the masses. This is why in all parts of the world there are attempts to make organisms of the European Common Market type, in Latin America it is the ANDIEN Market, the Latin American Common Market, in Africa and Asia also there are such attempts. They are the capitalist sectors which seek to concentrate themselves to have economic strength for investment, in order to confront the big capitalists and the Workers States.

But even in Latin America, with the Andien Pact, the investments and agreements do not tend to favour the development of the capitalist system, but to limit it; in as much as a great number of these countries are influenced by forms of production and of property which do not reproduce the capitalist system any more. This latter must be reproduced constantly otherwise it stagnates, becomes inert and therefore other forces progress. And from here comes the base of the

Revolutionary States. Otherwise this would not exist. The capitalists are desperate today. They have studied for eight years! How to invest here, how to invest there, at what price, what cost? They believed they could make the world, in this way with money, with currency. As they accumulated capital and as it is capital which decides which governs the economy they believed that this governs the world. The Bolsheviks took power and constructed the Soviet Union without a penny, they didn't even have money from the other states, they had nothing and they constructed the first Workers State of the world.

What they say about inflation are no more than lies. There is inflation it is clear. It is motivated by the capitalist system, it is a consequence of it. If a great world crisis has still not broken out it is because the costs of the war absorb everything, and because there is a very great reduction in the social base of the capitalist system. It is necessary to compare the capitalist system in 1939 and now. 40% of proprietors have disappeared! They have been liquidated! One must see the enormous concentration which there is.

All the measures which the capitalist governments take to contain inflation, trying to say that it is the fault of the masses, saying that they should not make strikes, not consume, are false measures; beginning by wanting to control consumption and increase savings. To increase savings means a concentration of capital; the government takes it, lends it to some capitalist who invests it. This means the concentration of capital in one sector against another and against a sector of the population which afterwards consumes less than before. This is the capitalist system. While in no Workers States, no serious Workers States, leaving out Yugoslavia, is there any inflation. The only inflation which exists is that of the bureaucrats who are getting fatter.

J. POSADAS. 7.11.70.

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RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

## The crisis of the dollar and of the capitalist system and the need for the Soviet Socialist States for Europe

3 May 1971

Capitalism tries in vain to present the money crisis as a logical consequence of the lack of agreement, and of the insecurity, which exists among them. Lies! It is a direct consequence of the war expenses, which surpasses the possibilities of this system. They cannot face this crisis, which takes a character less economic than monetary. The different capitalist countries try to mutually support each other, and prevent themselves giving way to Yankee imperialism. The dollar should have been devalued by 40% a long time ago. Before the second world war, the U.S. had a dollar reserve of 35 thousand millions. This is today reduced to 12 thousand millions, when the Germans have 17. If it only presented itself as a question of money—of cash in hand as they say—the Germans would be the stronger. But they do not have either the industrial power, or the military capacity, or the social weight of the Yankees. That is why the dollar remains more important than the German mark.

Not everything that the capitalist system says is lies, from the point of view where even though they cannot explain the true reasons of its crisis, they want to present it as a simple monetary divergence. The money is a symbol, which expresses a given economic state. On top of the fiduciary money there is the money which circulates under the form of trade and of credit, which represents less than 20% of the whole of money.

The actual crisis of the dollar is very deep, from the point of view, where the other currencies must confront it at the same time as protecting the North America dollar. For if the least economic crisis is produced in consequence of the actual monetary situation, it will mean a chain reaction development of unemployment and the unleashing of great social struggles in the United States. What could stop the revolution there? All the capitalist system of the world throws itself into protecting the american money, and above all the most powerful countries. Italy for its part seeks to gain from the situation. It helps her in the fact that she favours American investments. These latter come to her more cheaply, which is the opposite for Germany. That is why the Italian bourgeoisie is delighted with this situation.

This monetary crisis is the crisis of the capitalist system. It can no longer make the proletarian masses, or the Workers States pay. It must support the cost of war, the counter-revolution, of repression. It is not a crisis produced by a lack of consumption. This only intervenes in a secondary fashion. The essential reason is the cost of the war in Vietnam, Middle

East, Israel, Africa, the cost of the space research: it is tens of millions of dollars that are "thrown into the air". None of that is recuperable. If the regime could do, it would make the masses, the colonies pay. But that is no longer possible; also it must reduce its margins, and increase in consequence the splintering factors of the crisis.

During this time, the competition increases between them, and the Workers States. The deficit of the world capitalist system is increasing. Faced with the advance of the revolution, with the development of Revolutionary States; Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Middle East, Algeria, the fields of investment for capitalism can only be reduced.

Also it only has the choice between launching the war, or installing fascism, that it can no longer do, because it does not have the force, it is internally devouring itself. If the United States falls, it will take the whole of the capitalist system with it; that is where their common preoccupation to save the dollar comes from. Which would otherwise be an absurd thing for them. It is in their logical interests to set up a money system in Europe against the dollar, a money of the Common Market, to assure competition against the Yanks, but also against the Workers States. They do the opposite of this, it is a question of another type of competition, for it is not effected on the free market. When they protect the dollar therefore, it is through fear that it will fall. The Germans could today devalue, and the Mark would come out the winner. But who would want Marks? What military strength has Germany? What social weight has it? Nothing compared to the Yankees.

It is not a problem of a "financial crisis", but more a problem of the capitalist system, which reveals itself to be very weak. This monetary crisis does not happen as a coup, from one moment to the other. It was preceded by great mobilisations throughout Europe, including the peasants in Brussels, and capitalism has done all it can to hide it, to conceal it. The costs of the war to prepare the attack are immense, as they are to defend itself from the Workers States, to prevent the advance of the revolution. The capitalists must invest in this aim constantly. They can only find money in two ways; either by increasing productivity, or extending exploitation. If they can increase the first, they can no longer extend exploitation, except for the North American masses. Everywhere else their fields of exploitation diminish.

It is a mistake to say as the communists do, that "the Yankees exploit all the

world". They still do it most certainly a lot, but each time with less possibility. In fact, the Workers States, the Revolutionary States, the progress of the masses more and more reduces the fields of investment, and profit of the capitalist system. Also to confront these costs, they must fight among themselves. They cannot prevent the competition from the Workers States, nor from the masses, nor can they create new colonies, they are therefore obliged to retire within themselves. Further, there is now the direct intervention of the masses of the United States. In their struggles they also prevent capitalism from finding bases of exploitation there.

The Yankees have a cash in hand of 12 thousand millions, when they should have more than twice that. It is a very

### THE SYMPTOM OF A VERY PROFOUND CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

It is necessary to await the later effects of this crisis, in the sense of a sharpening of the inter-capitalist competition. The weakness is economic and social. The crisis, the competition between them is growing and each seeks to save itself, to get disentangled, even if they accentuate the measures towards the unification of Europe. The Soviets are going to try to profit from all that to contain more left measures, to try to have agreements with the European bourgeoisies, against the Yanks. Such a policy is incorrect. There is no need to do that. One can profit from the situation, but by mobilising the masses. Such a mobilisation of the masses in a European general strike would increase the crisis of the capitalist system by a thousand per cent. The dictatorships of France, in Portugal, or in Greece would fall without delay. In this last country it has not long to go, even if the colonels flirt with the Soviet Union, with China, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and seek to establish commercial relations.

Capitalism expected this monetary crisis. The Yugoslavs have an economic, social and political crisis. The Communist Parties have a strong crisis of growth, the masses are putting up a great resistance to their policies. Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania are in crisis. Ceaucescu has just declared that it is necessary to be independent, and proposes to increase the inter-Comecon agreements while incorporating other non-socialist countries. What a mentality of the bureaucrat. They apply nothing of Marxism and are further from proposing to construct a communist society. They only want a better society than the capitalist system, better in that it allows greater layers of the population to share the national product. That is why they have recourse to capitalist measures, to the market economy, which is the economy of to him who can do the most. Socialism aims to eliminate all that. In a market agreement, all the subjective qualities, individual interests, individual thought, property, possession, conflict, struggles of one against another, develop.

This monetary crisis is a very profound symptom of the crisis of the capitalist system, very, very profound, so the later repercussions are going to come shortly. They arrive at transitory agreements, to save themselves, but not to give a real solution. To strengthen the money, they must increase production, consumption, the fields of investment. How are they going to do that? They increase productivity, because they are obliged to; they must economize to be able to invest. They must at the same time increase the market consumption without

great crisis of the capitalist system. The agreement that they have arrived at is no more solid than a house built on sand. It is a patchwork of little strength, which only expresses the deepness of the crisis. Even independent of the world situation, there is there an indication of a very sharp state of crisis. But it is even more true if one takes account of the 24th Congress of the C.P. of the U.S.S.R., the existence of Chile, of Bolivia, of Peru, of Argentina, of the development of the "wide front" in Uruguay, the Middle East, which impels measures of socialisation. Capitalism has been incapable of unifying the Middle East, of making its economy advance, and to do this today these countries must take measures, which are applied in the Workers States.

being as capable of doing it, because the greater part passes in consumption for war. It is therefore money, which cannot come back on to the market, which eliminates the productive apparatus. They are a series of non-productive investments.

All those are the very deep symptoms of the very deep crisis of capitalism that they still succeed in containing in part. In the United States for example, they hide the crisis. As in everything, containing the pressure can win time before the explosion. The explosion is going to come shortly. The ramshackle agreements that they stick together, are not going to have any effect; the internal political division increases, it in consequence weakens the unified structure of the capitalist system.

Capitalism shows itself therefore incapable of acting in a coherent fashion, that would be in their interests. Each acts in function of its own interests. The same in Brussels, where they are divided by a thousand things. It is a false unification. One sees there the consequences of a false European Common Market.

In the case of money each has different interests. They try to unify the interests of the monopolies to try to substitute for the absence of a Market and to confront the Workers States. They can only reach circumstantial agreements, constantly put in question, gnawed, by their diverging interests, by their internal conflicts. Isolated, no capitalist country can function, but their unification is just as impossible, for each has different interests. The monopoly is an expression of all that. It is a common market internally dominated by big finance. Monopoly does not annual competition, nor the crisis. It does not escape the problems of industry, the production of steel, cars, of agricultural production, of commercial exchanges. The differences of cost of production exist, differences in money, in the price of goods and sale. Capitalism is impotent to get over that.

Further, the intervention of the Workers States, obliges them to increase productivity constantly. But if this is not accompanied by an expansion of the market, it concentrates even more on the consumption must follow, and that is what they cannot do. The proof of it is given by the agriculture of the European Common Market. The plans are of destruction of millions of heads of cattle, tons of butter, hundreds of litres of wine, tons of fruit, of vegetables. They increase productivity, diminish the cost of production, but do not increase consumption, because the purchasing power of the great masses is not increased. There are people who would consume, but not from

## Two Manchester Young Socialist Branches demand the release of the Argentinian Trotskyists

We Moss Side YS Branch condemn the imprisonment and Torture of Ana Correa De Sosenski and Marcelo Caruso, (militants of the Workers Party (Trotskyist) of Argentina) and all the other political prisoners by the Argentine government. We realise you are doing this in an attempt to intimidate the Argentinian and Latin American workers, and to attempt to destroy the authority of the Workers Party (Trotskyist) Argentinian Section of the IV International by linking it with terrorism. We express our solidarity with the comrades, and realise that neither by imprisonments, nor tortures, nor assassinations will you intimidate the Trotskyists of Argentina, nor the world working class. We demand their immediate release. A similar motion was passed by Wythenshawe Y.S.

the market, because they have not the money. This monetary crisis is the expression of the crisis of the capitalist system in this stage when there exist 16 Workers States.

The communists do not analyse in this bases of the crisis. Productivity increases, way. Sometimes they say: 'the crisis of capitalism arises from the intervention of the socialist countries'. No. It arises from the existence of the 16 Workers States, from the resistance of the masses to pay the costs of war, from the progress of the revolution, from the resistance and the rejection of the Vietnam war by the N. American masses.

This monetary crisis is a result of the economic crisis. It is deviated towards the monetary crisis to try to mask, to contain it. All the factors of the economic crisis are united in the United States; there are 6 million unemployed, unemployment is growing among the blacks and the young. 25-30% products of the world work force is employed in the production of war. Investments in war products are added to much more quickly than those for the needs of consumption. Capitalism has no solution, no perspective. Indeed on the contrary. This monetary crisis is going to increase the pressure on its unity, on its possibilities of agreement, on its political structure.

It is necessary to consider this monetary crisis as the reflection of the crisis of the capitalist system, a crisis led by the development of the Workers States, by their economic progress, their social and political progress, although these last are more weak. And then there is the development of the revolution in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, the advance of the Revolutionary States. There are the bases of this monetary crisis, which is a result of trying to hide the crisis of the system in its entirety.

One of the bases of this crisis is that capitalism does not know, where to invest. It needs social assurance. But it does not find it anywhere. Boumedienne —hadn't he promised not to touch petrol? And when the French reproached him, he said: "no, no, it is not me, it is the masses". And the French C.G.T. must support the Algerians. It is one of the principal bases of the crisis of the capitalist system: it has no social security to invest. It is afraid. It must allow the expropriations, including those against Yankee imperialism. It must accept these in Chile, in Bolivia, in Peru, at the same time trying to safeguard part of the inviolability of property. They reassure themselves, because they have been promised to be compensated in 20 years.

#### THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF CAPITALISM UNIFYING ITSELF AGAINST THE WORKERS STATES

The crisis of the dollar, which is that of the capitalist system, is an aspect of its internal struggle and competition. This system has nevertheless the common interest to confront the USSR, the Workers States and the revolution. Because of this, they must combine their efforts. They criticise the Workers States by saying that they cannot put themselves in agreement. But where is the agreement between them? The crisis of the dollar puts in evidence the lack of homogeneity of the capitalist system. It never has been, and it never will be. It is on the edge of an even more profound crisis, on top of the chronic social crisis, which it is living. The proof of it is the crisis in the United States, the capitalist country, which they say is the most stable of the world. The American masses rise up against the war in Vietnam, even the generals, the senators, the journalists. They all feel pessimism and insecurity in tomorrow. This goes hand in hand with the maturing of the economic crisis, whose social and revolutionary consequences are going to have repercussions throughout the whole of the United States. The struggle for the increasing of salaries, against unemployment, against the cost of living, are going to find the way to fuse with the struggle against the war in Vietnam. The capitalist system is disintegrating, while the Workers States are growing in their economic, social and military power.

The C.P. and the governments of the Workers States, the C.P.s of the world do not profit from this crisis to push forward a class offensive against the capitalist system. This would precipitate the weakening, the internal disintegration of capitalism. The recent trip of Rogers, is a trip of defeat. He is the ambassador of defeat. He has not been there, as at other times, to impose his positions on Israel and the Arabs. He went there to see how it was possible to contain, to make pressure to prevent a greater decomposition. All this shows very well the crisis in the United States, since Israel is supported by them. The United States seeks an agreement with the Soviets in order to be able to contain; this is what Rogers went to seek in the

Boumedienne had also promised! Today he says that all the indemnities must be reinvested in the country. Cuba, Chile, Bolivia, have just posed to C.E.P.A.L. the necessity of socialist planning in Latin America.

On that one can also add the occupation of Renault, which increased the dual power in the factories and in the world. The simple existence of 16 Workers States is a dual power on the level of the world, an armed duality. It is that which commands the world. It is no longer capitalism which can determine. Further, even at the heart of what remains of the capitalist system, the masses develop dual power. If capitalism still lives, it is because the Workers States, the C.P.s, do not have an interest in the revolution. They certainly want to do away with the capitalist system, but not by revolutionary methods.

German capitalism is the strongest in Europe, but it does not have much socially. It is a weak capitalism; it is sufficient to see that it must carry out the "Ostpolitik". It must take account of its social base, centralised in the Socialist Party, and whose aspirations are anti-capitalist. Capitalism shows all its interior antagonistic contradictions. In fact, the masses of the Socialist Party have no interest in defending and protecting the Yankees and the capitalist system. They remain in the Socialist Party in the expectation of being able to elevate and develop it. At the same time they see the German Workers State. Thus it is that the strongest money of the capitalist system is under the direct influence of the German Workers State, and the German masses, who seek to eliminate the capitalist system. There is a strong indication of its weakness.

If the Workers States and the Communist Parties had a correct policy, this monetary crisis would transform itself into a social crisis of such a depth, that the conditions for overthrowing the system would be united. The bureaucracy of the Workers States would not profit from that and draw no conclusion from it. An economic, social and political offensive from them, the organisation of great strikes, of mobilisations, of demonstrations, of occupations, for the demands, would leave the capitalist system inert.

It is necessary to profit from their crisis, and this is what the Workers States aren't doing, nor the C.P.s. It is however a much more profound crisis than the monetary expression that it takes at the moment. When the smoke appears underneath it there is fire.

Middle East in his trip. It is necessary to take into consideration that Rogers went after the Soviets have sent new arms to the Egyptians. He seeks an agreement, which is the least evil for imperialism.

The political and social situation in the Middle East is much more profound than what Rogers let people think after his trip. He sought to allow the Yanks to penetrate the Middle East, and he failed in great part. He did not succeed in reaching any agreement. He simply increased the Yankee pressure on the governments of the Middle East. The visit of Rogers was made in agreement with the Soviet Union, with a view of putting pressure on the Israelis, so that they should partly yield. Egypt under the pressure of receiving new Soviet arms, must accept certain concessions as well in this sense.

The union between Libya, Syria and Egypt is a socialist agreement, even if the socialist measures are insignificant, but it indicates that in order to be accepted by the population, they must unify themselves.

The Yankees have failed in their attempt to impose containing measures on the Arab revolution and the Soviet intervention. It is no longer Israel, which can determine. There is a defeat for the Yankees, for if Israel definitely continues to occupy the invaded zones, its economy which is directed to maintain Israel in these zones cannot last. Strategically it doesn't have any value. A miniature atomic bomb will destroy it. Strategically, Israel has no value. It is only a simple measure of protection of the capitalist system, to try to contain the development of the revolution. But the Soviets are more established there than ever.

The problem is not only Israel and the Arab countries, but the intervention of the Soviets, of the Workers States, and their liaison and influence in the Middle East. They are going there, and are making meetings in the name of socialism. They do not go in the name of private property, of free enterprise, or the idiot Nixon. They do it in the name of the Workers State. It is an immense pro-

gress of the revolution; a failure of Yankee imperialism, even if this tries to contain Israel.

The interest of the Yankees, as those of the Soviets, is the re-opening of the Suez Canal. This is obvious. As much for the Soviets as for the Yankees it is a measure of great economic importance. It is a canal, which would economise 40% of the cost of transporting petrol if it was open. It is also the interest of Egypt which has not touched any money from the canal for three years. The Soviets are helping, but they do not compensate entirely for the losses. Nevertheless the Egyptian masses have not made any problem about it.

The crisis of the dollar expresses the normal cyclic crisis of the capitalist system, which is contained in the principal capitalist states, but which is openly expressed in Asia, in Africa, Latin America by unemployment, rise in the cost of living, the big social struggles, the constant mobilisations of the masses, in the struggle for the defence of its wages, for employment, for the land, in defence against capitalist attacks.

The monetary crisis, is the form in which the crisis of the capitalist system is expressed in this stage of history. This was always the case. But today it is the dollar, the principal force of support of the system, which is in crisis. The dollar supports the most powerful military and industrial apparatus. This shows the extreme weakness of a system, which can no longer create all the economic and financial means which it needs. The masses reject it. They do not accept any more the attempts to make them carry the cost of the war, of repression, of terrorism.

At the same time as this monetary crisis, the internal crises are developing immensely, because of the permanent elimination of small and medium enterprises, the concentration of capital, of high finance in the hands of the Yankee and world monopolies. The crisis of the dollar is also the product of the development of Yankee investments in the world, particularly in Europe, where capitalism feels more sure of itself.

There the Yankee investments feel more sheltered, but they provoke in their turn, the development of the struggle of the masses. The regime must confront them, as it also must confront the development of the Workers States, and the development of the revolution in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the competition of the revolutionary states. The capitalist system must confront all this situation. It cannot reply with the

#### THE WORKERS STATES AND

They must call to develop the struggles, basing themselves and profiting from these expressions of weakness of the enemy. They must impel the struggle of the masses for demands, for the united front, by multiplying the analyses, the manifestos, the articles, which elevate the understanding of the petit bourgeois on the significance of the crisis of the capitalist system, to show what it is necessary to do to overthrow it.

They must show how the planning of the Workers States prevent such crisis. And there where they are produced, as in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and in part in Poland, it is because the bureaucracy does not apply these plans, distances itself from centralised planning. This is because there is no workers control, factory committees, no soviets, no intervention of the population in the economy.

It is necessary to profit from all the aspects of the crisis of capitalism to make propaganda, demonstrations, to take resolutions, to penetrate within the population to show the superiority of the Workers States.

The wars, the crisis, unemployment, inequality, injustice, are the product of the capitalist regime. It is necessary to show the superiority of the Workers State. It is necessary to appeal for a united front in each country to eliminate the consequences produced by this system, and among these crises the present currency crisis, which is going to bring about price increases, unemployment, the dearth of primary necessities, and in an attempt to make the masses pay for all this.

Inter-capitalist competition and struggle is very great. This crisis is equally an expression of this, in the measure that capitalism hasn't got the colonial possibilities it once had. Every colony is now independent, and is taking the form of the Revolutionary State, the Workers State. Thus the competition becomes more acute, between each country and within them. More and more sectors are eliminated, while others concentrate themselves in order to dominate economically, to increase productivity. But joined with this, the class and revolutionary struggle is rising. The Workers States,

counter-revolutionary war immediately, even if it prepares it intensely. It no longer has the strength to reply with fascism. The revolution advances more powerfully than all the military means, and the internal crisis sharpens. From this comes the more and more intense concentration of capital, the elimination of small and middle sectors of industry, of finances, and of commerce, which are absorbed by the big trusts, the big consortiums, especially the Yankee ones.

This shows, that in spite of the progress of the development of the role of the dollar in the world, neither the political, military, social domination grows. In effect jointly with this concentration of capital, the concentration of the revolution advances, and the revolutionary progress favourable to the world expansion of the revolution, is advancing. This is expressed in the revolutionary development of the struggle of the masses of Europe, of Asia, of Africa and of Latin America, and in the obligation, which the bureaucracy of the Workers States have to seek an alliance with the revolutionary states, with the struggle of the masses, with the governments and countries, which are rising up against imperialism.

This is why the crisis of the dollar expresses a profound crisis of capitalism which announces a more profound later crisis within a short period of time, a crisis of disintegration of the centralised power of the capitalist system, facilitating the development of the revolution. The capitalist monetary crisis, and particularly the crisis of the dollar, must be taken as an aspect of the general crisis of the capitalist system. The Workers States, the workers parties, must consequently launch an offensive, so as not to pay the consequences, and to unify this action to the whole struggle to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system.

In this monetary crisis, different to the preceding ones, there are particular, special new elements. They are the existence of the 16 Workers States, the preparation of a war, which is going to be incalculably costly, and there are the military investments in Vietnam. None of this existed in other epochs. Explosive forces are accumulating to make a still more profound crisis break out. Imperialism feels also that the final settlement of accounts approaches, and fears that the economic crisis will break out before, for this would be an impulsion, which would unify all the masses towards a solution of nationalisation of property against the capitalist system.

#### THE C.P. MUST INTERVENE

the nationalist states, the revolutionary process is developing, taking away all margin of action from the capitalist system. This is why it prepares to reply with the atomic war. This monetary crisis is an expression, an impulsion for the preparation of the war. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States, to the C.P.s, to the big trade union centres to organise mobilisations to programme economic progress, planning and investments capable of responding to all the needs of the population, to fight against the cost of the war in the capitalist countries, and to appeal to the army to link up with the population. It is necessary to plan production for the benefit of the civilian population, and to call for a proletarian united front of workers and peasants, students, petit bourgeois, to overthrow the capitalist system, which is the way to impede the launching of the war.

We want peace, tranquillity, and joy for the population, but for this it is necessary to overthrow all the regimes, which are opposed to it, to overthrow the capitalist system, and lead forward the struggle in the Workers States for the rebirth of the soviets, of proletarian democracy, for factory councils, and for an independent trade union functioning for the development of planning on the basis of the needs of the population, and of the world development of the socialist revolution.

It is necessary to appeal for the unification of Europe, in the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe. It is necessary to unify Europe on the basis of the nationalisation of property, of the planning of the economy, of workers councils, soviets, functioning of proletarian democracy. This is what is going to permit putting an end to all these crises, economic, monetary and others.

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THE LIMITED UNIFICATION OF EGYPT, SYRIA AND LIBYA, THE CLASS STRUGGLE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

24-4-71

It is necessary to see, that different to the preceding phase, this unification is made within the framework of a process of much more elevated struggle, arms in hand, as in the case of the fedayeen. There is also Algeria which is taking anti-imperialist measures, of a socialist type. All this is going to influence this unification to give a real socialist sense to the whole of this process. The bases of this unification are first of all democratic and then socialist.

Capitalism has not been capable of unifying the Arab countries. Its interests lead it to divide and separate each Arab country so as to extend more and more its domination on a world scale, preventing in this way, the concentration of social forces, of the exploited masses and the influence of the socialist revolution. Capitalism shows itself to be powerless to make progressive measures in the Arab countries. This is why this unification, even if it is limited, is constructed on bases which are pushing it towards the Workers States.

It is a question of a measure which inevitably, by the logical necessity of unification, is taken in relation to the interests, the structure, the programme, and the orientation towards the Workers State. The superiority of measures of nationalisation, of a planned structure, of the centralisation of production and leadership cannot be disputed.

It has some fundamental political limitations, because the proletariat is still not in power, nor does it hold any organisms of power. Nevertheless this is an important progress of the revolution, towards the construction of Workers States in the Middle East.

The world revolution influences sectors who yesterday were the servants of the capitalist regime and who today are gained and influenced by the world socialist revolution. It is the direct influence of 16 Workers States, 10 Revolutionary States and the struggle of the arab masses which transport into Syria, into Egypt, into Libya the influence, the decision to struggle for socialism. This impels and offers to the Arab countries, as to those of Africa and in part to Latin America, the way for the solution of the problems of under-development, taking into account also the war with Israel.

This measure shows very well that to be able to progress, a weak or semi-weak country, having the characteristics of the Arab countries, must unify itself to others in order to find the solution of the problems which imperialism impose on it, by armed force.

But the deficit of this unification-which shows its bureaucratic-bourgeois character-is that it does not pose any nationalisations. And this is what has to be done. This measure is not solely bourgeois, but bureaucratic-bourgeois. In Egypt quite a number of bases of private property are maintained, which is not exactly the case in Syria and in Libya. And it is because of this that we speak of the bureaucratic form of this unification. Moreover nobody speaks of the right of organisation of the trade union movement, of the weight of the workers movement in the Democratic-socialist state. They say nothing of this.

This alliance is progressive in one aspect, in the measure in which it is realised on a democratic-socialist programme, of unification of the war against Israel. Having said this, it is necessary to pose as a determining thing the democratic rights of the proletariat, the independent functioning of the trade unions and all revolutionary tendencies, the need to form a Federation of all the trade unions of the Arab countries and to demand in Libya the democratic functioning of the trade unions. It is necessary to pose the right to constitute parties, and to discuss and live fully, socialist ideas. It must be posed clearly that you cannot have democracy and socialism, without the right to utilise these. Who is democracy for? For the leaders? At pr-

esent in Libya there is'nt any fonctionning of parties. There is'nt any right to organise trade unions. This right must be demanded. The same thing in Egypt where the Socialist Union, the only party, is in government. It is necessary to combat the existence of single parties. The same situation exists in Syria.

We appeal for the formation of a Confederation of Arab trade unions and workers centres of the Arab countries on a democratic revolutionary, socialist programme, with the right of participation of the masses, workers control, and the formation of workers councils. The right of organisation for the peasant movement, through a Peasant Confederation, is necessary, fighting for the expropriation of the land and its distribution to the peasants. The right to collectivise the principal enterprises and the land in the hands of the government and their fonctionning with workers Councils, is also necessary. Libya for example must expropriate all the imperialist enterprises.

An appeal is needed to all the Arab countries to give unconditional support to the struggle to expel the Israelies from Egypt, for the unification of Israel in a federation with the right of self-determination for the Israeli masses, but with an appeal to them that they stay in the federation with these countries. The economies of the Arab countries must be planned.

This unification is in every way submitted--if it continues to function as now--to the most powerful economy, that is to say Egypt, the country which is most powerful, socially, politically, and militarily. It is necessary to appeal for the planning of all the Arab States, to appeal for the overthrow of all the reactionary governments, like those of Hussein, Faisal, or Kuweit and Oman. The Workers States who are helping this unification must help it from a revolutionary and socialist point of view.

The name democratic-socialist is not bad in its principal, but it is necessary to give it a concrete and precise form; that is to say revolutionary-democratic-socialist. The Soviet Union called itself at the beginning, Federation of democratic-socialist Republics, because it was a question of socialist and not bourgeois democracy. The campaign which the communists are making for democratic rights at the service of the people is synonymous with democratic socialist. To employ it is not bad, but it is necessary to fix its limits. If we were in power we would really utilise and develop true democracy, that is to say the opinion which results from the interests of the immense majority of the population of the country and the exploited masses.

It is necessary to demand a discussion of all the Arab countries with a view to forming a Federation on the bases of the common planning of production, of liaison with the workers states, of a common military campaign to overthrow the reactionary governments, the monarchies, to confront Israel and expel it from Egypt. A planning of the workers movement, of workers and peasants centres and trade unions is necessary. An appeal for the workers and peasants alliance is necessary.

This unification has, as its objective, a political reinforcing of the Arab countries faced to Imperialism and Israel, but also faced with the revolution. This is a way of confronting a revolutionary process which favours the weight of the Arab countries and impeded the formation of revolutionary tendencies. Because of this the appeal for revolutionary democratic freedom of revolutionary tendencies and alliance with the Workers States and with all the revolution in the Middle East is necessary.

We propose at the same time, a campaign of agitation of all the Workers States so that these call the trade unions of all the Arab countries to form a confederation on the basis of an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme, on the basis of a programme of workers and peasants alliance, the giving of the land to the peasants and its collectivisation. It is necessary to appeal for the liberty of revolutionary tendencies, with, for a condition of their existence, the unconditional defense of the revolution in the Middle East. There must be democratic rights for these tendencies.

The Soviet Union supports this unification because it interests it in as much as it increases its weight in the Middle East and consequently its relationship of forces with imperialism. But this shows, besides, that the Soviet Workers State needs to enlarge its



links with the anti-imperialist revolution and to give these links precise forms. It must establish more solid relations, a thing which it never did before. This attitude shows that it is obliged to do it in the measure that the Workers State needs to extend its influence to prepare for the final settlement of accounts.

The declaration of the Soviet Union, as those of the East German Workers State, are important because they repeat that the socialist world is superior to the capitalist world. Its influence is greater, its weight more decisive, in the problems of the world today. This is important because it shows that they have to intervene. The Workers State forces them to do it to favour the struggles against capitalism. All this is an index of what is happening in the Soviet Union and the impulsion the bureaucracy receives to ally itself to the revolution to prepare for the final settlement of accounts.

Jointly with this unification of the three Arab countries, it is necessary to launch an appeal to expel Israel from Egypt, from Jordan, to help El Fatah to overthrow Hussein, to organise a movement, a federation of the Arab countries, which includes Palestine.

International Secretariat of the IV International  
24th April, 1971.

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. 140

4th Friday JULY 1971

PRICE 3p

Viva the  
Anti-Imperialist  
Coup in the  
Sudan

## Discuss the outcome of the emergency conference in factory Committees, Mass Assemblies, workers area Committees. Impel the political life in the Labour Party with the intervention of the T.U.'s, C.P. & IV INTERNATIONAL

The emergency conference of the Labour Party did not achieve the conclusions, which the objective situation demands. Nevertheless it did show the slow, but inexorable process whereby the right wing sector is being more and more neutralised, thrown onto the defensive, and the forces of the left acquire the initiative. In order to maintain his connections with the party, Wilson has been obliged to come down heavily against the pro-Marketisers, formerly his closest allies. And what was particularly revealing in the speeches about entry or non entry into the Common Market was the fact, that the centre of discussion revolved around the perspectives for socialism. The pro-Marketisers had to speak constantly about the possibilities of establishing a deeper connection with the forces of socialism in the rest of Europe.

The limitations of the conference were nonetheless striking. Despite the fact that the present leadership of the LP, Wilson, Callaghan etc have been decisively discredited, and the course of events outside the LP more and more isolates them, within the field of the LP apparatus leaning on the support of the most backward sectors of the trade union bureaucracy and the conservative constituency parties, they were able to arrange matters so that the conference was prevented from deciding policy there, and then, and was simply turned into a centre for debate. The structure of the Labour Party still prevents the proletarian vanguard, weighing in the party. Scanlon representing the engineers demanded that the conference should take decisions, and these decisions should be binding. In the widest terms, the conference should have discussed the perspectives of the LP, programme, general strike, the way towards the left Labour Government, but again the limitations in the functioning and consciousness of the LP at this stage prevented such necessary discussions, and the manoeuvres of the apparatus prevented the conference playing the role, which it could have played.

Another great weakness in the conference was the low level of the discussion. The interventions by the left were in general remarkably parochial, and showed almost a total lack of understanding by not relating the whole question of the Common Market to the disintegration of capitalism. Similarly there was no sign that the delegates had the remotest understanding of the force of the French, Italian, German workers etc. In fact some delegates ie C. Jenkins went out of their way to portray Europe as being in the hands of the blackest reaction. One MP E. Heffer spoke about the need to concentrate on building socialism in Britain, as though this is possible without fusion with the totality of the European workers movement. No delegate—so far as we know—referred to the great victories of the workers of Renault and Fiat. One delegate under the general influence of marxism, did put forward the programme of nationalisations and workers control; although he limited the force of his contribution by speaking nonsense about Stalinism in Eastern Europe, thereby limiting the weight of the Workers State, and encouraging parochialism. Nevertheless the fact that there has been for a number of years a small wing in the LP under the influence of marxism which has persisted, objectively confirms that in this period with the development of interior entrism, and the full weight of the world revolution in Great Britain, it is becoming more and more possible

to impel the revolutionary left in the LP, to allow in other words the full right of tendency, to allow the flow of marxist ideas, the ideas of Posadas and the IV International.

The British Section intervened with an orientation at the conference, demanding that it dealt with the fundamental perspectives of the struggle for socialism in Europe, and not confine the discussion simply to the issue of the Common Market in isolation. But it was a characteristic of this conference that it did not even refer to one of the most dramatic events of that week—the break from Stormont by the social democrat MPs under the immense pressure of the masses of Northern Ireland. Without any clear conception of what they were doing, these MPs have proposed to establish the alternative assembly, an expression of dual power. It is absurd that the left in the LP at this emergency conference did not make appeals for the Assembly to base itself on popular committees, mass assemblies, where all the issues facing the masses could be freely discussed. These masses of Northern Ireland could only act in this way, and force a break from Stormont on the basis of the struggles that they see taking place in Britain. In their earlier struggles from 1969 onwards, the Irish vanguard acquired their own organisms in Derry etc, and we appeal to the Social Democrat MPs to base themselves on this experience, so that the alternative assembly becomes a real vehicle for the expression of proletarian democracy.

The attack by Wilson on Jenkins and the pro Market faction of the LP is an expression of the crisis of growth of the party in which now it is the right wing which is under pressure. Wilson, to protect himself, responds to the pressure of the rank and file and attacks forcefully Jenkins who only a few months ago was his closest ally in leading a pro-capitalist policy in the LP. This is an indication of the relationship of forces which now exists in the LP, which must be taken full advantage of by the Labour vanguard to push forward the struggle to expel the pro-capitalist right wing, which supports the EEC.

Just prior to the emergency conference, the proposed visit of Nixon to China was being discussed. This is a further indication of the total disintegration of the authority of American imperialism. After spending years in the attempt to strangle the Chinese Workers State, now the leader of imperialism shows a desperate desire to take advantage of the ping pong diplomacy of the reactionary sector of the Chinese leadership, to win survival time for capitalism. The advances towards a Workers State in Chile, with the natio-

nalisation of the copper mines, the tremendous victory of the workers of Fiat achieving elements of workers control over the speed of the track and conditions of work, the new coup in the Sudan, all the various advances in the partial regeneration of the Workers States are all bases of support for the formation of a new leadership in the Labour Party, and it was the absence of a real sense of the international bases to meet the capitalist perspective of the Common Market, which was lacking in this conference.

On the basis of the general tendency towards the left in the Labour Party, and the fact that the leadership of Wilson has been obliged to abandon the camp of the pro-marketisers, it is necessary to prepare for TUC Conference in September and the LP Conference in October. It is necessary that the conclusions and limitations of this emergency conference are discussed in mass assemblies and factory committees, in meetings in the workers areas in the trade unions, in the LP meetings, in the Young Socialists, and in the Communist Party. It is necessary that the trade unions exert their weight much more in the transformation of the Labour Party, not only supporting delegates on the basis of their acceptance of the anti capitalist programme, and immediate revocability of mandates, but also accelerating the closer ties between the LP and the masses, by calling mass meetings, and imposing norms of proletarian democracy on the basis of acceptance of the anti capitalist programme. The demand put forward by Wedgwood Benn for the formation of Labour Party branches in the factories has to be followed through, and the way in which the new weekly LP paper coming out in October is going to be produced, has to be discussed, so that it does not remain simply in the hands of a clique, but is open to the interventions of the proletarian vanguard and revolutionary marxism, to the contributions of the Communist Party, and the ideas of

Posadas and the IV International.

The weight of the intervention of the masses in relation, for example, to UCS, the massive previous mobilisations, and strikes of workers against the anti trade union bill, indeed the full weight of the international socialist revolution, the tremendous power of the world communist vanguard, impelled by the partial regeneration of the Workers States finds nothing like adequate reflection in the Labour Party. The emergency conference showed this once again, but it also showed that the opportunity is growing constantly for the transformation of the Labour Party. It cannot be transformed overnight, because of the weight of all its previous functioning, the archaic social democratic inertia, the submission of political ideas to electoral games and organisational trivia. Hence the struggle for the right of revolutionary tendency in the LP is essential, but it is also essential that the forces that already exist for the transformation of the Labour Party utilise all their force—the trade unions, the CP and the Young Socialists. The trade unions already in part playing the role—as substitute—of Workers Party based on the trade unions, have to impel a much more vigorous political discussion in the LP, by elevating their own political intervention and programme, methods etc, and similarly the Young Socialists have to transform their functioning. The intervention of the YS in this emergency conference was remarkably weak. As an organisation they seemed to hardly appear, and the only speaker of theirs at the conference made a very average contribution, and did not utilise the programme of the YS. The latter only has significance as a vehicle to impel revolutionary marxism into the LP. To conceive of its functioning in an independent way is to weaken its value as an organism for intervention in the central task—the transformation of the LP into the appropriate instrument of the working class, and its allies for the taking of power.

## The death of the Cosmonauts and the triumph of Soviet Science

Text of a message, delivered by members of the RWP(T) to the Soviet Embassy.  
TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR  
Comrades,

London 15. 7. 71

We ask you to convey to the party, government and masses of the Soviet Union our communist emotion in face of the death of the Soviet cosmonauts, comrades Dobrovolsky, Volkhov and Patsaev. But our grief is far outweighed by the knowledge that these comrades have given their lives in the victorious struggle for socialism in the same way as the Vietcong or the Arab masses. The work of the cosmonauts will be continued in future triumphs in the construction of socialism.

Viva the Soviet cosmonauts.

Viva the coming victory of world socialism.

Political Bureau of the RWP(T) British Section of the  
IV International



# The mobilisations of the American masses against the war of Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam, and the necessity of a Marxist Party based on the Trade Unions

5. 5. 71

To organise this activity, which the soldiers are undertaking in Vietnam against the war, requires much decision, much resolution. There are thousands who are doing this, for which they require a base of relations, of influence, stimulus, propaganda, dedication, interest, and they do not have organisms. From where do they find the concern to organise themselves in a military environment? They are distant from the centres around which the working class concentrates itself and even the petit bourgeoisie. The trade unions in North America are important for the wages struggle, but they do not intervene in politics nor do they intervene with declarations, activities, resolutions, which contain Yankee imperialism, politically and socially. A few years ago some trade unions made appeals. The soldiers have little point of support in the United States, from this point of view.

This situation in the army comes from 1965, three years after Fidel Castro said "there is no class struggle in the United States". From where does this movement of soldiers and officers draw strength? It is from the world revolution. This is one of the deepest, most concentrated expressions, most synthesised expressions of the world process determined by the highest level. The United States is a nation that is very remote from sensitivity to the revolution, very remote. And nevertheless it is where the most important resolution of the forces of the class struggle in this stage exists.

In the army they are organising trade unions. The trade unions in the United States do not wage the struggle to acquire social and political rights—yet the soldiers do so in the middle of the war! Why is this if the trade union does not push forward this activity, if the parties are small, the workers parties are small, without strength? This indicates the concern of the North American masses, who are aware of what is happening in the world. This indicates why the Kennedys and company intervened to cut short the process, because they saw that everything was collapsing, they saw that the United States was collapsing. Thus they try to save themselves, opposing now the war in Vietnam, not war in general, nor the war against the Workers States, nor against the revolution, but this war concretely, because they hope to win time, not to be exhausted.

When the North American masses express themselves—even limitedly as regards numbers, so concentratedly and profoundly with these mobilisations, similar to the French May or the "Italian May", it is because there is a sector of the proletariat, of the student masses, of the intellectuals, which has received the impulse of the revolution, and unites its activity with the world course of the revolution. Hence emerge the chemists, the physicists, the scholars, the writers, the best in the United States, and they come out with the raised fist against the war in Vietnam. It is a North American May! It corresponds to a European May, because in relation to the means, which they possess, with the forces and the possibilities which they have, the North American masses cannot organise themselves as in Europe, Latin America, or Asia and Africa, because they do not have a mass and class party. The class parties they possess are very small. The trade unions are of the masses, but they do not have a revolutionary and anti capitalist policy. They do not have the means to express themselves. Nevertheless the world influence of the revolution, the world security of the revolution, impels them to organise themselves. This is the expression of the fact that there is a solid base in North America, which has the will, the desire, and is awaiting the opportunity, to organise itself in a massive movement.

A fundamental process favourable to the revolution is that Mexican-Americans, negroes and white soldiers come out, against the war. This is not a symbol, it is a reality. It is not by chance. It shows that they are resolving all the problems together against racial discrimination, social and economic discrimination, against the war, for social and political organisation, and for an organism, which respects all these problems, so that they can all live together. For this reason we have the slogan of the Workers Party based on the trade unions, a marxist party of revolutionary character.

The North American masses are confronting the military power, the most concentrated power in the United States. They take as a base of support, the democratic conquests of the North American people. It is a democratic rebellion,

with revolutionary orientation. To oppose the war, is already a blow against Yankee capitalism itself. To appeal against, to disobey, to try to humanise this war means a political and social thinking, which does not come from the trade unions, or the small parties, which exist in the United States like the Trotskyists, the communists, socialists.

And why do the masses express concrete active resistance to the war, together with a social revolutionary position? The soldiers and officers call to oppose the war saying "we are against the war, it is unjust". They are differentiating themselves politically. They are showing that they have capacity, resolution, interest and desire to organise themselves politically.

The officers and soldiers movement in Sweden has succeeded in organising itself into trade unions, eliminating differences, imposing civil behaviour. "There is no reason for an officer to be more than an employee of an enterprise", "there is no reason for military saluting". And they should have the right to strike. In Sweden, the officers say that they are "functionaries of the state", this single fact shows an elevation of the political comprehension, which previously did not exist in Sweden, which has 30 years of socialist government, of reformist socialism, but the world revolution advanced and advanced, and the Swedish masses received the organising influence of the revolution. Because of this they now pose such demands, which is progress in the struggle for dual power. It is the destruction of the state, before the seizing of the state apparatus, because they refuse to exercise the centralising function of defending the capitalist system. And as functionaries of the state, tomorrow they are going to function against the capitalist system, because they are going to go on strike, going to support the revolution. They are questioning, denying by means of dual power, the authority of the capitalist system, and how the organs of the capitalist system are used. This occurs at the same time as the disintegration of bourgeois justice.

The action of the North American soldiers has influenced the Swedes. The North American masses before organising themselves in the mass revolutionary party exercise all their influence through conquests of dual power. The organisation of the trade unions in the army, the appeal against the war, the rejection of medals as filth, are all showing that they do not want to be of any service to this oppression. This is dual power! This movement has not been able to develop the most important organising function, but it has influenced the Swedes.

In their turn the Swedes and North Americans are a result of the world process of the revolution, which encourages all the various revolutionary forces, makes them aware that they are more powerful than all the capitalist apparatuses. This action of the North American masses is a blow to the leaderships of the communist parties. They will feel this! The masses feel themselves to be more powerful than all the capitalist apparatuses! Because they advance consciously,

not unconsciously. It is not the case that the masses throw themselves into imprudent action, because they are dissatisfied, annoyed or because they reject the war. They act consciously. When in Sweden they demand that the trade Unions in the army must be equal to those in the other sectors of society, they are now questioning the world authority of capitalism, and they question it by means of dual power. They consider themselves to be workers in the army, and organise themselves to sell their labour power—but not only non commissioned officers and soldiers, but officers too. This is an expression of how the influence of the revolution has reached the intellectual layers, and people who were previously the servants of the capitalist system.

The same in North America. Officers and intellectuals are won by the thousand and start to organise themselves into class organisms. They compete with the capitalist system. They refuse to perform the function of assassins of the masses, which is to say that they are feeling, hearing, thinking about, and working in the interests of the world revolution, not just in relation to what is happening in their own countries. If this was not so, they would not do this. If they had confidence in the capitalist system, they would not do this.

This happens in the army, where the category of officers, at the same time, as being the structure for imposing military discipline, also gives the officers a distinction, which makes them feel above the rest; to defend their position, they must defend the capitalist system. When the officers want to finish with this, and demand equality of wages for all, it is because the capitalist system is breaking down.

This is not new. The soviets experienced this in 1905 with the battleship

Potemkin, which was the first big form of dual power; then it was done by the French with the French Fleet in the Black Sea. This was years ago. And whilst in North America there are no revolutionary class unions, there are great unions in the trade union struggle, but not for the defence of the revolutionary interests and policies of the masses. There are no mass class parties. This is the unequal and combined process.

The combined process always gains, because the combined is a process of natural selection, imposed by the necessity of constructing organisms, and reflecting the best that exists. It is not a direct selection, but what is the basis of this selection is the cultural level, the revolutionary preoccupation of the masses, of the middle cadres, of the leaderships, of the proletarian vanguard, and the world revolution. Without organisms, the American masses receive such an influence. This indicates the life of the masses. Thus we appeal to the Soviets, to the Chinese, to the Cubans. It is necessary to help the North American masses. It is necessary to help the North American masses, who are seeking to organise themselves with class and revolutionary organisms.

All the economic development in the United States gives to Yankee imperialism an immense power, but if it increases its power of concentration, it diminishes its social authority and capacity. This is not a simple problem of cause and effect, but the effect, the result is infinitely more than the cause. Because it is a small movement why does it have such an effect? It is the world revolution. When the communists say that "we do not export world revolution", it is false, they make Lenin lie. When Lenin said "the revolution is not for export," he was saying, "we are not able to make

## 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.

the revolution from here". But the revolution is exported, ideas are exported, the programme, the experience, the tactic, the will, the stimulus, the influence, the security, how can one not say, that it is "not exported". It is not exported as an organism—but aren't scientific ideas exported? Is music exported or not? What is not exported is the organism. That exists in a specific place. Lenin wanted to say this, when he said "the revolution is not exported". But Lenin was the one who said "The Soviet Union is a beacon, which illuminates the world" the Communist International and what a beacon! And still it has not been put out. The Soviet bureaucracy put a black drape over it, but did not extinguish it. Now the masses are in process of removing the black drape used by the bureaucracy.

It is necessary to see this in the action of the North American soldiers, and to appeal to China, to Cuba, to the USSR, to all the Workers States, to export the revolution in this way. To export the revolution in this way, in this stage means, that they make appeals, that they make demonstrations, and meetings, in Cuba, in China against the war in Vietnam, unconditional support to Vietnam. The North American masses must see that in Cuba, in China, in the USSR, in Poland, in all the Workers States, they are discussing, deliberating, that the masses discuss and apply, that they have organisms in which they decide. The example of what they are doing against the war, gives to the American masses the means to organise themselves. They find a centre, a centre which does not lie in North America, but in the world.

Trotsky said in 1905: "There are already the conditions in the world for the world development of the permanent revolution; in a particular place, the proletariat cannot have the majority or the weight, but in other parts, yes. What decides is not local, but world wide. Although transitorily in one or other area, it might be fundamental. The forms are local, the content is international." The content is to overthrow capitalism, and replace it with proletarian power, which the party has to organise. How it is done, is the form. There we respect the "national interests", the national forms. The communist say "we are independent... from whom are the masses independent. Lenin never said "I am independent of France" he said to the French proletariat "come to help us". And when the French Fleet went to bombard the Soviet Union, Marti in the name of the French masses rebelled, and went to bombard Paris. How to say that the revolution is not exported. And what was what? When the Rumanian and Hungarian troops went to invade the USSR, the Soviets appealed to them to come over to their sides and they won them. Lenin said "we are not able to deal with the problems of England, because we do not have the means, the strength, otherwise we would be there".

Revolution is exported. It is not a question of believing that the leadership is exported, the team, the instrument, this exists in the country. But ideas, policy, programme, propaganda, organisation, also military help is exported. What are we doing in Vietnam? It is the masses of the world, who are in Vietnam. Yankee imperialism was defeated in Laos, in Cambodia, in Vietnam and everywhere had to take flight, who defeated it? These soldiers who made propaganda and organised themselves against the war, from where did they draw the resolution, the security, and then the political stability, which such an action requires? From the world revolution.

It is necessary to appeal to the Soviets, to the Soviet masses, to the Soviet trade unions, the CPs of the USSR, and all the Workers States, the left-Christian Democrat parties, the revolutionary nationalists, the socialist parties of the entire world, to organise demonstrations, meetings, to vote resolutions of a general strike in support of the North American masses. Do it immediately. There lies the best answer to the Rogers trip. There is the best way to aid the Vietnamese masses.

It is necessary to reject the way in which the bureaucracy tries to avoid the problem. The trip of Rogers was made with the agreement of the Soviets. In place of appealing for a reply to the situation by organising mobilisations in defence of the North American masses, the bureaucracy seeks to conciliate with imperialism.

It is the duty of the Workers States, communist parties, trade unions, workers and peasants of the world to aid the North American masses. The way to help them is to make campaigns, demonstrations, meetings, resolutions, particularly in the Workers States, in support of the masses of Vietnam, calling on the North

# The mobilisations....

American masses to organise themselves in the independent class party, based on the trade unions, with the aim of eliminating the factors that determine the war: The capitalist system. We are for peace, we are the most peaceful people in history as Lenin said, because we want peace now and for always. But for this, it is necessary to strive for it, with the means which will achieve it. You cannot wear the shoe when the sole, the leather, and the nails are all separate, you have to put it together. You cannot have peace while there exists capitalism and the bureaucracies in the Workers States. It is necessary to eliminate those factors which prevent peace. These are; the capitalist system, the absence of proletarian democracy, and of soviets in the Workers States. This is the answer and the help to give to the North American masses.

The North American masses are calling out for help. Without a party, without a centre, they are gaining, when least expected, the scientific, artistic, cultural and

intellectual opinion of North America. The North American masses are a bridge between the world revolution and North America. But a bridge, which is not solidly built, it is insecure, because they do not have the party, they do not have direct communication with the revolutionary world, with the Workers States, with the masses of the world. And the masses of the world cannot communicate directly with the North American masses. Why not? Because there is not the independent revolutionary life of the class, because in the Workers States, there are no soviets, there is no proletarian democracy. For example, in the Soviet Union there are no trade union assemblies, no factory assemblies, in which they say to the North American masses 'Take power!' where they discuss and condemn their leaders, make plans, solve their economic problems, plan production, plan policy, plan their political activity, resolving to eliminate differences in wages, controlling everything they do and deciding through these assemblies. Then the North

American masses are going to see that this is democracy, it is better than they have in the US.

This is what peace means. There is an immense desire in the North American masses for peace. They do not have the party, do not have the means of expressing themselves politically, but in their eagerness for peace they show that the masses of the world want power. Through this desire for peace, the North American masses are going to elevate their intervention, because peace in this case does not mean appeasement, fear of the war, but it means abhorrence of oppression and terrorism. For this reason the soldiers and officers say 'This war is inhuman'. It is an historical social verdict. It is a communist verdict! This war is inhuman. All these conditions show that the masses of North America are able to be influenced by the masses of the Workers States.

It is necessary that the communist parties of the Workers States, and of all the world, fulfill their duty in uniting to aid the masses of North America.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
5. 5. 1971

## RESOLUTION OF THE I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

# THE GOVERNMENT OF ALLENDE, THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WORKERS STATE IN CHILE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN CHILE

6. 4. 71

The triumph of the Popular Union in Chile has a very great importance as has also the election of Sepulveda to the post of Senator, previously occupied by Allende. This triumph with more than 50% of the votes to the Popular Union is unique in the history of Chile. Never has a candidate, a left candidate won so many votes in an election. Some bourgeois candidates had up to 90% of the votes in an election, but the opposition did not present themselves for fear of being killed. But this time all the sectors and parties presented themselves. The victory of the left candidate after the latter had achieved a first victory in the internal struggle against the candidate of the right of the socialist party, Aniceto Rodriguez, is very significant of the fact that for the Chilean masses the problem of power is already decided. It is thanks to the front of all the left parties within the Popular Union that it has been possible for the latter to win with 49% of the votes. It is necessary to calculate, that that represents more than 50%, for even if this time the illiterate and young people from the age of 18 had been able to vote, all have not gone to the ballot boxes. It is necessary to take into account a great number of abstentions. A great number have voted for the first time, and often have not known what to do whereas on the side of the bourgeoisie, everybody more or less votes.

The greater part of the million abstentions are potential votes for the left. The sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who have abstained, and some bourgeois sectors, who have done the same, because of defeatism knowing that they were losers, represent small sector. The greatest number of abstentions come from the petit bourgeoisie, from the peasants, and the backward sectors, who did not know how to intervene, in particular among the Christian Democrats. Shortly before,

a liberal sector appeared in the Conservative Youth, which posed "good, it is necessary to see that these are new times in Chile. There is a new situation in the world, and we cannot look at it with our former positions. Our ancestors lived in another epoch". A whole series of types wish to make concessions, placing themselves at the level of a liberal party with the object of maintaining themselves. This is above all true for the students.

## A TRIUMPH ON A WORLD SCALE

The triumph of the Popular Union, and the election of Sepulveda are two great triumphs of an immense significance. Sepulveda was elected with 51% of the votes, a percentage which Allende never obtained as a former senator of this province. The concentration of votes shows the polarisation of forces. It is necessary to expect blows and attacks. The communists and the socialists are going to find themselves obliged to defend themselves by doing things, which they have refused previously. This triumph is going to give an immense strength to them, and enfeeble that of the enemy. It is going to impel a sector of the army to say "Good, times have changed". All that is going to impel Bolivia, Peru, the Argentine, Ecuador.

The Chilean elections show the precision, which exists in the scientific leadership. Allende did not expect this result, which despite a great number of abstentions has marked a triumph of the working class. It is the world working class, which voted in Chile. It is Laos which voted in Chile. It has given an impulse to the masses to vote in this

way. Allende has no notion of all that. He believes that they have simply won. Certainly they are the representatives of this victory. But Laos has been present. Henceforth every election of historic importance, like that of Chile will be a world election. These were the world forces which voted. It is in this way that the polarisation, and the favourable world conditions expressed themselves locally. This was already the case in Pakistan after the cyclone. The vote is no longer as it was before; a people went, voted, won and waited. No. The vote is now a weapon of combat.

The vote in Chile has been the result of the immense quantity of strikes, occupations, and our trade union triumph in Huachipato. The vote has not been in the air, because Allende spoke and people waited for him. They have done infinitely more than Allende, ten times more. Allende did a lot. This is important and right. But the people occupied half of Chile: houses, factories, our comrades won in Huachipato, and imperialism lost in Laos. In the Argentine, Livingston had to flee, and those who

came in his place had to have recourse to a party, which has within its heart, an anti imperialist wing (The Popular Radicals). In Bolivia the revolution continues; in Peru the same. It is not the question then of a Chilean election, but of a world election in Chile. Such is the significance of these elections, which have also taken into consideration the CP Congress in the Soviet Union.

The defeat of imperialism in Laos, the occupations of the land, of the houses, the mobilisations of the masses in Chile have been determining, taking into account the fact that the government gave to them a support, and has taken for its part measures, which are very, very important. It is not a question of a simple election, but a change of quality. There is concentrated, a world process which contains within it qualitative changes particularly in Latin America. In its turn Chile is going to mean an immense impulse, giving confidence to the nationalists, left Christian Democrats. In a way, each time more clearly the solutions to the great national problems are going to be the result of the relation of international forces, each time more. The concentration of forces is determined by a class struggle, having a world character, also each national event of importance is decided, and is going to be decided as a function of international relations and factors. This is going to be invariable. Delays can cause changes, giving rise to some provisional obstacles, but the solutions are never national. The state of the feelings, of the will, of the understanding, of the classes are determined by such factors. It is sufficient to see the face of Nixon on television to think that the world bourgeoisie is in a perilous state, and asks "how are we going to get out of all this".

The totality of the Latin American bourgeoisie, and imperialism are polarised in these elections in Chile, and the masses have had to confront all this resistance, the attempts at coups, pressures, threats, splits, but also the hesitations of the government, to affront all that by organising the militia. But the masses organised them, impelling the return of the government. The masses conducted themselves very well, like our comrades of Huachipato, in posing clearly that such is the programme, which we want, but if that must cause too many difficulties for the government, for its general policy of struggle against imperialism, then we will discuss and know how to wait. But at the same time say-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4



# THE GOVERNMENT OF ALLENDE . . . .

ing "this is what it is necessary to do". This is a very sensible attitude without the least class capitulation. It is a supplementary delay arranged before engaging in struggle, which is perfectly legitimate. This allows increasing the weight of the class, and showing who decides. To accept putting off a part of the increase of wages, without harming any political

## THE PETIT BOURGEOISIE SUPPORTS ITSELF ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE WORKING CLASS

The behaviour of the proletariat, of the peasants, and of the students has been decisive to impel the government, to attract the petit bourgeoisie. The measures taken by Allende have been important also in this sense, but only the behaviour of the working class would have sufficed to give this confidence to the petit bourgeoisie. The latter is not guided by such and such a measure, taken by the government, but fundamentally by the behaviour of the working class decided to oppose every attempt to contain the process. The latter shows itself in the strikes, which it continues to make, in the occupations of the factories, of the land, of the houses in the armed confrontations. All that stimulates the petit bourgeoisie, which sees the decision of the working class to push forward the application of the programme, depriving the Christian Democracy of strength (it lost 10% in the elections), and the right of Alessandri (who lost 6%). All that is a great deal.

A great part of the abstentionists came from the Christian Democrats, who no longer wished to vote for Allende, but who in every way show great lack of security in capitalism, and a defeatist spirit. They show on the contrary sympathy for the other side without being yet totally attracted by it for various reason. But the fact alone that they desert their camp is clear proof. It is the first time that a senator wins in the South of Chile with 51% of the votes. There is a real proof, a demonstration of force.

The Chilean masses are going to be immensely impelled, as are those of Uruguay and afterwards of the Argentine. This triumph is going to influence the most backward sectors of the proletariat within Uruguay, where there are risks that the present change of ministers might be a means of preparing a coup.

decision, as was accepted by our comrades at the head of the trade unions of Huachipato, is not the abandonment of class positions faced with the enemy. It is a problem on which the proletariat decides to wait, as in the case of the agreement after a strike. Strikers asked for 40% wage increase, and were given 20%, and they wait for the difference.

The Communists, the Socialists, the Christian Democrats are going to feel a large impulse from the fact of these elections, which are going to aid the polarisation of forces, the advance of revolutionary tendencies in all the movements including the Soviet Union, the CPs, the SPs and the Christian Democrats. All the revolutionary movements are going to receive the repercussions of these events, in accentuating the class character, depriving capitalism of new social bases, which is going to find itself still more isolated. Under this new impulse from a great part of the revolution, on the base of the struggle against imperialism, for democratic liberties, and for unconditional support to the anti imperialist movements, these three points are going to impose themselves as priority as against their old policy of alliance with the bourgeois sectors, for peaceful co-existence. The latter is now put last.

It is necessary to measure each time more the process in a global way. If the local elections are decided on the basis of local factors, it is necessary to understand that the latter are in their way determined by world factors. Even when the local decisions are limited and contained, those which decided are the world forces. No important problem in the world finds its solution locally, and in this sense the decisions of the Moscow Congress, whilst limited, have their importance. The triumph in Chile has a world resonance to the extent that it expresses a relation of world forces. Otherwise, it would pass unnoticed.

This electoral success is not produced by an electoral manoeuvre of the PC, but by the class behaviour of the proletariat which has thus given confidence to the petit bourgeoisie. The latter has drawn near to the Popular Union, seeing that the proletariat is decided and firm. It is not a question in any case of electoral manoeuvre, political manoeuvre of the

PC, which moreover draws from these results very timid conclusions, still far from expressing the strength of the proletariat. If the latter did not continue with its strikes, factory occupations on the basis of what would the petit bourgeoisie be able to have confidence. It would only see the state apparatus from whom it would try to draw the maximum profit. But when it accepts the electoral solution of the proletariat, it is because it sees that the latter is resolute. There lies the fundamental aspect of the situation in Chile.

The Chilean bourgeoisie relies upon all the force of the Latin American bourge-

oisie, world bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism, with the object of sabotaging, containing, opposing the development of measures, which lead to the construction of the Workers State in Chile, the nationalisation of property, and the centralised functioning of the state on the basis of nationalised and centralised property. There lie the bases for the construction of the Workers State. The bourgeoisie has no support, no mass force. The army gives no solution, because it fears the popular reaction, and the instantaneous organisation of an army of all the Chilean people in civil war, the organisation of civil militia.

## ADVANCE TOWARDS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ORGANS OF POWER OF THE MASSES

It is necessary to create organs of the masses, which affirm power, which support the government to advance in measures of nationalisation of property, in such a way as to be able to plan production in accordance with the interests of the development of Chile, of the exploited masses, the oppressed masses, that is to say in agreement with the interests of 80% of the population. It is with this object that it is necessary to mobilise the organs of power at the level of the factories, the workers areas, the houses.

The attempt to form Popular Tribunals, to apply justice at the lower level of the workers areas is important, but it is necessary to go further. It is necessary to go in the same way towards the organisms, which represent, and apply the thought of the masses, in defence of their interests. The police, justice, the army, must respond, not to the privileged interests of the bourgeoisie, of private property, capitalist property, but to the interests of the exploited masses. These are the ones, who must be able to judge, determine, decide. Hence the need of mass organs, which allow them to develop, to apply their power, making appeal to the army, to the police, to the revolutionary intellectuals to unite themselves, to the population for the progress of the country.

The progress of Chile is the progress of the masses. To speak of "progress of the whole country" is an abstraction, for that includes the bourgeoisie. Now progress must respond to the interests of the exploited masses, who have the real ability to develop objectively all the economic possibilities of Chile. This is the reason for which it is necessary to make organs of power of the masses in the workers areas, factories, in the villages, in the barracks. It is necessary to organise the worker-peasants-student alliance, and to open a public discussion throughout the country on the forms of constructing socialism, addressing the whole of Latin America to demand support.

It is necessary to show the necessity for the nationalisation of property. It is thanks to that that the Worker States like Cuba or China—to take only these two—emerged from nothing, have shown themselves capable of realising such progress, in such a way that capitalism was not able to do in 500 years. It is such a base, that allows planning of production in a centralised way under the control of the masses in their factory and village committees. These organisms must and can then control production, prices, apply plans, develop the economy and distribution. It is necessary to act in such a way that the masses intervene directly in the new organs that are created, in all the problems of production, distribution, administration, justice, in all the problems which concern the masses.

It is necessary to appeal for the form-

ation of a Federation of Pacific States—Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, as the first stage of the future socialist federation of all the Latin American states. It is necessary to make a permanent agitation, a discussion, demonstrations, meetings in permanence. It is necessary to develop a great revolutionary cultural activity, which includes all the population, infants to old men with a programme of overcoming illiteracy throughout the country on the basis of the needs of the construction of socialism.

The government has to pass from the present stage to that of the construction of workers power. It is for this reason that it is necessary to construct organisms of political, cultural, economic, military, revolutionary, support, making a great propaganda throughout the country including the army, on the necessity to take measures which lead to socialism. It is necessary to appeal to the whole of Latin America to take such measures. Such is the way to pass from the stage of government to the construction of organs of power, which allow the participation and the control of the masses in all the organisms of society, of justice, distribution, administration, army, police. It is necessary to have organisms capable of answering to the changes, which are imposed.

It is necessary to show how in China, in Cuba, in Korea, in the Workers States they have passed from the feudal epoch to the elimination of misery, hunger, and this in less than 20 years. The bases of injustice were suppressed. The existence of the bureaucracy in the Workers States has prevented a greater development of the construction of socialism, and the total destruction of the capitalist regime. But the structure of the Workers State, even the limited participation of the masses has allowed the development of measures of nationalisation, of planning of production, of centralisation of the economy, as a function of the interest of socialist development, and not of the interests of the market economy.

This has allowed them to emerge from misery, hunger, illiteracy. It is necessary to lean on these examples accompanying them with the development of the revolutionary culture of the population. It is necessary to link the development of economic, social, political and educational measures with the development of organs, which allow the whole population to integrate themselves, to intervene in this process.

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## Meeting at the Centre of the P.O.R.(T) in Montevideo in the presence of Seregni presidential candidate of the "Frente Amplio" in Uruguay

We salute the realisation and the immense success of the meeting of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Uruguayan Section of the IV International, organised in its locale in Montevideo on the 15th of June, to receive the presidential candidate of the 'Frente Amplio', General Liber Seregni. More than 15 delegation from the organisations making up the 'Frente Amplio' were present, and for the first time a delegation from the Communist Party and the Young Communist League came to the locale of the party. More than 160 people were present at the meeting, whose objective was to strengthen the anti-imperialist united front in the country.

The presence of General Seregni in the locale of the POR(T) together with fraternal delegations of the majority of the political groups making up the 'Frente Amplio'—especially the delegation of the CP and the YCL—is a step forward on the road of the revolutionary nationalists towards socialism, and the historic re-encounter of the IV International with the Communist Parties.

As the communique of the POR(T) on this meeting underlined, the revolutionary nationalists, the communists, and the anti-imperialist militants are all converging towards revolutionary marxism, towards posadism. The coincidence is still not complete, on the policy, the methods, and the programme, but the points of agreement approved by the Frente Amplio are already fundamental in the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist strug-

gle. This gives a solid basis for the establishment of fraternal relations with a view to the common objective of the struggle for government and power.

This meeting marked a decisive step in the concrete advance of the construction of the united front of anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for revolutionary transformations in Uruguay, opening the road to the anti-capitalist struggle and the construction of a Workers State in this country, taking support on the advance of the revolutionary States of Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

We salute with great joy and revolutionary fraternity the Uruguayan Section of the IV International for its adacious action in the application of the tactic of the International in this stage, in the concrete and living application of the political and theoretical documents, of Posadas. We salute Cde Posadas, the conscious organiser of this process. We salute the CP and YCL of Uruguay in their progress towards taking up again revolutionary Marxism in their concrete intervention to act in united front with the Trotskyists on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme, and the struggle for power. We salute the Uruguayan masses for their action and decision to struggle continuously, organising their forces to finish with the regime of capitalist and imperialist oppression and repression in their country, basing themselves on all the development of the Latin-American revolution and on the most advanced sectors in Bolivia, Peru and Chile.

## Manchester

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# RED FLAG

RESOLUTION OF THE I.S.  
OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
ON THE SIGNIFICANCE AND  
AIMS OF THE PROJECTED  
VISIT OF NIXON TO THE  
CHINESE WORKERS STATE:

20-7-71

PAGE 3  
APPEAL OF THE I.S. TO STOP  
THE REPRESSION IN SUDAN

28-7-71

PAGE 20

Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of IV International

No. 142

2nd Friday August 1971

3p.

FOR AN IMMEDIATE 24hr GENERAL STRIKE WITH FACTORY OCCUPATIONS IN BRITAIN

AND IRELAND TO IMPOSE THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM NORTHERN

IRELAND AND THE LIBERATION OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Resolution of the P.B. of the R.W.P.(T) British

The Civil war in Northern Ireland has immense implications for the whole of Britain. It means the final breakdown of any attempts by the bourgeoisie at conciliation. The masses will accept nothing less than the expulsion of British troops and the imposition of socialist measures, the elimination of the artificial frontier between North and South Ireland and the establishment of a United Socialist Ireland. Imperialism is doing all in its power to smash the masses, by shooting, beatings, burnings, arrests as with the policy of internments and wholesale political repression. It is a policy in line with that of the whole of world imperialism as part of its preparations for the third world war, the final encounter between the masses advancing toward socialism and the moribund forces of imperialism and capitalism. It is in line with the efforts of Hussein to destroy the guerrillas, the exterminations carried out by Yahya Khan in Bengla Desh, the war in Laos, Vietnam etc. And in the same way this repression has no historic possibility of success. The masses of Northern Ireland fight not just on the basis of their own strength but as a function of the world socialist revolution. And from very early on, the elevated popular nature of the struggle could be seen in the mass participation of women, children and young people in demonstrations, fighting etc. They have benefited from all the preceding struggles of the world masses, the development of a multitude of Workers and Revolutionary states. And most important they have found a firm base of support in the British proletariat which is tenaciously undermining British capitalism, imposing itself on the trade union leaders and in process of eliminating the bourgeois sectors in the Labour Party itself. There is no question that the historic events on the Clydeside where the workers have imposed workers control and are in process of extending the struggle, one of the highest levels of achievement attained so far in Western Europe, has further encouraged and given security to the masses of Northern Ireland.

All the political and trade union organisations of the masses must intervene in support of this struggle and register very seriously the significance of the stage that has now been reached. British Imperialism is in a

Contd page 23

STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS  
TO SUPPORT THE CLYDESIDE  
WORKERS!

Article p.24



\_\_\_\_ RED FLAG \_\_\_\_

THIS ISSUE OF RED FLAG IS DUPLICATED BECAUSE THE PRINTER IS ON HOLIDAY. THE NEXT EDITION WILL APPEAR, IN PRINT, ON THE 4th FRIDAY OF THE MONTH, 27th of August.

Index.

The resolution of the Political Bureau of the RWP(T) British section of the IV International on Ireland.....page 1.  
The significance and aim of the projected visit of Nixon to the Chinese Workers State. Resolution of the I.S. of the IV International. (20-7-71).....page 3.  
The appeal of the I.S. of the IV International against the repression in Sudan, to stop the counter-revolutionary repression in Sudan and to draw the political conclusions for the next stage. (28-7-71).....page 20  
For a 24 hour general strike with mass demonstrations to stop the closure of UCS.....page 24

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

# THE SIGNIFICANCE AND AIM OF THE PROJECTED VISIT OF NIXON TO THE CHINESE WORKERS STATE.

20.7.71

The projected organisation of the interview between Nixon with Chou-en-Lai or Mao Tse Tung does not change either the nature, or the plans or the objectives of Yankee Imperialism. It is part of these plans and objectives of the world war and preparation for the atomic war. Imperialism changes its tactic, or possibly an aspect of its plans in relation to its strategy, but does not change its nature or its objectives. The atomic war is its finality. It must oppose the world revolution, the development of the struggles of the people for their liberation from the oppression of imperialism and capitalism, the struggle to oppose the development of the socialist revolution. This is the nature of Yankee Imperialism. As it does not have the means, either economic, or social, or political to oppose the revolution, it seeks a military response. In the military response it is forced to change its strategy, its tactics and consequently its policy is at the service of a strategy and tactic determined to enable it to realise the same ends, the same objectives, but by the means which the circumstances impose.

This attitude of Yankee imperialism is within a whole line, an entire strategy to prepare the war. The world process of the revolution forces it to change its tactic, to modify its policy. But not the ends, not the objectives. This is an attitude of weakness of Yankee Imperialism, which has to choose the least evil for itself. It does not mean that it decides or that it can decide the policy to carry out. No longer does it have the initiative anywhere in the world. The initiative, be it political or military, does not come from Yankee Imperialism. It starts from the world revolution, which beginning from the most limited forms goes to the most elevated. It comes from the struggle of the people to shake off imperialism. From the struggle of the masses, directed by the proletariat to take power, to install Workers States and construct Socialism.

Any arrangement, any political agreement with the Workers States or with the governments of the Revolutionary States, all the agreements which imperialism seek are because they are imposed on it by the circumstances. It is because it has not been able and could not impose military regimes, as it did in the past in the Middle East through Israel, or as it has done through South Vietnam, South Korea, as it imposed through all the puppet governments, as in South Africa, to impede the development of the revolution, the development of the struggle of the masses, of the social and revolutionary progress, the social and political economic progress of the masses.

Imperialism is not looking for peace, it does not have any interest in peace nor can it seek peace. The nature of imperialism is war. Only with war can it live. And as there are 16 Workers States, 10 Revolutionary States, the development of the revolutionary struggles in France, Belgium, England, Italy and all Latin America, as there are Revolutionary States, popular governments based on the Trade Unions, as in Chile, Peru or Bolivia, the development of the revolutionary struggles of the masses as in Uruguay, Argentina, Mexico, Columbia, Venezuela, Imperialism feels besieged and harassed, feels impotent to reply to these needs. Because of this it increases its military power, because of this it concentrates the major part of the riches which capitalism produces, to the concentration of its military forces. Because of this it has held up all its scientific and technical progress. On the other hand technological progress advances, to draw more advantage more capacity of production. Imperialism concentrates all its forces, all its hopes to survive,



in the atomic war. It is in this sense that this announcement and agreement of the visit or the possible agreements between Yankee Imperialism and Communist China must be taken.

Imperialism has tried to smash the world by means of war. This is what it is doing in the Middle East with Israel, associating with Hussein, who has smashed the fedayeen and the Palestine masses. It has supported Pakistan, Indonesia and all the reactionary governments to smash the masses of the world and it has failed. The revolution continues. But also where the power of the revolution is expressed in a conclusive way is in the United States. The mobilisation of the masses in the USA, against the war in Vietnam, builds up to a 'crescendo' and accompanies and is developed under the influence of the world revolution. This succeeds in influencing the Senate, the organs of opinion, succeeds in influencing all the spheres of social, political and scientific activity in the United States. The imperialist clique which leads the USA is gradually losing force losing social support, social capacity of action and manoeuvre - its capacity for action and manoeuvre is gradually reduced in the scientific centres, in the centres of investigation of atomic energy and space investigation; among the military, among the military chiefs of Korea, of South Vietnam, soldiers who led the war against China and against North Vietnam and against Korea, now denounce imperialism. The McNamara dossier now comes into the open accusing imperialism. It is all an indication of the internal differences within Imperialism, of the internal destruction produced by the insecurity which this world process of the advance of the revolution produces. The McNamara dossier denounces the military, it is against the war in Vietnam. It is not a denunciation through merely economic motives and interests, nor is it only this, but it is determined by the insecurity of yankee imperialism. It is the fear of disappearing. It expresses its vacillations and its defeatist sentiments about the future. Imperialism feels besieged and surrounded by the masses of the world. It feels surrounded in the U.S.A. as well. Because this pressure of the masses of the United States, succeeds now in influencing Yankee Imperialism, within its own state, in the organs of the supreme court, in the organs of justice. Because of this there is the insecurity, the vacillation, the pessimism and defeatism which indicates the fate of imperialism that it is going to disappear, the complete absence of security that it is going to win. Because of

this there are vacillations and changes of policy. It has tried to smash China and North Vietnam and Korea, now it seeks to do it by other means to try to gain time.

It does not have the capacity or the strength to do it by economic, political and social means, and so it tries to do it by military means. But also in the military sphere it needs to try to gain time, pressurised by its feeling of confusion which the crisis within the USA itself means. It is a political and social crisis which is reflected in the mobilisation of the masses against the war in Vietnam, the differences and the opposition in the senate against the Vietnam war, and the dossier of McNamara which denounces the war. When they get to the stage of publishing the McNamara dossier, which is a public denunciation about the war in Vietnam, by leaders who up till a little time ago were carrying out the same policy, it is because the confusion produced by their fear and insecurity in the future, their defeatism and pessimism in the future is very profound.

And these denunciations which people are making come from those who were united, all of them with Kennedy, with Johnson and Nixon. They were all united in the war to smash Cuba, to try to try smash North Vietnam, Korea, all united in the counter-revolutionary strategy against the masses of the world. Against the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Poland etc.

This projected visit of Nixon shows his profound weakness. He has to go in search of China, after having tried to smash it by military means. The masses of the world are going to understand it in this way. When Yankee Imperialism has to announce that Nixon is going to visit China, it is a recognition of its power, of its progress, of the social superiority of Communist China. The masses of the world are going to understand it in this way, as are the American masses. But this is the

<p>least evil for Imperialism. If it does not make this policy it cannot resist the world process which is surrounding it, isolating it and is limiting its economic, social and political power, and even its military power. And it is because of this that it seeks this least evil, to come out of its prison in which it feels itself confined and to try to contain the pressure of the world revolution on the masses of</p>	<p>the United States. Because of this it is the least evil for imperialism. It means that a revolutionary policy of the Workers States, particularly of China, would have an effect immensely greater than this visit which Nixon is going to make in the name of Yankee Imperialism to China, this announcement of the visit to China.</p>
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Imperialism is not looking for peace. It seeks to prepare and maintain the war. It seeks to develop the war. Its policy does not change. It is necessary to interpret it in this way. It certainly does not seek to co-exist with the Workers States. The world revolution imposes this on imperialism, and as part of this, the masses of the United States. If the masses of the U.S.A. had not been influenced by the world revolution, by the struggle of the masses of China, Korea, Vietnam - above all of Vietnam - of Cuba and Latin America, by the masses of the world and by the development of the Workers States imperialism would have had its hands free for agitation, mobilisation in the U.S.A. for the launching of the atomic war. It would have felt confidence in the future. On the contrary it feels enclosed by the development of the struggle of the masses of the world, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, of the masses of Europe, of Italy, of France, of England and within the United States, by the masses who, even without being organised in parties and in class revolutionary organisations, are united to the masses of the world against Yankee Imperialism, opposing the war in Vietnam. Yankee Imperialism feels this power, feels this immense strength which is developing in the U.S.A. and fears that in a short time it will attain a political appearance and specific political organisms, in the form of party, mass organisms which united the struggle against capitalism within the United States in a massive form. It is directed towards this trying to stop it.

This announcement of a trip to China is not the mere electoral interest of Nixon. There is an electoral interest. But the electoral interest is to contain the pressure, the influence of the world revolution on the masses of the United States. This is the interest of Yankee imperialism. It feels that the mobilisations of the masses of the U.S.A. against the war in Vietnam, against racial segregation, for the liberty of political prisoners, the strikes, the announcing of great strikes, the persistence of strikes in organisms and sectors which until a little time ago did not go on strike, like the engineers, the technicians, and even the atomic sectors, indicate a very great development of the influence of the world revolution on the American masses. Imperialism is frightened faced with this. It feels harassed by the world revolution and within the USA. And it tries to cut off this influence. The electoral campaign which is being prepared is directed to gain time for the war. It does not mean that it can make the war when it wants. The struggle of the masses within the United States, the mobilisations of millions against the war in Vietnam, is indicating that they are a point of support, a powerful base, of immense power, which is going to be multiplied a hundred fold as time goes on. Imperialism tries to contain this influence. Because of this there is now the trip of Nixon. Because of this they announce the trip to China.

It is not the essential exclusive reason, but it is the most essential part. The other part is just a tactic. It is a tactic to try to exploit the Sino-Soviet differences, profit from the Sino-Soviet differences, to profit from the existence of the two bureaucracies in the Communist Parties and the Workers States, to try to drive a wedge between them to try to survive, to gain time. This is the tactic of Imperialism. The objective finality is to maintain the war policy, to continue the war policy, of assassinations, of invasions, of treachery and murderous aggression against all the countries of the world. It does it using Israel, South Vietnam, South Korea, Japan and using all the forces of which it disposed in the



world. Imperialism has NATO and the other military parts in all the world, it has military and atomic bases in all the world. Its strategy consequently does not change. It continues to be the same. It is preparing the war, it wants to kill. The only way for Imperialism to try to survive is to launch the atomic war to stop the world advance of the socialist revolution. What characterises this stage of history is the uncontrollable world progress of the socialist revolution. The masses of no matter what country, petit bourgeois, military, left Christian Democrat, when they mobilise and attain a certain social success and mass support, and reach power, immediately they acquire an economic and social physiognomy through socialist measures. They are not capitalist measures, nor of reform, or of cleaning the capitalist system, of improving it, because there aren't any such measures. Capitalism can no longer better its existence. Imperialism feels that it does not have points of social support in the world. All progress, all mass struggle goes towards anti-capitalist measures, Imperialism feels affected and tries to gain time. It is its tactic nothing more. It tries to gain time, utilising at the same time, the inter-bourgeois and inter-bureaucratic struggle. This is the objective reality of the capitalist system. This is the present tactic with the announcement of the trip to China.

The resistance towards China was a strong point for all the capitalist governments in South East Asia, for the North of Asia and in part for all the world. When they make such a radical turn, it is motivated not by a change of understanding - it is not a change in understanding - of humanisation of capitalism but it is a change of tactic signifying that it has been imposed by the world development of the revolution. It shows that Imperialism feels surrounded and cannot respond now with military means as it does with Israel in the Middle East against the Arab revolution and tries to gain time. It tries to gain time, but it has little left. It has a small field, little space for manoeuvre. The revolution does not leave it any more space, nor initiative, nor means to act. It is not imperialism which has the initiative, it is the world revolution. What it tries to do is gain time offering agreements to try to contain the development of the the Workers States and trying to divide the Workers States, and in this way to gain historic time. This is the policy of them with respect to China.

Its intentions in relation to China continue to be the same, with the Workers States it remains the same - that is to say to try to invade them, to smash them, to launch the atomic war against all of them. Every year Yankee Imperialism increases its atomic preparations, atomic arms and atomic bases in an infinitely greater form than science and technique applied to the economy. It is forced to do it, because it concentrates all its hopes in the atomic war. This is the objective of Yankee Imperialism. It does not have any other.

Imperialism feels that it is losing bases in the world. It feels that the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy in Europe tends to split apart the European bourgeoisies behind a perspective of agreements with the Workers States, at the cost of U.S. Imperialism. Also, in part, at the cost of the development of the revolution. Sectors of the European bourgeoisie take a base from this, as Germany, France, Italy, in part, because they feel themselves to have no perspective under Yankee Imperialism.

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The rest of world capitalism feels that no longer is Yankee Imperialism any guarantee for them. Neither NATO, nor the military bases, nor the atomic arms are a base of security for the capitalist system. Each one of these capitalisms tries to seek agreements, relations with the Workers States, of an economic, social and political type, with the effect of trying to survive, trying to sustain in this way, its existence in history. Because they don't have the initiative. The initiative is not on the side of capitalism. It is not capitalism which decides but it has to go behind the initiative of the world revolution, of the Workers States, of the policy of the Communist Parties. It is the policy of the Communist Parties, of the Workers States which still permit the existence of capitalism, which still, allows it to exist, to maintain a certain authority on the masses, but more than over the masses, a certain authority over the structure of the capitalist system, still presenting itself as capable of progressing and advancing. Because of this all the capitalist countries present themselves as progressive and try to compete in the form, in language - but not basically in social content with the Workers States. But the fact that they have to try to appear to compete with them indicates that the masses feel the influence of the world development of the revolution.

Yankee Imperialism tries to draw advantage from the Sino-Soviet differences, from the division between the Workers States. It does not have the strength to impose its policy, its military capacity. It tries to advance towards the atomic war, it prepares for this. But it does not have the initiative. It cannot fix when and how. But in its attitude of desperation it is going to do it. It can do it at any moment. The activity of Nixon shows also an interior struggle within Yankee Imperialism. There is a sector of the CIA which wants to advance and launch the atomic war, whatever be the immediate consequences, and there is another sector which is intimidated by the conscious understanding that it does not have the strength to resist and to survive, because it sees that within the United States the atomic war is the social revolution, and it tries to gain time. Because it tries to hold onto the daily policy which the division of the Workers States offers it.

It is enough to see that up until yesterday Imperialism hesitated to resort to this measure of making agreements with China - or attempts to make agreements with China. It hesitated because it signifies in the last instance, the increase of the internal decomposition, of the capitalist system. But this is, for it a lesser evil than it would receive than if the Workers States advanced, among them the Chinese, and called for the taking of power by the masses of the United States. Thus imperialism takes this

measure. The proof is that for the last 10 years Imperialism has maintained an organism in Poland for discussion with the Chinese Peoples Government. It tried to maintain it and in spite of all the differences, disputes, struggles, the talks have never been broken off. They have maintained constantly means to discuss with China. Maintaining a certain dialogue so as, at a determined moment like now, they can try to profit from the Sino-Soviet differences - which are differences between the bureaucracies, not between the Workers States who have a common interest of structure and objectives through their historic needs. It is the leadership of both the Workers States who have caused this division. Imperialism tries to draw advantage from this. It is not the first time that Imperialism tried to do it. It tried to do it in Korea. But it could not do it because of the world development of the revolution, because of internal differences, through internal discussions and clashing interests, the internal struggles within Yankee Imperialism. Now it does not have any other solution and it seeks to do this.

Imperialism tried to make the war and it failed. Now it tries to profit from the Sino-Soviet differences. It tries to take measures which are the least evil for Yankee Imperialism, to try to contain the development of the revolution and the influence of the revolution on the masses of the United States. This is the objective of Yankee Imperialism. There isn't any other.

It tried to stimulate the



bourgeoisie of Asia, of the Middle East, of South East Asia, it tried to maintain them with the presence of the Yankee Imperialist army in the Middle East, in the far East and in all of Asia and it failed. But it failed because the struggle of the masses made it fail. It is the struggle of the masses of Vietnam which is defeating Imperialism. It is neither Chinese nor Soviet help. Fundamentally it is the struggle of the masses of Vietnam who organise themselves and fight intransigently against Imperialism. And the support of the masses of the world, who with their support, and sympathy, their struggles against capitalism, maintain a common link, a world unifying link with the masses of Vietnam. This is defeating Yankee Imperialism.

On the other hand the world development of the revolution, the weakness of the capitalist system, the disintegration of the capitalist system provoked, imposed by the world development of the revolution, by the progress of the Revolutionary States, by the nationalised economy, all this leads a greater number of capitalist countries to recognise China. Imperialism feels isolated. It feels on its own. It feels that the initiative in a global form, in the whole of North Asia and all of South East Asia remains in the hands of the Workers States. It comes out to try to stop this deterioration. More and more there are governments, countries who recognise China, who trade with China, and this is imposed on them by the development of the world revolution, by the development of the Workers States. But this recognition and the development of commercial and diplomatic links with China is imposed not solely by the world revolution, but by the struggle of the masses within each capitalist country. There isn't a single capitalist country with stability. From Ireland to Mexico, all the capitalist countries are harassed by the struggle of the masses. The petit bourgeoisie are gained by the revolution, the Christian Democrats disintegrate and pass to the camp of the revolution. military and civil nationalist movements pass to the camp of the socialist revolution. Thus capitalism feels isolated. This is the historic base on which this policy of Yankee Imperialism, to negotiate with the Chinese, is developed.

It is the fear which this situation imposes, it is the least evil for imperialism, because if they don't do it the development of the revolution is going to influence more on the American masses and is going to help them to

organise in an independent anti-capitalist revolutionary mass party, a party which is objectively and consciously anti-capitalist. This is what Yankee Imperialism wants to prevent.

It is not solely or merely an electoral interest. The electoral interest is directed to seeking this objective; to prevent the independent revolutionary organisation of the masses of the United States. To impede that the influence of the world revolution weighs. To try to appear as having pacifist and democratic intentions, Nixon makes this policy. In order to present himself before the petit bourgeoisie, before the worker masses of the United States, as someone who seeks peace, and who wants to seek peace and agreements. And it is a lie. He seeks war.

He has not made the war before because he could not. He is doing it in the Middle East through Israel. In Vietnam, in Laos, in Cambodia in Africa - there are Imperialist wars. Nixon is trying to appear as a pacifist before the masses of the United States so as to try to gain time. The McNamara Dossier reveals profound internal differences with Yankee Imperialism. But these differences are motivated by the advance of the World revolution, by the pressure of the revolution on the masses of the U.S.A. which shakes U.S. Imperialism and makes it unstable and insecure. And it provokes such a crisis. This is the essential reason for all the policies of the United States.

It tries to profit from the Sino-Soviet differences. It is not the weakness of the world revolution which permits this initiative of Yankee Imperialism, but it is simply a measure tending to cut the advance of the revolution. It appears to be an initiative, but it is a defensive measure, of imperialism seeking the least evil. On the other hand, the U.S. masses receive and are going to receive - an enormous influence from the world revolution. And Imperialism tries to contain, above all an agreement between the Chinese and the Soviets. The agreement, the objective necessity of the Soviet Workers State and the Chinese and the other 14 Workers States to unify themselves. Imperialism tries to impede the unification and centralisation, because this means its defeat in a short period, the smashing of the

capitalist system and the concentrated and powerful influence of the revolution on the masses of the United States. Because of this it tries to divide the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties. This is the objective of Yankee Imperialism. Imperialism tries to gain time utilising the difference between the bureaucracies of the Workers States. The policy of the Chinese trying to utilise imperialism is in essence a conciliation with capitalist and reactionary system. It is not directed to impel the world revolution. Any policy of the Workers State towards imperialism must be taken in what measure? What moment? In what circumstances? In what perspectives? Imperialism is harassed by the revolution. The revolution is advancing in the world and this is surrounding it, intimidating it. The masses of the USA are an essential reflection of the world development of the revolution, they are a living and definite expression and are the most conclusive way of measuring the development of the revolution. The McNamara 'Dossier', the division of imperialism, the influence in the American Senate, the denunciations which senators make, who themselves were, until yesterday, with Nixon in United Front, indicates the world influence of the revolution. This indicates that in this way the US masses are seeking the road to organise themselves as an independent revolutionary and class movement. This is the most imperious necessity of the masses of the United States.

Because of this a policy of the Workers States is necessary which is directed to this need; to organise the masses of the United States in a way so that they feel and see American Imperialism as their principal enemy within the United States itself. And thus to organise themselves in an independent form. The world revolution helps them in this, gives them examples, stimulates them, gives them an impulse. Angela Davis is an example of this. Angela Davis began by saluting in the name of liberty and now she salutes in the name of 'revolutionary affection'. This shows the world influence of the revolution on Angela Davis, which orders and gives a structure to the sentiments and makes felt that it is necessary to live in a communist form, to think in a communist form, to resolve in a communist form.

It is on this that the policy of the Workers States must be made, be it of China, be it of the Soviet Union, be it of Cuba, be it of Poland or any other Workers State. The policy to carry out in respect to Yankee imperialism is determined by seeing what is the most convenient necessity which impels the revolution in the world, the USA and impels the development of the Workers States.

The policy of the Chinese tends to give a hand to Yankee imperialism, to make it seem as if it is looking for peace, that it is possible to make a peace agreement with imperialism and that it can conciliate with Yankee imperialism. It is the opposite to what imperialism needs to do. It is necessary to show that imperialism is incapable of co-existing with the masses, that it is incapable of accepting peace, and progress, it is incapable of accepting the progress which leads to the well being of the masses of the world and eliminating oppression and terror. This is what it is necessary to demonstrate.

The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party passes from the mobilisations and criticisms of imperialism to a position of agreement with imperialism, without demonstrating, without showing why it changed, what is the reason for the change? If it had been a historic change in imperialism they should have explained it. A historic change would have meant that imperialism accepts the development of socialism, No! Imperialism has not changed at all. It seeks with a political tactic to do what it did before. It prepares itself to develop the conditions for the atomic war, because it is forced, is harassed by the world revolution. The Chinese leaders change position without explaining why there are bureaucratic interests which determine. This change signifies conceding, in the last instance, a possible agreement with imperialism, to make arrangements and agreements in Vietnam, in South East Asia, which permit imperialism to withdraw without important political consequences and damage.

It is necessary that the Chinese Workers State has diplomatic and commercial relations with all the world. This is correct. But we are in 1971 where there are 16 Workers States, 10 Revolutionary States and the masses of the USA are already incorporated into the world revolution. It is on this base that it is necessary to make a policy.

China demonstrated that it could exist, live, and contain Yankee Imperialism. Up till now Yankee Imperialism has been impotent to smash it. It was impotent to invade China when there was the war and invasion of Korea by Yankee Imperialism. The masses of China, of Korea, of Vietnam and of the world in their struggle against capitalism impeded it. It is on this basis that the Chinese should make their policy. And this attitude of the Chinese tends to make Yankee Imperialism <sup>appear</sup> before the masses of the USA as if Yankee Imperialism is looking for peace, wants peace and can accept peace. This is completely false.

This policy of the Chinese is carried forward simply because of the regional interest of the bureaucracy of the Chinese Communist Party. It is not through its interest in the world revolution, nor of the Chinese revolution either. It gives time to Yankee Imperialism to prepare itself. It presents itself before the masses of the USA as seeking peace. It gives credit once more to imperialism and allows it to gain historic time. It serves to contain the process of the structuring, the differentiation and disintegration of Yankee Imperialism within the United States and contains the process of independent and revolutionary organisation of the masses of the United States. This is one of the most damaging consequences of the bureaucratic policy of the Communist Parties of the Workers States, of their bureaucratic interests in which each leadership of each Communist Party or each Workers State, or Socialist State, as they call themselves, determine their policy in agreement with their particular interest, their bureaucratic, sect, interest. It is a crime against the world revolution.

This policy of the Chinese is directed at defending, at sustaining the interest of the Chinese clique. It is not a policy directed to make the revolution progress, nor is it the revolutionary continuation of the cultural revolution. Before this policy the Chinese made an 'internal cleansing' a repression against the revolutionary tendencies. From the Cultural Revolution they have passed to betraying to persecuting and repressing those who made the cultural revolution. It does not mean that this is the absolute

and fixed line in China. There is an internal struggle, in which one sector seeks with these means to gain time and extend its possibilities because it feels that the atomic war is coming, that the atomic war is being prepared and it tries to gain time to sustain and defend its interests as bureaucrats. They don't seek the world agreement of the revolution.

This policy of Yankee Imperialism is directed at preparing the atomic war. In an opposite form it is the same basis which resulted in Pearl Harbour. Imperialism took this measure as a base of pressure for the war. It does not do it to prepare for peace, but to gain time and decide to concentrate its forces to launch the war. At the same time as it is a demonstration of impotence, of insecurity and of pessimism, it encourages, impels and organises the decided conscious sectors that it is the least evil for the atomic war, to prepare the war and make it at any moment. The Chinese are helping in this. It is not a historic delay when the socialist revolution gains, socially it does not advance the socialist revolution. It is an indirect support to the intention of US Imperialism. Because of this the Chinese before having this attitude of seeking the acceptance of the invitation of Nixon, repressed the tendencies which within China were looking for an agreement with the Soviet Union, repressing and condemning the revolutionary movements. And recently before this agreement, or intention to make an agreement, they denounced Guevara as an adventurer. They supported the government of Ceylon against the revolutionary masses. They supported the government of Pakistan against the revolutionary masses. It supports a policy tending to assure capitalism that it can co-exist with socialism.

All the previous policy of the Chinese of accusations against the Soviet Union, of being bureaucrats, agents of capitalism, is to try to hide an attempt to isolate the Chinese masses from the influence of the world revolution.

Within China there is an important revolutionary development. It is not homogeneous, nor stable.

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But there are a series of sectors in which, on the basis of internal economic, social and political relations, there is a good progress of the revolution but this is still of a very elementary order. The trade unions do not speak. There are no meetings of the trade unions. There are no declarations by the trade unions. There are no assemblies of the trade unions. The enormous strength of the Chinese proletariat has still not expressed itself. In the 'cultural revolution' the Chinese proletariat did not intervene as a class, either in trade unions or in revolutionary organisms. It is silent.

This policy of the Chinese Communist Party answers to a sector of the bureaucracy which tries to draw advantage from the necessity of imperialism which has to co-exist with the world revolution, for the regional profit of the Chinese bureaucracy. It tries to repeat what the soviet bureaucracy did earlier. This present policy of the Chinese was carried out by the Soviets with Stalin and after Stalin. They never condemned or rectified this policy. Theirs is a repetition of this policy. The Chinese now try to use, for the benefit of the Chinese bureaucracy, this policy, which the soviet bureaucracy applied before and which in part they now do; in part, because the soviet bureaucracy sees itself obliged to support the revolutionary struggle of the masses, of the nationalist governments and revolutionary states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and in part in Europe, combining conciliation with the capitalist system and containing the process of the revolution with in part also stimulating the revolution. These are particular divergences of the struggles of the bureaucracy of the Workers States which tries to co-exist with the world development of the revolution and at the same time to contain it. This policy of the Chinese and before that of the Soviet bureaucracy is the bureaucratic, non-socialist policy of the Workers States.

The initiative lies in the hands of the revolution. It does not lie in the hands of capitalism or of the capitalist countries. It lies in the hands of the revolution. It expresses itself clearly in the measures which the countries which are advancing take such as the revolutionary states of Chile, Peru, Bolivia, countries in Asia and Latin America.

There is no unanimity among the Chinese. It is a part of the apparatus which is expressing itself. Neither Lin Piao, nor Chen Po Ta nor Kang Sheng appear at all. It is a policy from the apparatus which Yankee imperialism wants to investigate, to see if effectively it corresponds to the decision of the Chinese Communist Party about who decides or who is going to decide tomorrow. Imperialism tries to use these divergences and tries to deepen its knowledge to see if it is a firm policy of the Chinese bureaucracy. This is the strategy of the Yanks at the present moment. But it does not diminish its preparation of the atomic war, nor the programme of atomic armament nor the extension and increase of atomic arms. All the containing of imperialism which has taken place is because the masses of the world impose it.

In Iceland, in Malta imperialism has to withdraw because it is harassed by the governments. It is surrounded. In Latin America also. The masses of the world impose themselves. This is not a withdrawal of imperialism because it is conscious and decides to do it, the masses of the world impose themselves on

imperialism. It is on this that it is necessary to be based to confront Yankee imperialism.

This policy of the Chinese Communist Party, does not represent the interests of the Chinese masses, nor is it the expression, or the will of the Chinese masses. It is the expression of a leading camarilla. The construction of socialism does not need this, does not require this policy of agreement with Yankee imperialism. The progress of the Chinese revolution, the development of the Chinese Workers State, the structure and world influence of the revolution the development of new revolutionary states has been done outside the United Nations, without the permission of the United Nations, without the knowledge of the United Nations. All the diplomatic relations and commercial relations which China has with almost all the world, was achieved outside the United Nations, without any necessity to establish agreements with Yankee imperialism. On the contrary, it was done against Yankee imperialism. Why then the present policy? What does China's bureaucracy seek?

It is trying to contain imperialism. But in what form? By means of a conciliation with imperialism, giving it authority and credit in front of the North American masses.

It's the opposite of what it is necessary to do. To discredit, to show completely the real face of Yankee imperialism, to show that it produces war, that is social misery, atomic war, this is the policy to follow. This is Yankee imperialism. This exposure can and must be achieved. The masses of the United States must see this.

Imperialism does not want peace, nor co-existence, with the Workers States. It does not need it, it is against it, it cannot co-exist because it clashes with imperialist interests. The interests of the existence of imperialism are against co-existence with the Workers States. Co-existence of different regimes is a lie. Absolutely false. Neither Lenin or Trotsky, or the leaders of the Russian revolution even conceived of speaking of planning with such a possibility of peaceful co-existence, between imperialism, capitalism and the Workers States, and the Socialist revolution. They co-exist, not pacifically, but in the form of an uninterrupted class and revolutionary struggle which expressed itself constantly in the development of the struggle of the masses, in new countries,

which advanced towards the revolution. Imperialism has to agree to, <sup>and</sup> put up with supporting this, because it cannot impede it. This is not peaceful co-existence. It is an imposed co-existence which imperialism has to accept, because it has no other measure to take. All of which indicates that with revolutionary politics, the capitalist system can be overthrown. And imperialism will launch the atomic war at any time.

The Chinese, in order to defend their sectional bureaucratic interests, are making this policy. In China, there is no Bolchevik socialist revolutionary leadership. It is a bureaucratic leadership which takes revolutionary measures, which combines internal measures of progress towards the social relations of communism, with a conciliatory world policy, an opportunist policy. The most recent proof of this is the policy in Ceylon. China gave arms to the Ceylon government to smash the revolutionary mass movement in Ceylon.

This movement is pro-Chinese in origin and tendency, and fights in the name of Mao Tse Tung. But the fact that in Ceylon are organised mass Guevarist, and Trotskyist movements, show that the Chinese influence on the groups opposed to the Soviet bureaucracy, is declining. On the contrary, now they go from Maoist to Guevarist or Trotskyist groups. This is what is happening in Ceylon.

This shows the cessation of the influence of the Chinese in opposing the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. And at the same time, it shows that the Soviet bureaucracy, needs to support itself much more on the mobilisations of the masses of the world. It is on this reality that it is necessary to be based.

The policy which the Chinese Workers State needs, is not one of agreements with the Yankees. A commercial arrangement is not excluded, nor diplomatic recognition, but not through these ways, not presenting imperialism as seeking peace, but showing and imposing through policies, means for the world development of the revolution. This is the road to obtain recognition. In such a way, nothing prevents the Chinese developing and advancing. Nothing impedes it. When the Chinese make such agreements it is because they are seeking to contain on one hand, the revolution in every way, at the same time as the pressure of imperialism. This is the logical consequence of the policy of the Chinese. Above all in the Middle East in Asia, and in South East Asia. Such a political result is inevitable. The policy of seeking agreements with the Yanks and impelling the revolution in Asia and the Middle East, cannot co-exist. Above all in Vietnam.

Imperialism has shown itself to be impotent to triumph in Vietnam. It has tried with all its means to triumph in Vietnam, and it was impotent. It could conquer with the atomic war. But the atomic war means to confront the Soviets, to confront openly the world power of the Soviet Union; For this reason, imperialism does not launch the atomic arms in Vietnam. It is absurd to present imperialism as seeking peace when it has tried to surround Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, to launch the atomic war. It has not acted as previously it did in Japan, because the Soviet Union impedes it with atomic arms. The USSR is obliged to take the defence of Vietnam as part of the world defence of the Workers States. Hence, imperialism does not invade Vietnam. This policy of the Chinese opens the gates to the Yanks to try to conciliate with the Chinese to seek an agreement in South East Asia, that may save the prestige, the authority of Yankee imperialism, in front of the masses of the United States, to allow in consequence the winning of historic time. This is against revolutionary policy.

Imperialism is preparing the war in every way. It is going to launch it. It is not necessary to give opportunities to the enemy. It is necessary to harass and to smash it. When imperialism takes this measure to try to arrive at agreements with China, it is because it feels itself beleaguered because it is impotent to conquer the world revolution. It tries to win time to launch the atomic war. This is what imperialism seeks, to give itself in South East Asia, to try to reorganise its forces and seek a political reorganisation of its own external strength,



with the rest of capitalism in South East Asia.

The Chinese try to use, to <sup>their</sup> own benefit, as a sector of the Workers State, this necessity of Yankee imperialism. But they do it at the cost of the revolution in the Middle East and in South East Asia, and at the cost of giving imperialism time to prepare the atomic war.

This shows that a whole layer of the Chinese bureaucracy is developing itself in a retarded form, imitating the time of Stalin, imitating the time of trying to co-exist by retreating in itself. Now there is no time for this. Hence, this policy will not have the possibility of being pushed forward, will have to change the attempt at an arrangement with the Yanks in the course of the internal struggles which will - inevitably - force them to support, recognise and impel the revolution in South East Asia. They have no other remedy than to do this, when this policy of the Chinese forces them to paralyse this struggle. The Chinese revolution cannot allow co-existence with Yankee imperialism. It is the structure of the Chinese revolution which is opposed to it. This policy of the Chinese leadership is against this necessity. In a short time, these internal differences will be seen which - even although they do not express themselves - are already announced in the repression which they have to make against sectors which are to the left and who are seeking a much more homogeneous progress of the revolution.

This policy does not express the level reached by the revolution, there are immense divergences. It shows that there is confusion, insecurity, disequilibrium in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party because the party is not structured and the masses do not intervene. Neither the trade unions, or the mass movements intervene. All the mass movements that exist in China are not led by the trade unions, or by the proletarian masses. The masses of the population in general, are submitted to the movements of the students, the children, the small traders, small peasants, employees and others. It is not the proletariat which mobilises. The Chinese proletariat has still not spoken and it is going to weigh within a short stage, it is going to make the advance of the Chinese revolution felt.

The attitude of the Chinese does not have historic counter revolutionary objectives; The policy which it pushes forward now is reactionary, but the objective is not reactionary. They try to win historic time, also, but in the national name of the Chinese bureaucracy, not in the name of the interests of the revolution. It is a reactionary policy but not with a reactionary conclusion. This contradiction is due to the fact that there is no party, there is no independent functioning of the trade unions and no revolutionary party. Soon, they will have to speak. This is the necessary historical conclusion.

But in its turn - so that the influence of the revolution weighs on the masses of the Workers State, it is necessary that the Workers States, the USSR, the other Workers States, the communist parties of the world organise themselves and make appeals with the object of impelling the world socialist revolution. The masses of the United States have the necessity for the independent organisation of the revolutionary mass party. They need a party which separates them from the influence, the structure, the po-

litical gangsterism of Yankee imperialism. The communist party is a little party. The Trotskyists are a small movement. The trade unions are strong but they are in the hands of a powerful bureaucracy which used gangster methods against the masses. The masses of the USA are mobilising. The proletariat is organised in its trade unions, but they do not have a mass party nor revolutionary parties. The petty bourgeoisie has mobilised itself against the war in Vietnam, demonstrating that it is sensitive to the struggle of the masses of the world and that it welcomes such influences. The development in the United States of the 'protests against' the government, involves millions, and millions have mobilised against the war in Vietnam. It is the base of a mass, powerful, class and revolutionary party. It is necessary to be based on this,

to make a policy to make the political perspectives for every agreements of the Workers States with imperialism impossible. It is necessary to take into account the situation of the masses of the United States, so that the masses of the United States are influenced.

The masses of the United States need to see that the Workers States support them, come to their defence, the defence of the revolutionary interests of the masses of the United States. The Workers States should be a guide, an example, a stimulus, to organise, to help them to break the gangster clique which exists in the United States, that prevents them from forming their revolutionary class mass party. One of the most essential ways, is the appeal from the Workers States.

The masses of China, of the USSR, of Cuba, of the Workers States, of the communist parties should make appeals to the masses of the United States, to organise themselves as a revolutionary and independant mass party with a programme to overthrow the capitalist system.

Imperialism is preparing the atomic war. It has no other historic solution. It is not going to hand over the power which it has, it is not going to submit to the progress of history, to the reason of history, to the intelligence of history, which is being expressed with the development of the socialist revolution in the world. Imperialism is going to reply with the atomic war. The masses of the United States, have to feel and see this objective process and prepare to overthrow the capitalist system, during and after the war. For this, an example is needed which stimulates them which helps them to understand, to organise. This attitude of the Chinese on the contrary blocks the road, hinders them, places immense difficulties in front of them and favours the insecure, vacillating sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, favours the Yankee imperialists to present themselves as lovers of peace, seeking peace, seeking an agreement to co-exist with the Workers States and the world socialist revolution. This goes against the objective necessity of the objective revolutionary development in the Workers States. It is necessary to act in such a way that the Workers States, Cuba, China, the Soviet Union, all the Workers States, mobilise the communist parties of France, of Italy in particular, mobilise and make appeals to the masses of the United States, to organise in an independant class party, against the atomic war which imperialism is preparing.

Hence, it is necessary to break and to finish with the force that determine the war: capitalism. The development of the economy, of democracy, of democratic rights of the masses of the world who want to finish with those who oppose democratic rights, demands the liquidation of capitalism. It is the capitalist system, and the bureaucratic structure of the workers states which are opposed to this. These are the appeals which it is necessary to make.

But for this, it is necessary that in the Workers States, demonstrations are called, meetings, appeals for unconditional support to the struggle of the masses of the world, to the struggle of the masses of Korea, Vietnam. Unconditional support for the expulsion of imperialism from all South East Asia.

The masses of the United States have to see that the masses of the Workers States, of the communist parties, can mobilise themselves in a soviet form, having meetings, discussions, proposals, resolutions, demonstrations and assemblies of workers in the factories, in the trade unions. When the masses of the United States see the masses of the Workers States mobilising and organising themselves, resolving, functioning as organisms of power, they will feel an immense influence and it will stimulate them to organise themselves in an independant form with independant revolutionary organisms. Going from demonstrations against the war in Vietnam to the conscious organisation of the Anti-capitalist, and revolutionary organisms, it is this which the masses of the United States need.

This action of China, seeking an agreement with the Yankees is a blow given to this necessity of the masses of the United States. The organisation of the masses of the United States in an independant revolutionary form, is one of the most powerful factors for the progress of history, to defeat Yankee imperialism and for the triumph of the Socialist revolution. This is what the Workers States have to concern themselves with.

The workers States, show themselves divided, separated, there is no organism which unifies them. The unification of the Workers States, is necessary. The masses of the USA see China seeking an agreement with the Yanks, but they see it opposing the Soviet Union, and the other Workers States. They do not see China making the same effort to seek agreements with the other Workers States, to plan their economy, in common, their policy in common, their revolutionary military objective and organisation in common. They see them divided, and separated, and it has a counter productive effect on the masses of the United States. What is required fundamentally, is most necessary and urgent, for the revolutionary development of history and to finish with the capitalist system, and every regime of oppression and repression; is the unification of the workers states united planning of the Workers States, socialist democracy in all the Workers States, and in the communist parties. This will have an immense influence over the masses of the United States, will isolate and fetter Yankee imperialism, and will facilitate the final measures to overthrow the capitalist system even if the atomic war which is going to break out; This is the policy which is needed. This stage of history shows that imperialism is surrounded and seeks to defend itself, means by which to try to impede the masses of the United States receiving



more revolutionary influence. This is one of the essential objectives of imperialism. It is seeking to arrange a settlement within the leading team of the United States, because they feel themselves isolated, besieged. All this crisis of Yankee imperialism which showed itself openly in the dispute of factions and tendencies within the North American Senate - in which they mutually accuse each other of war plans, assassin and criminal plans of imperialism, - takes place because of the insecurity in the future of imperialism. It is necessary to make a policy which deepens this crisis and the unification of the masses of the United States and of the world. This has to be done with a policy of agreement between the Workers States, the soviet planning of the Workers States, the development of the public activity of the masses of the Workers States, meetings and soviets, socialist democracy meetings of the trade unions, demonstrations, factory assemblies, appeals to the workers, to the world revolution, economic and military help to the revolutionary masses of the world. Then the masses of the United States are going to feel themselves to be linked to the world revolution and this is going to impel them to political understanding to organise their revolutionary and class movements.

It is necessary to call for a UNITED FRONT of the Workers States; Imperialism is weak. This agreement which it seeks with China is the product of its weakness but it is the lesser evil which it seeks. This does not mean that this is a step which favours the revolution, the best step. It means a step less favourable to the revolution because it allows imperialism to present itself as seeking peace and agreements.

For that reason, it is necessary to reject the policy of the Chinese and to make an appeal for the unification of all the Workers States, for the unconditional support to the revolution in the Middle East, the unconditional support to the struggle of the masses in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the whole of Asia and to support unconditionally the advance of the world revolution, to appeal for the unification around a common policy so that they plan their economy that they make socialist democracy, and the trade unions function so that they act on the basis of mass movements and resolution, election and revocability of mandates, with leaders who respond to the necessity of the revolution.

We call upon the world communist and revolutionary movement to discuss and reject this attitude of the Chinese and to demand of the Communist and Socialist parties, a discussion with all the workers, peasant, student, professional movements, to discuss the common strategy to overthrow what remains of the capitalist system, which is the way to confront the atrocity which Imperialism is preparing the atomic war.

It is necessary to appeal to the worker, peasant, petit bourgeois movements, for an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front, to suppress world imperialism, to eliminate NATO, all the military bases of the capitalist system, to develop and support unconditionally all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the world, from minimum progressive forms to the most elevated forms. And it is necessary that they intervene to give immediately to all the struggles, orientation in the sense of organisms of mass control, popular deliberations, and popular decisions, organisms of workers control, trade union independence, to base the trade union movement on the anti-capitalist programme, the development of the socialist revolution, of workers control and of fraternal communist relations, of conscious relations and sentiments of social socialist nature, elimination of every form of bureaucracy, of bureaucratic oppression. On this basis the IV International appeals to the Communist movements, the nationalist revolutionary movements, Socialist,

Left Christian Democrats, to involve themselves in this struggle, to respond to this reactionary policy of the Chinese and to favour the development of the revolutionary tendencies within China itself, to smash what remains of the capitalist system, to reanimate the soviet functioning of the Workers States and the development of the world socialist revolution.

There is a constant triumph and progress of the Socialist and Communist parties throughout the world. The development of the resistance to Imperialism whether in Malta, or in Iceland, shows that when countries so small, almost non existent, without social and military force, take such measures of confrontation with imperialism when they do that, it is because they feel themselves sustained and supported by the world revolution. That is the line to follow, that is the appeal which it is necessary to make to the Chinese, not simply a criticism of the Chinese for their reactionary policy, but an appeal directed to the Chinese masses and to the Workers States, for the Soviet Democratic, Socialist, organisation for the development of the trade union movement under the independant socialist democratic form of the masses of the Workers States. This is the appeal for the struggle against the capitalist system, to foresee and to prepare for the atomic war which imperialism is preparing, seeing that the 'projected visit' is a measure for the atomic war. Hence the measures that are necessary to take, to contain the development of this reactionary intention of Yankee Imperialism, accompanied by a part of the leadership of the Chinese bureaucracy. It is necessary to make an appeal to the Chinese bureaucracy to discuss the planning of the Workers States in agreement with the world necessity of the development of the Workers States and of the Socialist revolution not in agreement with the interest of the Soviet bureaucracy; for the world planning of the economy of all the Workers States, of the development of the independant functioning and development of the trade unions in the Workers States, supporting unconditionally the socialist revolution, the Workers States, socialist democracy and the world socialist revolution, making the organisms of the Workers States, of the Workers Parties, trade unions, Communist Parties intervene with the rest of the workers and world Communist movement, supporting the revolution unconditionally, supporting it economically, militarily, politically, organisationally by means of appeals, economic aid, demonstrations meetings, with the functioning of the soviets in the Workers States.

That is the reply which it is necessary to make to influence the process within China and impel the internal struggles in China, to develop the revolutionary tendency so that it advances from this step of a reactionary policy to a revolutionary policy; and also so that within the Workers States or the Communist Parties, the discussion is not made simply on the basis of the interests of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, against the Chinese Communist Party but of the interest of the socialist revolution, objectively seeing that the progressive way to pass from this reactionary policy of the Chinese and not to support another reactionary policy in competition with the bureaucrats of the Workers States against China, is a to impel a Soviet revolutionary policy.

It is necessary to answer this reactionary policy with the world revolution, to develop the world socialist revolution, to support under an unconditional form the world socialist revolution against Yankee Imperialism; to appeal for the mobilisation of the masses of Poland, China, Cuba, Vietnam, of all the Workers States, of the Communist Parties to support unconditionally the struggle of the masses of the world against

imperialism and capitalism, to appeal for the destruction of what remains of the capitalist system and to construct soviets throughout the world. Here are the organisms in which the masses deliberate, discuss, resolve and can develop all their creative capacity. This is the reply which it is necessary to give to this policy of the bureaucratic sector of the Chinese Communist Party.

The IV International appeals to the masses of the world to reject this policy. It appeals to the Communist Parties to discuss this experience which means a false policy, which benefits the capitalist system and is done in the name of the interest of a sector of the Workers States to defend itself from the progress of the revolution which means a lack of confidence in the future and in the development of the revolutionary capacity of the masses.

It is necessary to impel the development of the peasant masses, of the peasant movement of the whole world, of the Workers States to eliminate all the parties, all the movements, all the groups which answer still to the interests of the petit bourgeoisie to capitalist sentiment

to the sentiment of property and to the interests and the functioning of private property, to eliminate all this and to open the way to collectivisation and to the development of organisms of functioning of the collective socialist masses who plan socialist society eliminating everything which remains of private property.

It is necessary to make the masses intervene, the organisms of the masses, so that they discuss all the problems in the Communist Parties in the Workers States, it is necessary to discuss the reasons for this conduct of the Chinese and what is the cause which leads the Chinese to this policy. And the essential cause of this reactionary policy of the Chinese is isolation, regionalism, the bureaucratic interest of the leadership of the Communist Parties and of the Workers States and their lack of application of the tradition of the first seven years of the Soviet revolution.

It is necessary to return to that example to apply the Marxist conception of the development of the revolution, developing the Soviet organisms, the principle of trade union independence, the mobilisation of the masses, in all the mass organisms, in all the Workers States, meetings and demonstrations of the masses supporting the revolution unconditionally. The deliberation in democratic assemblies of the masses in which they think, resolve and promote, lead and control, that is the Soviet form. That is going to have an immense influence on the masses of the capitalist countries and particularly of the United States to aid them to organise their Marxist revolutionary party based on the trade unions.

For that reason it is necessary to make appeals, so that the Soviet Union appeals for the planning of the economy of all the Workers States, for trade union independence in the Workers States so that the Trade Unions defend under an unconditional form at the same time as they defend the Workers States and the socialist revolution, the interests and the struggle of the masses to push forward the development of the economy in the Workers States and proceed to eliminate the differences in wages, the bureaucratic domination in the Workers States. That will have an immense influence on the masses of the United States, on the masses of China and it will aid to form new revolutionary leaderships to prepare themselves to intervene in the atomic war and smash what remains of the capitalist system and to develop on a world scale the bases for the development of the Soviets and the construction of socialism.

Capitalism prepares the war, capitalism wants war. This measure of Yankee imperialism to seek agreements with the Chinese, to base themselves on the divergences of the bureaucrats of the Workers States is to prepare the war, because they have no other policy, imperialism tried to smash the Chinese and before the Soviet Union and it failed, now it tries to make this tactic and to this tactic it is necessary to answer with the policy of the development of the socialist economy in the Workers States trade union independence, with the intervention of the masses controlling and developing the Soviets in the Workers States.

That is the reply to make in front of the reactionary policy of the leading bureaucracy of the Chinese Communist Party.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL.

20th July, 1971.

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# APPEAL OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL AGAINST THE REPRESSION IN THE SUDAN, TO STOP THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REPRESSION IN THE SUDAN, TO DRAW THE POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS FOR THE NEXT STAGE.

28-7-71

The IV International condemns the assassinations of the Communists and of the revolutionary nationalists in the Sudan. It appeals to the Workers States, the Communist Parties, the trade unions throughout the world, the workers movement, the socialist and revolutionary movements, to express themselves, in discussions, in making resolutions in sending telegrams and delegations. It appeals to the trade unions and the revolutionary movements of the Arab countries to mobilise, to call for strikes and demonstrations to stop the counter revolutionary repression in the Sudan.

The Communists and the revolutionary nationalists in the Sudan rose up to make the revolution progress, to give more political intervention to the trade unions, democratic liberties for the masses, for the world anti-imperialist united front, for the unconditional alliance with the Workers States and for socialism. The four days during which they governed Khartoum means a progress for all the Arab revolution. In spite of the fact that they were defeated, this programme must return because it answers to the necessity of progress of the revolution. The previous policy of passivity of the C.P. and the absence of appeals for revolutionary mobilisations of the masses, the absence of appeals and measures to organise the popular committees, factory, workers area and peasant committees found the population disorganised in front of the counter revolutionary blow of Numeiry.

The later appeals of the C.P. are weak. Joined to the appeals and the declarations of the Soviet Trade Unions and of the Communist Parties of the USSR and the world, it is necessary also to have appeals, demonstrations, meetings in the factories, in the workers areas, etc. in all the Workers States and the capitalist countries to contain the assassination of the Communists and the revolutionary nationalists and prepare the revolutionary reaction of the masses and the overthrow of Numeiry and to reanimate and continue the progress of

the revolution in the Sudan. Numeiry speaks in the name of the nationalist revolution but the measures which he takes go against the progress of the revolution. He is expressing the fear of the bourgeois wing of Muslim nationalism in face of the progress of the revolution, the increase in weight of the workers movement, of the trade unions, of the political influence of the alliance of the Workers States with the Arab countries, faced with the development of socialist ideas, of scientific marxist thought among the Arab revolutionaries. This leads this sector to unite with the counter revolution. It is for that reason that the Muslim Brotherhood and the feudal camarilla support it. Imperialism is preparing to profit from this repression in the Sudan, as in Jordan and Morocco.

It is a crisis in the advance of the Arab revolution. South Yemen takes socialist measures. Algeria expropriates French Imperialism and advances towards the Workers State. In Egypt there is a very great social progress of the revolution with the formation of a socialist worker vanguard, a progress in trade union democracy an increase in the intervention of the masses. In Iraq the political role of the trade unions is increasing. Throughout all the countries, the nationalist left is in course of development. And it is in course of understanding the necessity

for scientific socialism. The process in the Arab countries is not determined by what happens in the Sudan, in Jordan or in Morocco but by what happens in the world. And the world goes inevitably towards socialism. The conservative forces of Muslim nationalism launch themselves against this but they have no perspectives. There is not a single popular demonstration of support for Numeiry in the Arab countries. Of all the governments of the Revolutionary States, only Ghadaffi has openly supported him. Lybia is the country where the revolution is socially the most retarded, where the proletariat has least weight and where imperialism has more. On the other hand in Egypt, while Numeiry leads the anti communist repression, Sadat declares that the Soviet Union is the best ally of the Arab people. And the Communist parties of Syria, of Lebanon and Iraq condemn the repressions.

The Soviet Trade unions, the Communist parties of the Workers States condemn the repression, and no Arab government takes measures against the USSR and the Workers States. That shows that the immense majority of the Arab population is against the repression of Numeiry. It is necessary to mobilise all the forces to stop these assassinations, the persecution of the Communists and of the revolutionary nationalists to assure the functioning of the trade unions and democratic liberties for the people of the Sudan.

All the resolutions of the trade unions, of the Communist Parties, Socialist Parties of the world have a very great effect on the Arab masses. They give confidence to them to progress politically, to affirm socialist ideas and uphold the intervention of the trade unions. The progress of the nationalist left is conditioned by the functioning of the masses in the trade unions, by the functioning of the trade unions as Workers Parties and the political organisation of the Marxist Party Based on the Trade Unions. In this way the nationalists who are in process of being gained by the world revolution have a base of support to advance.

Sudan has shown the maturity of the revolution for the alliance of the communists, the trade unions, and the revolutionary left nationalists with the programme of the socialist revolution. If they have not triumphed it is because they have not had the international support of the Workers States, of the world workers movement and of the Arab masses. The support did not arrive in time. Numeiry had the immediate support of Ghadaffi and of the reactionary bourgeois tendency of Muslim nationalism. The support to the revolutionaries arrived too late. This is a very important conclusion which has to be drawn. And also, that once in power, the Sudanese revolutionaries and Communists could have mobilised the masses of Sudan and the Arab masses to crush the force of the counter-revolution and to paralyse their allies in other countries. If they did not do it, it was not because of lack of revolutionary spirit. It is because they did not have the preparation to do it, and this is not solely a problem of Sudan, but of all the revolutionary movement of the world. Now it is necessary to unite all the forces to stop the repression of Numeiry, and at the same time to make a balance, drawing the conclusions so that blows which are not inevitable are not repeated.

We salute the resolutions of the Soviet Trade Unions, calling to stop the repression in Sudan. This shows that there are immense forces in the Workers States which have still not intervened in the world revolution. A previous resolution of the I.S. of the IV International analyses this process of the murderous coup of Numeiry and of the crisis of the nationalist movement and the Arab Communist Parties.

We appeal for the making of meetings, demonstrations, assemblies in all the Workers States. We appeal to the Chinese C.P., the Chinese T.U.'s so that they make declarations. It is inadmissible that when they assassinate communists in Sudan for their revolutionary action, the Communist Party of China makes no declaration. We appeal to all the Communist Parties and the Trade Unions of the Workers States, all the Communist and Socialist parties, all the T.U.'s in the world to mobilise. We appeal to them to address the Arab trade unions proposing a world

general strike of 24 hours to stop the counter-revolutionary repression in Sudan. We appeal for the sending of delegations, to impel the Arab T.U.'s to meet, to make assemblies, bring out resolutions, to mobilise in all the Arab countries. But for this they must make mobilisations in the rest of the world.

It is necessary to discuss Sudan before the world workers movement. To raise the preparation of the C.P.'s as a means of scientific bolshevik functioning, entirely orientated towards the taking of power.

The Arab revolution and the world socialist revolution are in very great progress. New situations like the one posed in Sudan are going to be repeated. One cannot permit new coups as this one, or as the bloody repression in Jordan, in Morocco, or before in Indonesia. We appeal for the organisation of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist world united front, to prepare the world revolutionary intervention in time, of the Workers States and the world workers and Communist movements: in support of the revolution in every part of the world, this allows the preparation of the world communist and workers movement for the taking of power. The conditions are mature for this. It is necessary to discuss this, while all the forces mobilise to stop the repression against the revolution in Sudan.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN AND REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE COMMUNIST AND NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONARY COMRADES IN SUDAN!

LONG LIVE THE TAKING OF POSITION BY THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS, AND THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE WORKERS STATES AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES, CONDEMNING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY EXECUTIONS OF NUMEIRY'S GOVERNMENT.

FOR THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKERS STATES, OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, OF THE WORKERS PARTIES, OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF THE WORLD, OF THE TROTSKYIST PARTIES AND THE IV INTERNATIONAL, WITH THE ARAB MASSES TO STOP THE REPRESSION AND LEAD FORWARD THE REVOLUTION, FROM NATIONALISM TOWARDS NEW WORKERS STATES!

FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE ARAB MASSES IN POWERFUL MARXIST PARTIES BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS!

The International Secretariat of the  
IV International 28th July, 1971.

ORDER THE EUROPEAN  
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CONGRESS BY J. POSADAS



desperate position. All the process of the world revolution and the international disintegration of imperialism deprives it of support. Even Malta threatens to throw it out. In a preceding epoch, in the time of a Churchill it would have reacted with instant violence to the events in the Clydeside, proclaiming this as an infringement of private property, moving in troops, making arrests etc. but now it has to act with a certain caution because it lacks social support. Nevertheless as Northern Ireland shows, it finally does have to resort to violence, even when this may stem from despair rather than confidence. And this violence at some stage will find its equivalent in the rest of Britain. In Northern Ireland power has passed from the politicians basically into the hands of the army. They make the major speeches, and decisions. The Faulkners and Heaths merely provide speech-making in an atmosphere dominated by military decisions. It is the prelude for what is going to happen in Britain, it is part of the preparation for the final encounter.

We appeal to the L.P. to the T.U.C., individual trade unions and the C.P. to intervene with all their force in this process, at a very elevated level. They should have the PERSPECTIVE of an UNLIMITED GENERAL STRIKE WITH OCCUPATIONS etc. with the object of imposing the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, to re-establish full democratic political rights in Northern Ireland, to impose a left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme linked with the demand for a United Socialist Ireland on the basis of a workers and farmers government, with the perspective of uniting Britain and Ireland within the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe. And appeals to the Workers States on this basis should be made. In the IMMEDIATE FUTURE we appeal for a 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE WITH OCCUPATIONS which links the Clydeside struggle with the demand for the IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL BRITISH TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND with direct appeals to the troops themselves not to participate in this murderous counter-revolutionary attack by British Imperialism and to abandon Imperialism. There must be an end to the equivocating policies of the British left on Ireland. Out with British Troops from N.Ireland. (The fact that someone like Crossman now calls for the withdrawal of British troops in N. Ireland shows a process of advance in this respect).

And such appeals should be taken up by the Irish Labour Parties, the Social Democratic M.P.'s, Irish Trade unions, the IRA, with the appeal for an immediate 24 Hour strike throughout Ireland with factory occupations and with the perspective of an unlimited general strike in a short stage. They must appeal now for the organisation of a WORKER MILITIA in Northern Ireland. It is necessary that the full weight of the masses is organised to demoralise and weaken the coercive force of Imperialism.

Together with these appeals we call for the elevation of the programme of struggle in Ireland, so that the struggle is presented in a firmly SOCIALIST and CLASS framework. In this respect it is necessary to develop the organisms of dual power which exist i.e. workers area committees, defence committees, etc. so that they do not confine their discussions to problems of organising resistance, maintaining discipline against the intimidations of imperialism, but deal with all the social and political problems which concern the masses. Clearly in a struggle of this kind, an ideal functioning is not always possible but such committees clearly exist in one form or another and it is simply a question of extending the range of their discussion and decision. And the type of demands which should be put forward include issues such as a workers plan of production based on nationalisations under workers control and without compensation, no worker to be dismissed, factories about to be closed down to be nationalised, an immediate programme of public works to eliminate unemployment, and help solve the problems of housing, education, etc. allied with price committees to determine prices, rents, etc. so that the masses decide everything. With such a programme it is possible to mobilise actively all the sectors of Protestant workers who have not yet weighed in the struggle. Appeals to the small farmers are also necessary with the programme of credits and technical aid and the perspectives of collectivisation. And all this has to be constantly allied with direct appeals to the British Troops, unremitting appeals

explaining the objectives of the struggle in Northern Ireland, appealing to them to reject the authority which commands them to kill the Irish masses. There is no problem in this. The armies of Imperialism are disintegrating, the American army is demoralised in Vietnam, and trade union rights are recognised for soldiers in the German and Swedish armies. In this respect Radio Free Belfast should conduct its programme, giving time to the organisations which support the armed struggle against imperialism, including the IV International

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES OF NORTHER IRELAND

LONG LIVE THE UNITED STRUGGLE OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH MASSES TO  
SMASH IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM.

## 24 HOUR NATIONAL GENERAL STRIKE WITH MASS DEMONSTRATIONS TO STOP THE CLOSURE OF UCS

AND TO IMPOSE THE NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL,  
OF IT AND ALL OTHER FACTORIES ABOUT TO BE CLOSED DOWN:

The 'work-in' at U.C.S. is a historic step forward in the British and world class struggle. It puts in question the whole of the functioning of capitalism, its right to sack workers, its right to decide whether or not to produce, and to decide what to produce. Now the workers of Clydeside are taking all these decisions, and the influence of their action is penetrating to all parts of the world. Such an action, which is more advanced than anything proposed or thought of by the union leadership, by the L.P. or C.P., is a result of the whole world advance of the revolution, which weakens and saps the confidence of the capitalist class and its agents in the working class movement, and encourages and impels the vanguard which is seeking the way to overthrow capitalism. And the occupation of U.C.S. shows the presence of a numerous vanguard in the yards which wants to struggle for power. This is the most important conclusion which has to be drawn from U.C.S.

This occupation does not come out of the blue, but is based on all the previous experience of the struggle of the British and world proletariat. As comrade Posadas has said, in this stage 'power rises up from the factories', i.e. in a situation where the workers cannot express themselves fully in their political parties or T.U.'s the factories become centres of decision and initiative. There are tens of examples of this. The recent occupation of Renault, the victory of the Fiat workers who have won important measures of workers control, the strikes in the Gdansk shipyards which forced the bureaucracy to promise free elections to the trade unions and Communist Party, the struggle in SEAT of Barcelona lead by the Communists and Trotskyists together, the great victory of the U.S. engineering workers in winning a sliding scale of wages, all are examples of this. This struggle in the factories has repercussions in the workers organisations, giving confidence to the left to be more audacious in their programmatic struggle against the right wing. It impels people like Benn in the L.P., to link himself to the workers in a manner not seen before in the L.P., to propose the nationalisation of the yards and to raise the discussion, albeit in a confused and reformist way, on workers control. Thus the struggle in the factory not only has importance for what it can gain concretely there, but in the fact that it impels the development of a revolutionary leadership within the political organisations of the class.

U.C.S. comes after all the big struggles in Britain, against the Industrial Relations Bill, against unemployment, for wage increases for the defence of shop stewards etc and after the enormous struggle in N. Ireland and UCS and the Civil War in Ireland are two different forms of the same process; the struggle to overthrow capitalism, and there is an inter-influence between the two movements. Now British Imperialism uses force in Ireland intervening the left, both Catholic and Protestant without trial using the army to try to terrorise the masses, and tomorrow it is going to do the same in Britain beginning on Clydeside. The workers of UCS must be ready for this and must now express, in resolutions taken in mass assemblies in the factories, their support for the struggle of the Irish masses. Now the struggle is going to harden in UCS with the bourgeoisie taking repressive action when the workers move work between one yard and another; the UCS workers must be prepared to resist this and above all to appeal to the rest of the British working class to take strike action if the bourgeoisie intervene. It is necessary to take into account that the bourgeoisie and its repressive apparatus is weak, the daily confrontation of the army by hostile men, women and children in Ireland, as before in Aden demoralises it. Thus Ireland is an element which has prevented the ruling class from already intervening aggressively in UCS. Soon it is going to find itself without enough troops to repress everywhere that it needs to.

We repeat all the appeals we have made to the UCS workers while pledging our unconditional support to their struggle. The action is historic but it is necessary to deepen it, to let the rest of the working class see a free proletarian democracy functioning in the yards, to see mass assemblies taking all the important decisions, to see appeals being issued to the rest of the class, and to the world workers movement for active support. We are not against the organisation of financial support; this is important but there are more important actions. In this sense we salute the decision of the shop stewards meeting of last Tuesday to call a demonstration in Glasgow next Wednesday (which will effectively be a strike) but it should have been linked with an appeal to the working class in England, Wales and Ireland to also make strikes, demonstrations in support. A whole climate of support exists for UCS, it is necessary to organise it. In a meeting organised by the CP in London in support for UCS a worker asked "what can we do next Wednesday, are there any demonstrations planned here?" This is the sentiment which exists, the base which exists for calling a 24 hour strike with demonstrations and occupations throughout the whole of Britain and N. Ireland next Wednesday. We appeal to the UCS workers to launch this appeal.

Also the UCS workers must appeal to the TUC for support to appeal so that the enormous TU movement of Britain intervenes as a movement. So far the TUC leaders have said little on UCS but the pressure from the base is going to oblige a sector of it at least to give support. For this reason there must be appeals directed to the leadership as well as to the base. As we have proposed in our leaflets, the UCS workers must put forward a workers plan of production, a plan of houses, hospitals, jobs etc to solve all the problems of the region and the country which capitalism cannot solve and this plan has to be based on the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of the key sectors of the economy and the banks and finance companies. In this way the rest of the exploited masses can see the UCS workers not just fighting for their own demands as shipyard workers but for the interests of the whole of the exploited masses. With this programme and with a soviet type functioning in the yards, with appeals to all the class and to the European workers movement to organise a European conference to plan the struggle against capitalism, the UCS struggle will be invincible. If UCS remains isolated, even if the workers movement gives money it will not be able to continue. The "work in" is a revolutionary measure which either develops the whole of the revolution in the country or decays. It is necessary to have the objective of maintaining the occupation until the government yields and guarantees the jobs of all the workers; that it grants wage increases, and above all as a means of ensuring the two previous demands, that it nationalises the yard under workers control.



We appeal to the workers vanguard to take actions of solidarity with the workers of UCS, to make UCS a centre to organise all the discontent with the capitalist policy of unemployment, rising prices, curtailment of democratic rights etc., a centre around which to organise the general strike. To make in the shortest possible delay, a national general strike of 24 hours and through this to organise and prepare the leadership, the organisation and programme to advance to the unlimited general strike with occupations, demonstrations, and mass meetings, calling on all the population to intervene. This government has gone as far as it can, it has practically no social support, it can do nothing to solve the problems of the masses and it concentrates on preparing repression. The central objective of the unlimited general strike must be to throw out this tory government and impose a left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme, as a step towards workers power.

This is the conclusion we appeal to the left in the LP, the CP and the TUs to draw and apply. All the journals, all the organisms of the working class must mobilise in support of UCS, with this perspective of a general strike in a short delay. The significance of this action has to be discussed in all the organisms, the LP and CP branches, the YS and the YCL, and in the TU branches. It gives the basis for a much more audacious struggle for a revolutionary leadership in the organisations of the class, for the struggle to expel the pro-capitalist right wing leadership of Wilson Jenkins etc. Wilson shows the weakness of his position when he goes to Clydeside to speak to the workers of UCS, ~~trying~~ in this way to maintain his links with the base of the LP and also ~~trying~~ to keep the movement within reformist limits. But if he did not feel the power of this movement, if he did not feel threatened by it, he would not have gone. This is the conclusion that the Labour left must draw; UCS is a death blow at the right wing of the LP, they have said nothing about it because they don't have the strength to attack it and so they keep quiet.

The RWP(T) the British Section of the IV International repeats its salute to the Clydeside workers and all the working class which has made this historic action possible. This is a revolutionary action, a form of struggle defended for 30 years by the IV International, today led by J Posadas. Now it is necessary to generalise this action, extending it as a concrete expression of dual power in Britain, making it the centre around which to organise the 24 hour general strike throughout the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, making it a strike in the streets, to prevent the closing of UCS and imposing their nationalisation under workers control. This must be used in turn as a preparation of the organisms and leadership to make the unlimited General Strike with mass demonstrations to throw out the tory government and impose a left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme.

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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. 143 Friday 10 SEPTEMBER 1971 PRICE 3p

AFTER 5 YEARS AND 4 MONTHS OF IN-  
PRISONMENT IN LECUMBERRI (MEXICO)

WE SALUTE THE LIBERATION OF TERESA  
CONFRETTA, MEMBER OF THE ARGENTIN-  
IAN WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)

## Construct the organisms of dual power throughout Britain, factory Committees, area Committees, mass assemblies to im- pose the demands of the masses and dev- elop the new leadership in the Labour Party and the Unions

The fierce civil war now waging in Ireland, and the continued occupation of UCS, constantly pose before the vanguard the problems of how to advance, how to develop most effectively the struggle for power, to overthrow capitalism. It is clear that both processes develop outside the boundaries of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. Capitalism prepares constantly for the final settlement of accounts, and cannot conduct its affairs on the basis of debates in Parliament. It acts outside its own traditional structure, which becomes increasingly irrelevant. It is the army, which decides in Northern Ireland, where the whole structure of Imperialism is being called into question, where a socialist solution is constantly being posed in one form or another. Meanwhile Parliament is in recess. The question of dealing with UCS is also left simply to the "Government". Sectors of the police apparatus demand harder punishments for criminals, but this is simply part of a preparation for a more generalised repression. The brutal course of the arrests in Northern Ireland, the complete lack of interest by the bourgeoisie in the treatment of these prisoners, is part of the jettisoning of the "liberal" in favour of the "law and order" approach.

Capitalism is in no position to make concessions to the masses. And it cannot afford to socially. It has to maintain some social cohesion amongst its own sectors, hence no effort to pose solutions for Ireland, unemployment, closing down of shipyards, factories, etc. This of course is further exacerbated on a world scale by the dollar crisis, and the intensification of inter capitalist competition—itsself resulting from the vast expenditures of imperialism in preparation for the war. Nixon's trade war, and programme of limited salvation for the dollar—pressure to force revaluation on the Japanese—for example, increases all the conflicts within the capitalist economies. The crisis of world trade, and the inability of British imperialism to expand, means the inevitable continuation of policies of unemployment, closure of factories, lower standard of life. In other words the political and social crisis of capitalism is further and further aggravated by the economic consequences of the preparation for the final encounter.

It is in the course of all this process, in the course of the partial regeneration of the Workers States, where the differences between the leaderships of the Workers States cause an ever more profound discussion in the world communist vanguard, in the course of all the advances of the revolutionary nationalist movements, that the revolutionary vanguard in Britain is learning and acquiring experience to stimulate the new leadership in the LP and the Trade Unions. Certainly the response of the leaderships in the LP and the Unions to the crisis in Ireland and Clydeside has been very limited. The discussions between the Labour parties of Britain and Ireland gave no socialist perspective, no socialist solution to the problem. There has been no unequivocal call for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, and no appeals for strike actions to harmonise with the actions of the Irish masses. And there has been no attempt to relate the crisis on the Clydeside to the crisis of Ireland. There is a tremendous gap between the objective possibilities of the situation for a united strategy to dispose of capitalism and the level of the existing leaderships in the workers organisations. The reformist traditions, and the lack of a consistent marxist understanding in these organisations act as an impediment to the realisation of the full force of the vanguard at this stage.

All the illusions about parliamentary democracy and peaceful roads are decisively broken in Ireland, and at the same time the sight of the independent class initiative of the Irish masses in forming their own street and area committees, to discuss not only problems of organising direct resistance to British imperialism, but political issues are bound to stimulate new ideas, and reappraisal of policies in the left of the LP, the CP and the trade unions. We appeal to these left forces to respond to the calls of the various Irish organisations, who have called for 24 hour general strikes on both sides of the Irish Channel, to compel the withdrawal of British troops, and an end to political repression. But we also appeal for the development of these basis organisms of dual power, factory committees, workers area committees, mass assemblies throughout Britain. UCS is an example to follow throughout Britain, but not simply on the lines of factory or yard committees, but developing committees which involve all sectors of the population to discuss everything, meeting regularly, and putting forward clearly articulated demands and proposals, which correspond to the needs of the masses.

The experience of USC is fundamental and has to be assimilated by the new leaderships in process of development in the factories, the trade unions, the LP and also the CP. It shows workers control as a process in the struggle for power. It is an act with revolutionary implications. It is not a reality to be attained after the taking of power. It is an expression of a dual power, when the masses are already partially taking power and ignoring the commands of the exploiting class, but when the battle to smash the existing state apparatus has still to be fought. Workers control is a step on the way to this. It is not a "Trotskyist dream" as Benn would have it, but a very concrete step on the road to depriving capitalism of all power inside or outside the factory. If the struggle remains fairly isolated, it will fail, and the bourgeoisie can breathe temporarily a sigh of relief. But once there are powerful examples like a UCS, there will certainly be others, which means constantly renewed opportunities to spread workers control to whole areas, indeed the entire country. So far the impact of UCS has made itself more directly felt in Scotland than elsewhere, but delegations from UCS have been received with

enthusiasm in the car industry etc throughout Britain. We appeal particularly to the Labour left, whose Tribune group has produced an anti capitalist programme, to direct themselves with much greater force at UCS, to sustain it, to define more clearly the relation between the struggle for a socialist

leadership in the LP, and the ever closer dependance on the independent class activity of the masses. To make the LP an instrument to take power requires a better relationship with the masses, a closer identification with the struggle of the masses. The Tribune appeal for "real  
CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## Homage to Trotsky on the 31st anniversary of his assassination

31 years ago an agent of Stalin murdered Trotsky in Mexico, to try to break the continuity of Marxist thinking and analysis, to stop the advance of the world revolution, to preserve the positions of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, which had usurped power in the Soviet Union. Today, a sector of the Soviet bureaucracy, in order to defend itself from the revolution, from the ideas, which Trotsky defended, must respond in part at least to the necessities of the world revolution; it arms North Vietnam, the Fedayeen, it gives economic aid to the revolutionary states. The bureaucracy could physically liquidate Trotsky, but the ideas continued to develop, as Trotsky was confident they would, when he said 'in ten years millions will follow the ideas of the IV International.'

But the ideas need an instrument to permit them to develop. For this reason Trotsky made the IV International, even if the team on which he had to base himself was a very weak one, which almost completely deserted and abandoned marxism. The IV International was necessary and for this reason today, under the leadership of Posadas, reconstructed by Posadas, after the capitulation of the old leadership, the IV International develops in the world workers and student movement, in the Communist Parties, and among the revolutionary nationalists. The continuity of Marxism, maintained by Trotsky in the darkest days of counter-revolution, now is developed and extended by Posadas to analyse all the new problems of the empirical advance of the revolution, the partial regeneration of the Workers States, the historic re-encounter, problems which Trotsky could not foresee or analyse.

Today we remember the assassination of Trotsky, with a sentiment of joy that everything for which Trotsky fought, is in process of being applied by the world masses. What else is the work—in, on the Clyde, but the living application of workers control, of the basic demands of the Transitional programme of Trotsky.

Everywhere the revolution advances, and it takes on forms that Trotsky was not able to foresee, but in maintaining he essential acquisitions of marxism, the dialectical method, the experiences gained in the development of the first Workers State, the understanding of the Bolshevik functioning of the party, the role of the Communist International, and above all, maintaining absolute confidence in the communist future of humanity, Trotsky prepared the way today for the complete fusion of revolutionary marxism with the world revolutionary vanguard, combining the tasks for the overthrow of capitalism with the task of the construction of socialism, on the basis of fraternal collective relations.

Within the Soviet Union—and Trotsky based himself fundamentally on the experiences of the first Workers State—Stalin is now openly attacked for all his policies since 1928. This shows the depth of the process that demands the restoration of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, and inevitably demands the application of Trotskyist-Posadist conceptions, the perspective of the unification of the Workers States, and the development of the mass Communist International.

We, and the world revolutionary vanguard learn constantly from the example of Trotsky's life and the application of marxism undertaken by him.

VIVA TROTSKY, VIVA POSADAS, VIVA THE INVINCIBLE  
ADVANCE OF THE MASSES TOWARDS SOCIALISM.

A complete text of the International on the 31st anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky will appear in the next issue of Red Flag.

# The defeat of revolutionary nationalism in Nationalism to the Workers' State and of

The events in Bolivia are not a triumph of the right. There is an internal struggle, in the last instance with a sector, which in the main was not against Torres, but was afraid of the progress which was developing and tried to contain Torres. In not being able to contain him internally, they allied with other sectors to make the coup. The right intervened, and it is this sector, which led politically, but it could not assume power, because the structures already impeded it. This government has in itself all the contradictions from a mixture of tendencies, who want to block the advance towards the Workers State, but they do not want to go back on the progress already made in the economy of the country. And they lack a whole social base. The world socialist revolution, the international situation, and the economic and social measures established in Bolivia, have affirmed already the structures, which influence the petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the workers aristocracy. If the peasantry did not mobilise itself in the defence of Torres, because it had not been sufficiently won by the revolution, it is not going to support any retreat from the conquests already made.

This is a defeat, but one that is transitory. The Bolivian masses have already suffered other defeats, but they were not conquered. It's their leaderships which have defeated them. And they will draw experiences from this coup, because now they have advanced sufficiently in the independent functioning with the participation of the Bolivian Section of the IV International, in Oruro, Potosi, Catavi, La Paz, and this will reanimate them to reorganise themselves, and is going to pose the necessity for the political organisation of the proletariat as the workers party based on the trade unions.

In Bolivia there is already an established structure in organs of control, social weight of the trade unions. Structure means nationalisations, functioning of the workers, economic relations with the Workers States for the development of the factories, the industrialisation of minerals, foreign trade. To overthrow this, it is necessary to substitute something else. What else? Numeiry wanted to go further than this Bolivian government, but nevertheless he had to allow the soviets to remain. He makes a concession to maintain interior support, because the structure already established demands a policy in relation to the Workers States. To go back is not possible, either in the Sudan or in Bolivia. They can take measures, which impose some retreats, but the result will be the destruction of the small apparatus, which they have. Thus they have to support themselves on what has been conquered. This structure now established already weighs on the population, politically and socially. It gives a base for economic development, and has created social and political relations, and a scientific relation with vast sectors of the population which is going to keep hold of it to reimpel the revolution. Above all, because the world process favours the maintaining of the conquests that have been made.

Before, they made a coup and found the solidarity and the support of other governments. Now, no. They will find very serious resistances, and this coup in Bolivia will provoke inevitable political advances in the struggles of Chile and Peru. Before, a triumph of the counter-revolution imposed its influence on the rest of the country. Now no. This coup is compensated for by the progress of the USSR, the struggle of the masses of Europe, of Africa, of Asia, and the general progress of the Workers States, and by the concrete progress of Peru and Chile. Capitalism has no point of support to give confidence to the counter-revolution. On the other hand, the proletarian vanguard, the intellectual, worker, peasant vanguard of Bolivia, has points of support to reanimate its functioning.

Those responsible for this defeat are the political leadership, not the inexperience or the naivety of the proletariat. Now there are 16 Workers States. This has an influence, including an influence in the United States. The proletariat has points of support and experience. Before in history, defeats were necessary, so that the proletariat would learn the road to triumph. Now defeats are no longer necessary. It is the leaderships, which have to be changed. This arises from the absence of programme, policy, independent functioning of the class, based on the world process of the revolution.

The one who can be least blamed is Torres, because he comes from the bourgeois camp, and he had been won by the revolution, was sensitive to, and accepted the influence of the revolution. In the combination of the bourgeois democratic tasks with the socialist tasks in the permanent socialist revolution, the government of Torres had already entered the area of the socialist revolution. The old

leaderships of the workers movement, the Lechinis, Escobars, Lora, the pro-Chinese and the Communists were incapable of understanding the nature of this government of Torres, that although it included reactionary sectors, it was determined not by this reactionary sector but by the revolutionary sector. The revolutionary tendency in the government was ingenuous and weak. It did not have security. It was the result of the impulse

letariat has to learn, and it has no other remedy than to learn with practice. But the more the trade union organisation is elevated, and that of the party, the less need is there to learn via defeats. The ability increases to learn from successes. And it learns to organise scientifically, to intervene scientifically, and to decide scientifically. It leans on the organs of workers control, factory committees, workers area committees, soviets. It learns to direct society, to determine and to co-ordinate. Not to utilise this, means to be based on the apparatuses, on cliques, not to develop the strength, the ability for resolution, and the organisation of the proletariat.

The proletariat has sustained for twenty years the nationalised mines. It prevented Barrientos handing them back. The government of Torres, to maintain proletarian support, nationalised the mines, which Barrientos had handed back to imperialism. The proletariat had the proof, that it was the force, which decided and stimulated nationalist currents in the army. Soviet economic aid contributed to this security. Part of the petit bourgeoisie, which before was the political client of the bourgeoisie, and imperi-

ed. The triumph of our comrades in the trade union election of Catavi represents a rebellion against the old trade union leadership. This triumph impelled the counter-revolution to make a coup, because it showed that the old trade union leadership was going to be superseded and the counter revolution was not going to be able to count on the support of the old bureaucrats, who from fear of losing their posts impede the progress of the workers movement. The election of our comrades showed the inclination to the left, to elect leaders, who plan in agreement with the objective necessity, and do not make usufruct of the trade union movement. This was not a usual trade union election. The content and the aspirations were political. The workers supported a leadership, which they expected to utilise to influence the rest of the miners movement. The blow has tended to disintegrate this unification. But it could not eliminate the experience and the capacity, which the proletariat has secured already. It is indubitable that this coup is going to produce a disintegrating effect. It tends to take away the confidence in the functioning achieved up to that point, because the conscious, and decided leadership attracts a whole group of sectors, who are convinced on the march, but who do not have the ability, the proofs, and the political practice, and need the stimulus for constant and daily action. But in this level reached by the Bolivian revolution, the disintegration produced by the coup is going to be contained by the progress of the revolution, in Latin America and in the rest of the world which pushes forward a greater integration of the masses. For this reason the intervention of this, our Bolivian Section is fundamental, because of the need for its political programme and orientation. If it still has not had the time to exercise greater effects, the election of our comrades in the most important mine in Bolivia shows an irreversible process; there is a vanguard, which seeks the united front with the tendency, which objectively it sees is honourable, capable and morally incorruptible.

Barrientos tried to liquidate the political preoccupation of the masses. He deprived them of radios, annulled the trade unions, assassinated the miners leaders. Two years afterwards, the workers again took the radios. The power of the workers movement is based on the consciousness of the miners vanguard, based on its function in the Bolivian economy. This function unites it to the nationalisation of the mines and the nationalisation in general of the principal forces of nationalised production. The bank is in the hands of the state. If this military coup tries to retreat, and return all this to private property, it is going to clash with the revolutionary tendency in the army, which has no interest in retreating. It fears the measures, which lead to the Workers State, but it does not have the strength to go back to the point of departure, just as Barrientos did not.

In the short stage of eleven months of the government of Torres, Bolivia gave a leap as never before, not even when compared with 1952 with the nationalisation of the mines. Who can go back on all this? Undoubtedly this government can try to do so, but it cannot sustain the measures of retreat, which it is going to begin. The same cause which generated the nationalist tendency which expressed itself in Torres, is going to launch itself against this.

The government of Torres had very great faults. It was a military government. He sought to convince the army. It committed immense mistakes, such as permitting the existence of Reque Teran for example, in the government. But the mistake is not that of Torres, who showed that he wanted to advance. If the Lechinists, if the COB, if the communists had supported him directly, he would have freed himself from all this crap. Torres did not come from the revolutionary camp, but from a nationalist bourgeois movement. It is necessary to understand then that the measures of a government which has this origin must be timid, inconsistent, because it has no security, theoretical, or programmatic. But it advanced. It is necessary to have a policy which without depending on the support of the government, nor supporting it as such, will support its progressive measures, and will stimulate it to advance, not placing obstacles in the way, to prepare it to eliminate a whole counter-revolution.

## Introduction to the I.S. resolution

The IS Resolution on Bolivia is an example of the extremely rapid and complete response of the leadership of the International to the dynamic course of the world revolutionary process—advances and retreats. It allows the world revolutionary vanguard to maintain its confidence and dominion in the face of situations of considerable complexity.

Certainly the revolution has suffered a defeat in Bolivia, but it is one inflicted in the overall advance of the world socialist revolution. And it is not a defeat, which allows the forces of reaction to stabilise themselves. On the contrary, the new regime is founded on an unstable coalition of factions who have nothing in common, save degrees of fear in relation to the advance of socialism in Bolivia. The fact that the students in La Paz could only be crushed by the most brutal methods shows, that the students felt themselves to be sustained by the climate of general support in the country against the new clique. And the leader of the latter has been forced to say that he is simply a nationalist, and is concerned to maintain the new relations established with the Workers States. The increased influence of the IV International, publication of the articles of Posadas in "El Nacional", the victory of Trotskyism in the Catavi T.U. elections, stimulated the decision of the rightist forces to strike before they were left totally impotent.

A most important feature of the Resolution, is the emphasis placed on the nationalised structure intimately connected to relations with the Workers States, which automatically generates forces, who want to advance in the direction of the establishment of a Workers State, and which the new government is in no position to contain for any length of time, because it lacks the social strength. Barrientos failed to stop the advance towards socialism, or to denationalise the mines, even after brutal and temporarily successful massacres of the miners. And since then the regime of Torres nationalising the banks, allowing the possibilities for the full exercise of democratic and trade union rights, and opening relations with the Workers States, has given rise to new perspectives for Bolivia, which cannot be liquidated in the light of the structure of the world revolution, constantly affirming and encouraging the advance towards socialism.

Apart from the Bolivian Section of the IV International, none of the other workers leaderships had any understanding of the process in Bolivia. They spent their time—the CPs, the Loras and the rotten trade union leaderships, criticising the regime of Torres as though it were a stooge regime of Imperialism. And this is because having a subjective group interest, they were incapable of seeing the objective value and historic significance of the revolutionary nationalist sectors in the army. If the workers parties and trade union leaderships had been open to the process in Bolivia, they could have aided Torres to mobilise the worker and peasant masses, to have smashed the coup. But secluded in their world of private interest they objectively assisted the forces of reaction.

Without doubt this coup and the events in the Sudan are going to accelerate the process of discussion and reorientation, not only in the world nationalist revolutionary sectors, but in the communist parties. This resolution on Bolivia will play an essential part in this.

of the masses, and not of its own political understanding. But it advanced, and it had a considerable base of security in the army. It had to support this wing, so that it would advance, but without depending upon it. It showed that it wanted to advance; nationalisation of the mines, the seizure of the lands, recognition of the popular assembly, functioning of the Comibol, organisation of the workers militias, influence in the army, so that it would support the revolution. It was not the enemy. It was a timid, vacillating leadership, which learnt on the march and still had not freed itself from the allies of yesterday.

The process was mature for socialist measures. Torres did not do more than was possible. They were not measures a product of impatience, they did not leap stages. These sectarian leaderships did not understand or support the process, they blocked it and weakened it. The pro-

alism now saw that it was possible to advance without imperialism. In the few months of the government of Torres, it had understood that the alliance of Bolivia with the nationalised mines, and the Workers States gave as a result a superior level of production. The right sought to break with this. But to break means to change in relation to the USSR. For what? to change the blast furnace, the foundries, why? That a wing of this new government is obliged to speak of socialism, is due to the fact that the great majority of the masses want socialism. And this is a confirmation of the irreversible character of the permanent Bolivian revolution, which prevents every stability for the counter-revolution.

All the old leadership of the working movement collapsed. Lechin, Escobar, Lora, the trade union leaderships, who have developed careerist sentiments in alliance with the capitalist system, collaps-



# Bolivia: An aspect of the progress from the permanent revolution in Latin America

onary wing with some direct measures to appeal to the army so that it does not obey its leaders. And to appeal to the trade unions, so that the members of the trade unions, who perform military service, obey the trade union, and not the boss. The Reque Terans went to plan and prepare the counter revolution. But the workers went to prepare the revolution.

Neither the communists, nor Lechin, nor the pro-Chinese, who have acted like counter revolutionaries, have been capable of acting in this way. The pro-Chinese like the bourgeois agent Gonzales Moscoso, who worked like an agent of the CIA, appealed for the formation of guerrillas against the Torres government, and accused the government of being an agent of imperialism. With pretext amongst others things of the presence of Reque Teran in the government.

Reque Teran was not an agent of the CIA. He worked in the government to contain the process, as a bridge between the right and the government. But what decided was not him. With his presence in the government, they nationalised the mines, handed over the land, and nationalised the banks. The USSR gave loans and installed itself with technicians. Reque Teran was not an impediment. The government was advancing. It was necessary to support it. It was necessary to mobilise to support these measures, preparing thus the conditions to eliminate the army, and to have everything prepared to come out into the streets. If the COB, if Lechin, the communists, if the pro-Chinese had called for a mobilisation, the coup would have been defeated. But they didn't understand the government of Torres, and they felt themselves displaced. Part of the miserable attitude adopted by these leaderships, is due to the fact that they feel themselves by-passed and annulled. Then they defend their party interest, their bureaucratic party function, and not the objective interest of the Bolivian revolution. Only the Trotskyists, we defend the objective interests of the revolution. They dedicated themselves to sabotaging the government, sabotaging their resolutions in developing the lack of confidence to prepare the conditions of scepticism, which led to the acceptance of a coup against the government as with these people.

The attitude of the communists, the pro-Chinese, the Lechinists, the Loristas was criminal! It is necessary to see the conclusions of the policy of Torres. He nationalised the mines, including an important one such as the Matilde, which were in the hands of the Yanks. For the nationalisation of petroleum, which the previous government had made, it affirmed this and made conditions, and posed compensation so far away, that they ended up by paying nothing. They nationalised the bank. They went to the Soviets. They planned production, and changed the commercial camp, where they were to the camp of the Workers States. They stimulated the functioning of organs of dual power. They threw out the Yankee Peace Corp and religious bodies. They purified the country from Yankee influences. All this was done by the same army, which rose up. It is sufficient to see this to support these measures. Not the government; the measures. And make an alliance with Torres. It was totally licit to make an alliance with a tendency, which among the important measures it made published officially articles of Posadas. Articles which gave a revolutionary comprehension and security to impel the revolutionary solution, and impel the unsolvable crisis of the capitalist system, the uncontrollable process of the revolution, and the need to combine a policy in the university, in the trade unions, and in the workers parties with the objective of impelling the revolution. These idiots, instead of feeling that this was a base of immense progress, and that they had to support these measures, and make an alliance with Torres, against these tendencies dedicated themselves to combat Torres. In place of seeking him as an ally to impel him, they sabotaged him, and in consequence, permitted that the allies of Torres in the government could give this coup.

This is what these swine have led to! As much the pro-Chinese as Gonzales Moscoso, as in part the CP, and as Lora.

There was an internal crisis in the team of the government of Torres. It was necessary to support the revolutionary wing, without depending on it. This is the logical policy of the revolution. This is

the policy of Lenin. If this wing was timid, was frightened, it was necessary to support it in the internal struggle, animating it to advance, and if it did not advance, the proletariat would have. This is the revolutionary tactic. In an internal struggle of the bourgeois field, when they are already discussing a socialist and not a bourgeois perspective, they should have helped the revolutionary wing. These swine devoted themselves to combat it, because they did not understand it. They had an idea of the revolution as a scheme; proletariat against bourgeoisie. It is true, historically, that it is like this, but it does not develop in this way. They should have freed the nationalist revolutionary wing from the reactionary material forces, and not from the social forces, which are those that win. If they had based themselves on the trade unions, they would have won, and been elevated. All the pro-Chinese, the CP, Lechin, Lora, work in a petty group form, and they show their incapacity to understand the course of history, the relation of forces, how to intervene, and to weigh to gain a wing to the revolution and dissolve and smash the enemy. They do not defend either ideas or programme, or objectives. They defend groups, persons and group interests. If they had defended ideas objectively, they would have been gained by the process as Torres was gained.

They did not have either the preoccupation or capacity to understand. They were guided by the scheme of class against class. But, how is this scheme developed? Bolivia is a concrete case. These "Trotskyists" of the Lora and Moscoso type have shown themselves to be incapable of understanding history. They said that they could not share the policy with the government. They did not have to share it, but certainly they should have supported the revolutionary wing. Not to do it, favoured the enemy. What was the policy of Lenin in 1917? He said to Kerensky that he should take power, and that he would support him. Our policy says, that we don't put obstacles in the way. We do not say that we support the programme. We say that we don't put obstacles in the way. We did not have to limit ourselves to the limit of Torres, but we had to impel the process, which we do not control nor dominate, but which progresses. Whoever does not do this adapts himself to the retreat.

The greatest experience, which it is necessary to draw from these events in Bolivia is the imbecility of all these tendencies, their process of liquidation, and that it is necessary to throw them

out. It is necessary to carry on a combat against all these miserable types who work as agents of their own individual interests, and who consequently, objectively serve the class enemy.

The empiricism of the students who fought against Torres and afterwards had to defend him with arms in hand against the coup, which they encouraged before, demonstrates the confusion and the impotence with which these leaderships act. This empiricism destroys all possibility of organisation. But at the same time the student struggle shows the revolutionary will and passion of the students, which is going to come back to weigh in the formation of the left.

Bolivia is an example of tendencies and currents, which exist in Latin America, and soon they are going to be repeated in Venezuela, in Ecuador, in Colombia and in Uruguay. Bolivia leaves a very important experience about the understanding of support to the revolutionary movement. About the intervention in the internal struggles of the nationalist revolutionary teams, to impel, decide and gain the revolutionary wing, and make it pass to the socialist camp. In this stage of history, with 16 Workers States and 10 Revolutionary States, with the absence of a centralised leadership, the influence of the revolution is exerted in this manner. It influences constantly, but it is interrupted at determined stages. The currents are judged by the measures they take. By the policy they have. And by their relation with us, which does not only mean the IV International, but with the Workers States. Torres, in the first case, proposed a government based on the trade unions. Half civil and military and the other half trade unions. These swine of the Lora type hide this. And they refuse to intervene, saying, "this is a bourgeois government". The process of the revolution leads to situations such as this one in Bolivia, in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Military teams emerge who until yesterday were servants of capitalism who, without breaking their material links with capitalism no longer think as capitalists. These have been gained due to the influence of the world revolution, the Workers States, and our independent action. The last discourse of Torres showed the direct influence of Posadism. He did not draw organisational conclusions. But to draw them would have led him to confront the military team on which he depended. To free himself from this military team it was necessary that the COB, and the workers movement supported him in the internal struggle, maintaining the independence to impel the revolution. The sectarian inter-

ests of the leaderships permitted that a military team, which advanced in the road of the influence of the revolution was defeated transitorily. This is the most important experience, which emerges from this transitory defeat.

The criminal and sectarian behaviour of all these so-called trotskyst groups, is a hindrance to the revolution, produced by the lack of the mass Communist International. The Workers States also committed errors, they were slow to understand the government of Torres, and they are also participants in this defeat of this revolutionary government, because they supported it, but very late, and then only economically. This is going to be discussed in all the Workers States. The Communist Parties do not understand these nationalist movements, they let months go by before supporting them, they do not mobilise the masses, they do not mobilise them in other countries. And after the coup d'etat, which overthrew Torres, they criticised him for not having given arms to the workers before. This does not organise, this does not permit an advance. Fidel Castro did not recognise the progress of the revolution until the last moment, he encouraged adventures and provocative manoeuvres against it, in the form of guerrillas. He opposed the Bolivian revolution, because it bypassed him, brought the weakness and failure of his policy into the light. His obligation was to have supported the revolutionary measures of the government of Torres right from the beginning. Not having done it, he encouraged the preparation of the coup d'etat, and even if he changed at the last moment, it was only a partial change. In no movement did he seek to make an alliance, he should have done, with Torres, and with the left of the government.

The Popular Assembly should have directed itself to the armed forces, to push forward political agitation, and organise the political life within the army, supporting itself on the movements of the NCOs, so that committees could have functioned in the barracks, and so that the soldiers could have sent delegates to the Popular Assembly. To secure the stability of the revolutionary conquest and the advance of the revolution, it is indispensable to destroy the capitalist structure of the army. The organs of the masses have to develop their militias, to structure the workers militias; the peasant, miner and workshop militias, so that they obey the trade unions, to organise better the Workers State. It is necessary to appeal to the nationalist soldiers and officers of the left, that they incorporate themselves in the workers militias, to disarm the army. The army as an institution cannot be won to the revolution. The capitalist structure of the army favours the reactionary conspiracies, as this coup d'etat. It is possible to win a part of the soldiers and the officers, but for this it is necessary to influence them from outside the army with the authority of the organs of power of the masses, the soviets and the trade unions. It is necessary that the soldiers feel the decision of the organs of the masses to defend the conquest of the revolution by means of the worker and peasant militia. The army is in crisis. The coup d'etat is a transitory agreement between various contradictory military tendencies. It is necessary to maintain the organisation and functioning of the militias submitted to the trade unions. Although there may not be military actions of civil war, it is necessary that they weigh politically on the army eliminating the contradictions, making agreements with the left wing, attracting it to the influence of the working class, and preparing themselves for the next crisis of the new government.

The intervention of the IV International and of the Bolivian Section has dynamised the process of the revolution. Our influence determined the advance of the conscious leadership of this process. Conscious does not mean Trotskyist. The

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# THE DEFEAT . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

electoral trade union triumph of our comrades in Catavi politically organised the process of the renovation of the trade union leadership, and this is going to go forward. The coup d'état does not detain the necessary process towards the elimination of the old leadership of the workers movement.

This blow is not a triumph of the capitalist system against the revolution. It is a momentary defeat of the progress of the revolution. Because the masses do not feel smashed or excluded, nor do they abandon the struggle, but they are drawing conclusions from the blow, whilst they continue fighting. The new government has to take into account such conditions which prevent it from affirming itself, because it has to live in a country, which is already socialist in the consciousness of the majority of the masses. This struggle of the masses is going to influence the internal relations of the team, which has won, and is going to animate, tendencies, which desire to maintain nationalisations. These tendencies are going to affirm themselves. The struggles of the masses will stimulate internal struggles, will attract and win over new teams and layers.

The counter revolution gave the blow linked to the MNR, because it was a bridge towards a certain base of the masses, middle and rich peasants, but not poor peasants—and Lechin, associated with them. These groups, who make up the present government are going to react in a contradictory and antagonistic manner in front of the social pressure, which they find and the structure of the economy. The capitalist world press feels the instability of this coup. In another stage it would have placed it as the principal report, because it was the defeat of the socialist nationalist wing, and a strengthening of the army. On the other hand they publish it with much caution and indecision. And they place Banzer as a moderate with a nationalist attitude. He declared himself to be neither left nor right, but nationalist. When he has to make this declaration, it is because this point of support does not allow him to go back. He has to base himself on what has already been conquered. And this is a constant source for the creation of revolutionary tendencies. The nationalised economy, the relations with the Workers States, the dependence, which there is with the Workers States, cannot lead, organise, or make it function with the counter revolutionary policy. The structure does not allow it. Either they turn back, hand over everything to private property, and break with the Workers States—and they do not have strength to do this... or the structure already reached imposes on them the orientation. On this base it is necessary to reanimate

the workers movement.

The structure now reached has a solidity to support itself. The Bolivian masses have the consciousness that the measures achieved lead to the development of Bolivia. This is the structure, which departs from the economic progress, and reaches social consciousness. It is necessary to salute the heroism of the Bolivian masses and of our party, which has been capable of understanding the progressive course of this process with Torres, and it is necessary to make a united front of the workers, peasant and university movement to defeat the coup and remake the process of the revolution, to start from the conquests already made—among them the Popular Assembly—but modifying its structure and functioning. As an organ, it approximates to the necessity of a soviet functioning, but its composition is incorrect. It is necessary to make a Popular Assembly, which includes all the sectors of the population with delegates elected in the factories, in the mines and with the students. But it is necessary to accompany these organs—which are organs of popular control—with organs which arise from real dual power, like the trade unions, and to arrange not to despise such an organ, so that this assembly does not replace the trade unions, but is submitted to them, and allows the incorporation of sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, and sectors of the population, who do not have the means to function. But not to replace the trade unions, so that the Popular Assembly transform itself into a real soviet, it has to be under the influence of the independent movement of the masses. On the other hand until now it was a dead organ. It did not agitate, or mobilise, nor concern itself to maintain activity before the masses.

It is necessary to prepare for the attempts of imperialism and of the bourgeoisie in Latin America and throughout the world to use this coup as a means for an offensive. The trade unions of Chile, Peru, Argentine and Uruguay must mobilise themselves in support of the Bolivian masses, and of the conquests reached by the revolution. The European workers movement must support these conquests that have been reached, to oppose every repression, and to support the struggles of the masses to conquer power, without stopping at the level or the stage of Torres, but fighting for a Popular Government based on the trade unions, which opens the road for the worker and peasant government.

Imperialism does not have the bases to support itself, to stimulate allies within Bolivia. The revolutionary base in Bolivia

has the means to support itself, to be stimulated to advance. All the trade unions of the world have to defend the conquests of the Bolivian revolution, to mobilise against the repression. It is a transitory defeat. The masses are neither smashed or conquered. They have already suffered other defeats than these, and have reanimated themselves. This time with our intervention after the triumph in Catavi, with an intense public, and clandestine activity, it is possible to recover in a short stage the activity to push forward the programme of the popular government, based on the trade unions and of the worker and peasant government.

It is necessary to draw the experience of this coup, and to pass a period of recuperation before passing to the offensive. This means to seek contact with all the tendencies, trade unions, political groups and leaders, to reanimate the united front and on the march to decide new stages, to seek contact with the trade union movement, and political movement of the masses of the Argentine, Peru, Chile, Ecuador and Uruguay, and to consider this a momentary defeat with all the consequences of a certain interior disintegration, to reanimate again the integration, and the alliance in the trade union camp, and political camp for a new advance of the revolution in Bolivia.

It is necessary to appeal for the anti imperialist united front with the programme of defence of the nationalisations, agreements and alliance with the Workers States, for the maintaining of the social conquests of the working class, against every attempt to return them to Yankee technicians. For the planning of mining production with the installation of the blast furnaces and foundries established by the USSR. A programme of industrialisation, and of the transformation of agricultural raw materials and minerals. Extension of the Popular Assemblies, liquidation of the great estates, organisation of co-operatives on the basis of the nationalisation of the land, to deepen agrarian reform and revolution, to make an alliance of the working class with the middle, and poor peasants, and to plan agricultural production, for the Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions, for the Latin American centre, for the unification and planning of Peru, Ecuador, Chile, and Bolivia as transitory Federation to impel the Federation of the Socialist Soviet States of Latin America.

In the United Front of workers, peasants, students, miners, it is necessary to prepare to smash the corrupt, swinish and conciliatory leadership with the capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal for the support of the Workers States, and

to the governments of Chile and Peru to demand their support. To appeal to the masses, parties and trade unions of Chile, Peru, Argentine and Uruguay, so that they give all their help to the masses of Bolivia, in the struggle against all retreat, and to retake the initiative for the progress of the revolution, to explain that this is not a smashing of the revolution, but errors, and the organisational weakness of the revolution, not the weakness of the masses. That it is the result of the lack of organisms, and the sectarian policy of the leaderships, which allowed the blow, but this blow cannot stabilise itself, and it is necessary to count upon a new impulse of the revolution in Bolivia, which will be impelled by world solidarity.

I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
24 August 1971.

## CORRECTION

We apologise for some clumsiness and inaccuracy in the translation of the articles on the monetary crisis of the dollar, and make the following corrections. (No 139. R. Flag).

The second paragraph should read "Everything that capitalism says is a swindle. It cannot explain the reason for the crisis, and makes it appear as a divergence in the use of money. Money is a symbol, which expresses an economic situation. Apart from the use of money, they have the other means of exchange, which gives protection to the dollar; letters of credit protecting the dollar, which they use as money. As with cheques, it is money which circulates. Together with real, effective money there is 20% as a minimum of auxiliary exchange in cheques, bills of exchange etc...."

Paragraph six, line 20 should read "The Germans could today lower the value of the Dollar, and the German Mark would become stronger..."

The seventh paragraph under the heading "The symptom of a very profound crisis of capitalism", should begin

"Then the intervention of the Workers States forces them to increase constantly production, to increase, to increase. Productivity, if it not accompanied by the expansion of the market, leads to a concentration of the bases of the crisis, because capitalism in increasing productivity, should increase proportionally consumption, but in fact it increases productivity and not consumption..."

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## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

industrial democracy" is a reflection of the pressure of the vanguard, but it is very insufficient, a reformist conception far behind the experience of UCS. Workers control cannot be brought in by electoral decree and employers agreement, it has to be imposed. It is not possible to separate the imposition of a new socialist leadership in the LP from the independent revolutionary activity of the masses in their own committees. Similarly the Communist Party, which gives its support to the new popular organisms of the masses in Northern Ireland has to develop a greater understanding of the significance of the USC experience—and it is essential to extend in Ireland itself the process of workers control, and occupations as part of the process to smash British imperialism together with the organisation of workers militias.

In this rich situation the vanguard has to prepare to intervene in the class organisation, workers parties and trade unions to prepare, for example, to weigh in the LP conference in October—via mass meetings, demonstrations etc.—to centralise the pressure to liquidate the right wing in the LP, and impel a new team to replace the Wilson-Callaghan-Castle group, but it cannot wait simply on this conference and its results. We appeal to the vanguard to do all in their power to extend UCS, to promote further movements of occupation, and workers control, and to impel a discussion in the Labour Party. The extensive wage demands etc. put forward by the AEU must be placed in the perspective of the

struggle for power, the need to impose workers control, the need to oppose closures and unemployment, not simply by protests, but by preventing the closing of enterprises and running them, seeking aid from the Workers States for marketing etc.

The immediate perspective demands of the workers vanguard that on the basis of UCS and the growth of popular committees in Ireland, that it stimulates in Britain the rapid growth of factory, workers area committees and mass assemblies to discuss all the problems of the masses, and the programmatic response. No factory to be closed, all wages to rise automatically with the cost of living, all profits of automation to the workers, workers control of hiring, firing, working conditions etc. And it is necessary to demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, and the extension of the methods of the UCS occupation throughout Britain. And we repeat our demand to the workers organisations for a conference of the European workers parties and trade unions including particularly the Soviet Union to plan the strategy to smash capitalism in Europe. The ultimate objective has to be the organisation of an unlimited general strike for all these demands, and the imposition of a left Labour government on the socialist programme, but this requires a more concentrated intervention of the vanguard to impel the process of a new leadership in the LP. The organisation now of the organisms of dual power will also enable a more rapid response of the masses to any measures or attempted measures at repression, in the next stage.

## 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.



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. 144 2nd Friday of October 1971 PRICE 3p

## Homage to Leon Trotsky on the 31st anniversary of his as- sassination by Stalin...

(PART TWO) J. POSADAS

PAGE 2

TEXT OF A RESOLUTION OF THE P.B. OF THE R.W.P.(T) DISTRIBUTED AT THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

# Out with the Pro-Capitalist Leadership in the Labour Party. For a European Conference of Workers Parties & T.U.'s to discuss the policy and programme to smash Capitalism.

The Labour Party Conference is meeting in the course of an unparalleled crisis for British Imperialism. And this in turn reflects the level of the word decomposition of Imperialism. The accumulation of weakness as a result of the vast unproductive expenditures, which go towards maintaining the imperialist war machine, has finally resulted in a dollar crisis whose dimensions threaten the whole functioning of the capitalist trading and financial system. The capitalist powers in the midst of their pressing need to ally together to confront the Workers States, and the world socialist revolution, are in fact at each others throats, each trying to save their own currency. All this crisis has confirmed that capitalism has nothing to offer humanity, is so weak that only the present inadequacy of the world workers leadership prevents its overthrow in a matter of a few weeks. British capitalism fearful of the gains made by the diplomacy of the Soviet bureaucracy in the Ost politik, which whatever its limitations from a revolutionary point of view tends to increase the authority of the Workers States, has now in a desperate effort to contain the defeatism of its own class and reanimate its confidence, expelled the Soviet diplomats. But it is all manoeuvres in the void, which cannot alter the balance of forces advancing inexorably against capitalism, and towards socialism.

The crisis of capitalism is mirrored in the present crisis of the leadership of the Labour Party. In a previous epoch the structure of the L.P. was so stable that a social democratic leadership could be guaranteed to maintain the status quo and the world balance of forces usually assisted this status quo. But all is now changed. The profound effect of the world revolution and the inability of the old team in the L.P. to continue in the old way has allowed the development of an entirely new situation. There has been the violent collision between the left and the right in the L.P. over the Common Market, with capitalism all the time encouraging the most open bourgeois sector headed by Jenkins to resist the official L.P. line on the Common Market. The tendency in the L.P. inadequately represented by Benn, which wants to support the UCS workers in their occupation, has raised in one form or another the whole question of what is meant by "workers control". The trade unions now led primarily by the left stimulates the anti-capitalist forces.

The pressure for changes to the left has shown itself in many of the resolutions to the present Labour conference and in the new proposed programme, which poses statutory price control, and a significant increase in nationalisations.

However, in this conference it is necessary to press home with the gains of the past period, to elevate the whole level of the political discussion, and open the way for EXPELLING THAT SECTOR IN THE LABOUR PARTY WHICH HAS SABOTAGED AND SABOTAGES THE APPLICATION OF THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PRO-

GRAMME AND METHODS. Jenkins and company should be cleared out now. They are the wing most directly associated with capitalist interests. OUT WITH THE PROMARKETEERS. But this has to be done on the basis of an honest and open discussion, not on the basis of a discussion by the apparatus followed by an administrative decision. And it is not sufficient to adopt a defensive attitude over the Common Market. The last "Emergency Conference" (which was deprived of the right to make a firm decision) was miserable from the point of view of political level. The approach has to be based on confidence in the massive struggles of the European proletariat, with the perspective of a European Workers Centre And The Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

What has been very obvious in the most recent phase of the class struggle is that despite all these changes in the Labour Party, the visible weakening of the Jenkins and Wilson teams, the left in the Labour Party is not at the level required both to advance as a new socialist team, or to develop the links with the masses in a profound programmatic way. It is preposterous at this stage that Wilson was able to prevent the parliamentary repudiation of the policy of the Tories in Northern Ireland. There has been no attempt made to utilise the occupations by the UCS workers to promote a wider intervention by the masses, and to unite activity in parliament with extra parliamentary action. Benn for example has spoken of support for UCS, but it all remains on the level of mere verbal or financial solidarity, and ultimately this line tends to contain what is meant by UCS.

Communist Party, must be allowed to contribute to the discussion of ideas in the Labour Party. The ideas of the Wilsons, etc. are all bankrupt, conciliations with capitalism. Left reformism has failed, it ignores the need to direct appeals to the masses, concentrating on Parliamentary debates, or writing in Tribune. To advance, consciously, requires a comprehensive understanding of the international situation, the partial regeneration of the Workers States, the emergence of the revolutionary states, the rapid decomposition of capitalism, requiring a new leadership in the workers movement, who fearlessly relying on the independent intervention of the masses mobilise to overthrow capitalism. It is only possible to advance on the basis of clear perspectives. "Gradualism" and "empiricism" have failed. And parliamentarianism with them. To exclude the contribution, which marxism has to make to the Labour Party is to lead the L.P. into an impasse. The fear of marxism, the fear of the right of revolutionary tendency in the L.P. can only come

from those who wish to sustain capitalism, and are afraid therefore of ideas. Not only do we repeat our appeals for the right of tendency in the L.P., but we appeal that the new Labour newspaper is open to articles from the Communist Party and the IV International, particularly the documents of Cde. Posadas, and that its editorial board is elected by conference and open to immediate recall. The Labour vanguard is also going to be increasingly animated to intervene in the Labour Party at a more elevated level, because of the transformation taking place in the Workers States and the Communist parties. The Soviet bureaucracy is going to be impelled, because of the internal and external conditions to encourage leaderships more to the left in the communist parties, and this will open up a greater forum for marxist orientation. The only future for the Communist Party in Britain is to act as a force, encouraging the development of a marxist thinking in the Labour Party.

## FOR A PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM IRELAND—OUT WITH N.A.T.O.

We appeal for a deepening of the discussion around the programme and the methods to achieve socialism. It is necessary that demands for greater nationalisation are accompanied, with demands for the imposition of workers control, and no compensation to be paid, and that a workers plan of production be introduced to meet the immediate demands for eliminating unemployment, housing shortages, etc. As part of this programme we appeal for all wages to rise with the cost of living, all profits of automation to the workers, out with NATO, immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland etc. And these demands must be linked with the organisation of the masses in independent factory committees, workers area committees, mass assemblies. All this has to be placed in the perspective of a Left Labour Government, returned to power on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme. That is of a government purged of its pro-capitalist elements. And it is not sufficient to think in terms of a general election. Any elections that

take place in the future take place in the perspective of direct revolutionary intervention of the masses, and on the other hand attempted repression by the ruling class and their military and police apparatus. Thus it is necessary to have the perspective of organising general strikes with the object of imposing such a left Labour Government. The Labour Party has to take this perspective of a general strike as fundamental to the process of overthrowing capitalism. A general strike is not a question of leaving all simply to the decision of the trade unions. In the same way the L.P. should associate itself with the T.U.C. demonstration against unemployment on the 24th Nov., (but elevating the programme.)

Finally we appeal to this Conference to take steps for the calling of a European Conference of Workers Parties and Trade Unions, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet trade unions, to discuss the programme and perspective for the overthrow of European Capitalism.

## THE NECESSITY FOR MARXISM IN THE L.P.

It is necessary to be quite clear that what is necessary to animate the Labour Party is more open political discussion, linked to a real internal democracy,

organisation of mass meetings, so that the class feels it can animate the Party. And this requires revolutionary marxism. The IV International, the

**Viva the release of the  
Comrades Ana de Sosenky and  
Marcelo Caruso of the PO(T)  
the Argentinian Section of the  
IV International**



# Homage to Leon Trotsky on the 31st anniversary of his assassination by Stalin, and the World development of the permanent political Socialist Revolution

(Part 2)

J. Posadas 20-8-1971

To speak of Trotsky is to speak of the IV International. It is not possible to make a homage to Trotsky without speaking of the IV International, of today, not of yesterday, but of today, of its function today. Which showed that Trotsky died without being able to analyse this stage of history, but left the elements to give confidence to intervene in this stage of history, and to develop marxism; to answer to this necessity. He gave security in such a way as to allow the finding, the means to respond to all the necessities of history. This is the conviction of marxism. The commemoration of Trotsky is the commemoration of marxism, the application of marxism, the use of marxism. The continuation of Trotsky is the IV International, of which we are representatives. And it is this IV International, which maintains the method of objective interpretation of history, which transmits the capacity to interpret the process of history, to prepare itself among other things for determining historic conclusions; the atomic war is inevitable, the atomic war is not the end of the world, but it is the end of the capitalist system, the bureaucracy; the revolution is permanent; the experiences of humanity concentrate themselves and base themselves on the world development of the revolution; the most backward countries make gigantic leaps advancing to the most advanced aspects and problems of the revolution, without having the technical, mechanical, or economic means, but supported in the conviction, in the revolutionary social understanding, revolutionary policy, through the understanding of marxism, and basing themselves on the world forces of the revolution which fetter, subject, make retreat and smash the capitalist system. The strength of backward countries consists in their capacity to understand the world process of the revolution, and support themselves on it. To understand this process means at the same time the demand to create organs in which the masses can intervene. The example of Bolivia is decisive. As they did not create the necessary organs in time, and allowed the capitalist organs to survive, the capitalist system was able to make this coup.

The IV International is the continuator of Trotsky, but at the same time has found the capacity to understand this stage of history, to apply to this stage of history, the programme, the policy and the objectives of marxism expressed by Trotsky. Trotsky maintained the confidence of the International in marxism, maintained the continuation of the application of marxism, the generalisation of the application of marxism. We continue this task, 31 years after they killed Trotsky, the continuation of the application of marxism has to be done in different conditions of history, with relations of a different structure and different in two ways. On the one hand the conditions of history are not of a retreat of history, but of the progress of the revolution. The mass revolutionary world party still does not exist, but the revolutionary world will of the masses to take power exists. And without substituting for the absence of a party, it compensates for the absence of the party. And it allows giving the mass movements in the world a conscious harmony and uniformity in the search for the programme. And it associates and links them to the IV International.

On the 31 anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky by Stalin all the Stalinist camari-la has disappeared. They have not been assassinated, but overthrown by history. History overthrew it, smashed it. On the other hand there are the texts of Trotsky, the Trotskyist continuators of Trotsky. We are those who gain acceptance, who develop and acquire authority in history. They are the conscious ideas to explain this stage of history;

of the world war, the atomic war, the necessity for progress in all the Workers States, the necessity for planning of the Workers States among themselves, with the revolutionary movements of the world, of the anti imperialist, anti capitalist united front; to confront this stage of history as a historic class bloc, not circumstantial blocs, but historic blocs.

It goes towards a final definition; the final settlement of accounts, which Trotsky foresaw in 1938 draws near, because its an encounter begun a long time ago. And this 31 anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky shows that the ideas of Trotskyism are represented by Trotsky and the Trotskyists, ourselves, and that every revolutionary movement, which wants to advance or have an importance has to take from Trotskyism, from us, the ideas, the interpretation, the programme, the policy, and the objectives, and now the organisation of the party. Our weight numerically is small, materially it is weak, numerically it is weak. But it is powerful and invincible through quality, because we represent the capacity of foresight, of analysis, organisation, orientation, and the giving of the correct tactic for the right objectives; the correct tactic, which is to understand that the strength of the revolution in any country is based on the world forces of the revolution, which express themselves in this country, weakening, shackling the bourgeoisie of this country, reducing its capacity for action, and impelling the layers of the population to incorporate themselves in the revolution, stimulated by the world revolution. The national forces of the revolution, and the local and regional forces are the result of the world force of the revolution. It is necessary to have planning of production, the structural planning of the Workers States with the world revolution. It is necessary to eliminate the bureaucracy; it is an accident; it was, it will soon stop being so, because soon the revolution will defeat it. All these are concepts of Trotsky, this is the whole conception of Trotsky. And it is this which is weighing.

The discussions in the Soviet Union, in China, the Sino-Soviet dispute, the policy of ping pong, all indicates and demonstrates that the political life is determined by the interests of the bureaucracy, and that this bureaucracy has no perspectives. In the Soviet Union they have just condemned Stalin in the new Encyclopaedia. They have condemned him for having killed in 1930 millions of Soviet revolutionaries, for having made forced collectivisation, for not having foreseen the war, which nazism was preparing. They condemned Stalin not Trotsky. The bureaucracy of the Soviet Union clashes with the bureaucracy of China, they have not found the means of placing themselves in agreement. They had an armed confrontation. We analysed and came to the conclusion that it was a circumstantial confrontation, and the masses would prevent it deepening; they are confrontations of bureaucratic cliques, not of the masses. The Soviet bureaucracy has had to appeal to the Chinese for a united front, and to appeal to the whole of the world communist movement for a united front. The bureaucracy resisted, combated, opposed and assassinated those who demanded planning of production, and of the Workers States among themselves. Now the bureaucracy has just decreed in Comecon that in 15-20 years, they will reach a complete planning. Even the bureaucratic mind has to orientate itself towards these forms.

All the empirical method, the bureaucratic method, all the empiricism, which is the instrument by which the bureaucracy moves, is being conquered by the objective necessity of history. To the extent that the Workers States progress, they impose forms, programme and ob-

jectives, which clash with the bureaucracy, which confront it, which are antagonist to it. As the bureaucracy does not represent this process, it formulates it in a partial and strangled form. Nevertheless when they have just finished decreeing that in fifteen to twenty years there will be a complete planning, it is because the structure on which it is based, impels them to this. But one cannot speak of the "structure" in abstract; the structure expresses itself through the consciousness of people, through the will of people; it is expressed through all of them.

How is the structure expressed? The word structure is an abstraction. The material form on which to be based in the structure is the consciousness of the masses, on the will of the masses, the resolution to intervene of the masses. The structure is Danzig, Stettin, the masses of Czechoslovakia, who do not accept Soviet Army, but do not reject it, do not mobilise to overthrow it, but to influence it. The masses of Stettin and Danzig made demonstrations, and the sons of the Polish bourgeoisie included themselves in the demonstrations, trying to use them to harm, to discredit the Polish Workers State. And the Polish masses to identify themselves, or differentiate themselves from them, show the Red Flag and sing the International. It is very simple. This is the structure. This is what the structure means. It is not the fact that there is a great factory, which produces a lot, but those who are inside who produce. They are the masses. This weighs, weighs. And each time it will have a greater decision. Neither the communist parties or the bureaucracy represent this will of the masses. They protest after the events. Gierek and Brezhnev said the masses of Danzig and Stettin were right, but afterwards, not before. Before they tried to contain. And before they had supported rotten and swinish bureaucrats. And these rotten bureaucrats co-existed with Brezhnev and Gierek. The masses of Stettin and Danzig thought and reasoned independently of the bureaucratic apparatus, but showed that they did not clash with the Workers State, they clashed with the apparatus, and were disposed to modify the bureaucratic apparatus, they worked for this. But before neither Brezhnev or Gierek understood, felt or responded to this process. Only after did they respond. But when they respond now, and not before, and when they have to say they are right, it is because now they cannot oppose, and reject, but try to incorporate this strength in the bureaucratic apparatus, but now they do not have the strength to do it, nor the capacity. The structure bypasses the capacity of the bureaucracy. The problems which it has to confront, bypass it. This is the structure. This means that the structure of the Workers State, which elevates itself and clashes with the bureaucratic apparatus experiences a delay in triumphing, because it does not have a previous preparation. There are not organs, it does not have the means to express itself, and it has to wait on circumstances, like those of Danzig and Stettin, or that of Czechoslovakia to express itself. It does not maintain continuity, because it does not have organs, because the bureaucracy impedes them. Thus it advances intermitently, in a slow form. The course of history is this progress and not that of the bureaucracy, and not of capitalism. This is the course of history.

Not a single organism outside the IV International has been capable of understanding this process. And in this stage of history it is confirmed with the events of Stettin and Danzig, the correctness, the just historic capacity of Trotsky, the capacity for appreciation of Trotsky. The bureaucracy is an accident. The Workers State is a necessity. The necessity per-

sists, the accident is disappearing. The delay in the elimination of the bureaucracy does not depend on us, it depends on the combination of forces. But what is important is the necessity of history. The IV International was organised to intervene in this process as it is doing. All its security and confidence is confirmed by the events, by the actions of the masses. The IV International is necessary. Its programme, its policy is indispensable. It does not have the material means, it does not have a sufficient number. This is not the fault of the IV International. It is not a deficiency or limitation of the capacity of the ideas, of the programme, and of the objectives of history. In part they are insufficient, caused by organisational weakness through empirical errors. Historically no. Historically no, because there has been a lack of the most concentrated historical conditions to allow the progress of the IV International. And this progress can be measured in that outside a few countries and of two fundamental centres, France and Italy, the communist parties do not have authority in the capitalist world.

The IV International in particular aspects has more authority than the communist parties, for example in Bolivia, and for example in Peru also, in part in the Argentine, where measuring what we are and what we have, we are superior to them.

This homage to Trotsky is the homage to the perseverance, to the revolutionary honour, to the revolutionary capacity, will and resolution to defend the ideas, the just and correct programme, the will to organise the organisms, the persistence, the continuity to find the means to organise the organisms. Trotsky gave the security, the confidence for the functioning of the organism of the IV International, to await the stages of history, which would allow the IV International to develop throughout the world. The IV International today is included in the discussions of the most fundamental problems of history. Atomic war, planning of the Workers States, forms and struggles for power in all the countries of the world, discussion on the problems of the economy, of the policy, of the programme and the tactic.

The IV International, a very small group, intervenes as a power in all the discussions of the principal necessities, problems, objectives, programmes of history. In the Workers States the necessity for interpretation, for analysis, marxist judgements progresses. And to the extent that this necessity and possibility progresses, they have to give way to Trotskyism. And Trotskyism means to give way to honesty, to revolutionary morality, which means to see the world in agreement with the necessity for human progress, not with the necessity of a group, of a tendency, of a team or the party, but of the party as public instrument of history which thinks, reasons, determines in accord with the objective necessity of human progress, and says, "we are not able to do what the others do. We are the instrument which impels them". This is one of the most elevated forms for the elimination of sectarianism. And sectarianism has been, was and will be a harmful factor. An obstacle in the development of the revolution.

A proof is Bolivia. If Fidel Castro and the Communist Party had understood the process in Bolivia, that it was coming from a group of soldiers won by the revolution, who could not be expected to have the understanding of marxism, but that it was necessary to help it to progress, there would have been no counter-revolution. They did not do it because they saw only a group interest, a party interest, they developed the sectarian quality of the party, not the ob-

# HOMAGE TO LEON TROTSKY

jective interest of history. Marxism is an instrument of history not of one or other country. And marxism determines that one cannot have a partial development of one or another country, but that they have to unify themselves, because this means to treble the strength of history, to shorten the necessary years for the progress of history, to shorten the necessary years for the progress of history, to eliminate wars, hunger, unemployment, devastations, cyclones, floodings, all these phenomena. To act on this in history means to reduce the death of a thousand million human beings, and to reduce the death of millions of human beings, which the next atomic

## MARXISM HAS ALREADY SHOWN THAT HISTORY HAS NEED OF IT: OF TROTSKYISM

We make this homage to Trotsky in one of the most beautiful moments of human history, when as Marxism foresaw, and as Trotsky foresaw in the founding programme, there is the incorporation of women and children in the revolution. As it was foreseen by Trotsky, partially, because he was not in this epoch, where all humanity is included, and seeks to open the stage to intervene in the revolution. The most beautiful task for the human being is to overthrow the system of oppression and repression of humanity. Humanity has already triumphed, now it seeks to put itself in harmony with itself. The mission of humanity is not to accumulate riches, to accumulate wealth, but to eliminate everything, which impedes the unification of the human being. For this reason already the struggle for socialism has eliminated the differentiation of humanity into strata. The child is a child only because he has fewer years than an older person, but society treats him differently, because the child is no use for production, but not in socialism. Socialism eliminates these concepts. Now it has succeeded, now humanity works in this way. It does not seek to accumulate riches, or money, or power. It seeks to accumulate knowledge, deductions, resolutions, will and applies them. Hence the revolution triumphs, in part impelled by the children of six years, and by the children of ninety. Far from in history these acquire the security and confidence to live again. But at the same time this shows the practical capacity of the use of the human being who lives again, but does not abandon what has been learned already. He lives again, because he feels himself a new social factor and works in this way. There is no conflict or divergence with them; the revolution gives to him this security. This is marxism and this is Trotskyism. And on this anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky, the team of Stalin has disappeared, they were not killed, they were just placed on one side. Progress has advanced, influencing the masses of the world, putting them on one side. The basis, the rebirth of Stalinist forms now has no historic field to develop itself. Stalinism is not the result of the will of Stalin, there can be Stalinists, but not Stalinism, because there is no historic phase to allow the development of Stalinism.

Nixon has to go to China to save the United States. He is not going to save the United States or to contain China. When he wants to contain the revolution going to China, he does not contain the revolution either in the United States or in China. When he has to utilise such a method, it is because he has no other choice. This means that it is revolutionary ideas which decide. It is marxism, it is Trotskyism. For this reason on this 31 anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky by Stalin, those who are disappearing from history, are the forces who tried to paralyse, to strangle, the use of marxism. But marxism did not depend on one or other leadership, but on a necessity of history, because marxism is the conscious expression of the unconscious process of history. It is possible to strangle to prevent it living for a time, but one cannot break its historic roots, and marxism has shown in every way the necessity, which history has of it.

For this, marxism is expressed in Trotskyism, not in Trotskyism surviving but continuing, it does not survive but

war will cost. If sectarianism had not prevailed in the Workers States, and in the communist parties, there would have been a united front of the Workers States and the communist parties, and the North American masses, who confront imperialism, still in a limited way, but impelled by the world revolution, would have overthrown it.

continues. And what today is shown in history are two fundamental and decisive aspects, the will of humanity to transform history, and the conscious use of the instrument, which allows marxism to unify the world. And of this instrument, it is Trotskyism which has passed through all the proofs of history. Its reduced number means limited application and effects, but the fact that Trotskyism has continued so many years from 1940 until today, thirty one years of isolation, persecution, of internal crises, of internal destruction, that it has sustained such proofs of history, and develops and acquires, and is acquiring authority in the Workers States, and in the capitalist countries, and is organising layers, currents, tendencies in the communist parties, it indicates the historic justice of the IV International.

This is not just a homage to Trotsky. It is a record and an historic stage of the ideas of Trotsky, and of its application today. Without doubt if Trotsky had been here, it would have been much better, the process of the revolution would have been more rapid. But as Trotsky is not here, we substitute for him, without the capacity, which Trotsky had, but having the same will and the same historic security as Trotsky. Without these conditions there is no advance.

The bureaucracy has neither the will or the persistence, or the continuity, or the capacity to create the decisions, to give the necessary reply to intervene in the revolution, because their interest clashes with its use, with its means. But for us this is not the case. The forces that succumb are those of the apparatus, of the bureaucracy, and what develops is the world revolution, and to the extent that the world revolution develops and escapes communist, nationalist, socialist control, it is Trotskyist. Through the forms, the content, the objectives, the tactic, it is Trotskyist.

The existence of Trotskyist groups in the world does not annul this conclusion, but shows that history in not having allowed Trotskyism to organise in a single centre, and from there to diffuse itself; in having received blows which were aimed to smash it and not having found in time material means to survive, historic conditions to develop itself or becoming fragmented, degenerated in part, from the Trotskyist interpretation, this produced a selection, just as a selection is being made in the Workers States. We are the result of an historic selection, not of an historic "designation", but a result of the selection of history, because we have gone through tests, and through one of the indispensable conditions for the progress of humanity: the communist morality; to be a public instrument in history to think and work objectively. For this we are the centre of the world movement, which calls itself Trotskyist. We are the conscious representative centre of this process. Hence our invincible capacity, which is the capacity of Trotsky. But our capacity is the use of marxism. The will, the morality, the objective revolutionary responsibility supports itself on the use, the continuation, on the continuity of marxism. Hence we understand the process of history, from the most elevated to the most distant aspects. For this reason we intervene in the process of Bolivia, basing ourselves on the military junta without risk, without fearing to be attracted, to be absorbed by this Junta. And for this reason the IV International develops understanding the process with-

out adapting itself to the limitations of this process whether nationalist, Catholic, socialist or communist, without adapting to the limitations of this process, but impelling to the maximum every process which impels the development of the revolution. And at the same time developing ourselves also. Ours is still not an organic, material development, it is not numerical. It is a development still of quality. Our capacity for synthesis increases; much less our organic and numerical capacity. This will come tomorrow. Because the course of history shows that there is a process of concentration. Hence all these Trotskyist groups who call themselves Trotskyist disappear, because they advance and then find themselves in the dark. And they do not understand what is happening, because no longer is it sufficient to say "Viva the IV International, Viva the revolution, death to the bureaucracy! democracy! trade union rights!" This no longer serves. Today it is necessary to intervene as in Bolivia, as in Chile, as in the Argentine, as in France. Anti Stalinist declarations are not sufficient, or anti bureaucratic declarations, but it is necessary to understand a process, which includes the Stalinist bureaucracy. And it includes the bureaucracy, because it has to go forward, because if it does not do so, the vehicle continues, and the bureaucracy is left behind.

To understand this process of history in which the partial regeneration is included is most difficult. Trotsky did not foresee it, was not able to foresee it. But he created the instruments of interpretation, which allowed us to understand the process. And the essential base, which allows us to understand this process of history is that the bureaucracy arises from the Workers State. The Workers State showed its unalterable capacity in the forms, in the economic structure of economic property and functioning. And the bureaucracy arose, which the Workers State sustained. The trade union did not sustain it, the Workers State did. And it supported it through its structure because it is the necessary form for the progress of history.

All these groups have been incapable of understanding. And in consequence they do not understand that "partial regeneration" is not the result of regeneration of the form of thinking of the bureaucracy, but of the process of the revolution, which in not finding any form of expression, expresses itself thus more elevated form of expression, expresses itself thus through this medium. And as they do not succeed in understanding, they are disorganised and destroyed.

This process shows the inexorable necessity of the functioning, of the continuity, of the maintenance of marxism. And marxism bases itself on the ability to understand and to analyse, to create the will, to give the conscious security and create the will to intervene, confident that the process of history directs itself inexorably to the necessity to eliminate all forms of oppression and repression. And these forms go from the most simple to the most complex. And the conviction that this process of history leads to this conclusion allows us to in-

## THE IV INTERNATIONAL ACTS AS A PUBLIC GOOD IN HISTORY; IT IS DEVELOPING IN THE ENTIRE WORLD

They assassinated Trotsky 31 years ago, and today they sell all the books of Trotsky, of the Trotskyists, of ourselves. No one asks for Stalin. On the 31st anniversary of Trotsky's death the development of the IV International extends itself throughout the world. Numerically we are weak. Our political authority is immense, political capacity is immense. Our comrades are exercising the ability, the decision, the will in Mexico, Spain, Mali.

On this 31 anniversary of Trotsky's assassination our activity shows the power of Trotskyism. It is necessary to feel the infinite joy on the basis of limitless confidence in socialism, because our confidence is invincible. This activity is the most beautiful homage to Trotsky. It is the most complete and most beautiful homage, which has been made to Trotsky in these last stages. The Trotskyists of Europe propose to intervene in the world process of partial regeneration, to weigh in the course of history. We are a small number. Our audacity and resolution are not determined by number, but by the marxist capacity, and by the importance of our contribution to history. We are of marxist nationality, of any origin, but the conscious form of our capacity, of our will, of our consciousness is marxist.

interpret the bureaucracy, basing ourselves on what Trotsky taught us, and on what we have learnt in the course of history. And this process of history shows that it is not the bureaucracy, which increases its power, but it is the revolution, which increases its power. But in not having organs, partially, speculatively, it is utilised by the bureaucracy. But this cannot transform it into new organs of power as Stalin did, and it has inevitably to give way to forms of superior power, to the intervention of the masses—Stettin and Danzig, which in certain conditions is a continuation of the necessity to purge, to eliminate the obstacles for the conscious functioning of the Workers State in which Germany in 53, Hungary in 56, Poland in 56 were an expression. Then there were not the means to purge, today yes.

The objective of the assassination of Trotsky was to eliminate the functioning of Trotskyism, and today our comrades in Mexico function as the International: they have the security, the capacity, the resolution to function as the International, thirty one years from the assassination of Trotsky. The objective of the assassination was to smash the will, the capacity, the resolution to function as a conscious organism of history. After 31 years from this assassination our team in Mexico functioned as a leadership of the International, leads a section, intervenes in the world process of the revolution, orientating with ideas, positions and influences the Mexican Communist Party. And now they publish one of the most important books of the history of the Mexican revolution; only with security can one work in this way. Those who are arrested communicate with the exterior through the means of ideas. It is not physical communication. It is the communication with ideas, the programme, the policy, the security. These arrested comrades in Mexico show the security of the IV International, the historic proof that we are right; this is what they are doing. The liberation of cde. Irma, who was five years and four months in prison, is an historic example of Trotskyist security. Irma was taken prisoner with communists, including quite a few Stalinists. On coming out, the head of the CPM invited the Trotskyists to integrate themselves in the United Front. And pointed her out to the journalists in his declaration to the press: "I call for the anti imperialist united front in which are included the Trotskyist comrades". He said this twice. And cde. Irma, after five years and four months in prison came out as a leader, with the slight means which we have, this is an expression of the strength of Trotskyism, which was expressed in Trotsky dying and saying "I believe in the triumph of the IV International, forward!"

These are not the same analyses as in the time of Trotsky. There are different situations in history, but it is the method of Trotsky whose essential base is to understand the Soviet bureaucracy, its historic roots, its contact with reality, its links with history, its weakening, and the forces, which was going to throw up links with the revolution. This is the method, which guides us to understand history. There are different situations, different relations. Basing ourselves on this method we understand the reasons for the partial regeneration of the bureaucracy at this stage of the revolution. It is analysis of Trotsky, which permits us to understand the function of the bureaucracy, and the reanimation of the world authority of Trotsky.

Nationality is an accident imposed by the capitalist system. On the other hand, marxism gives consciousness of our confidence in history and eliminates nationality long before frontiers are suppressed. Science or art does not have nationality. Their origin has an importance, because it reflects concrete influences, partial influences. But marxism is universal, represents objective interests, the objective capacity of humanity to organise itself, which is to organise human history. There is no nationality, which can do these things, but marxism yes. This is marxist nationality.

For this reason we can intervene, without our feeling affected, in our function as a world organism. We function as it is necessary. Our function is not without importance, nor does it lack conscious interested objectives. We want to weigh in history. We want to shorten the stages of history, to increase the tempo. We are interested in this. As we do not have our own means to decide, we try to see the process of history, what is the measure which allows us to influence more to give consciousness to the forces, to organise the forces, to elevate the forces. This is to be a public property of history. Hence our world development

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## JUST PUBLISHED RED FLAG SUPPLEMENT NO. 18. RESOLUTIONS OF J. POSADAS AND THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL.

The Common Market, the agricultural problem, the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the necessity for the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe

25. 3. 1971 J. POSADAS

The New Government in Poland. The letter of Bresnev, and the development of the political revolution

LS. 22. 12. 1970



is united to the world development of the revolution.

Hence our objectives do not clash with any progress of the revolution. We understand all of it. All interests us, because every progress of the revolution is our own progress. This is Trotsky, this is the objective of Trotsky, the objective of Lenin, of Trotsky, of Engels, of the Russian revolution and of the world revolution.

On this 31st anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky, the security, the capacity, the honest objectivity maintains itself, reproduces itself constantly in history. The masses, the teams, without being Trotskyist, try to approximate to this function. The masses of the countries that were colonial or semi-colonial, the masses of the backward countries, incorporate themselves, trying to answer to the necessity of history without delaying themselves, without limiting themselves through lack of means, of experience or

capacity. They intervene and on the march acquire this capacity. In the capitalist countries the communist masses want to take power; the leadership does not let them; then they try to organise themselves in the trade unions, try to answer weighing in the trade unions to weigh on the party. They seek a substitute, but for the same end; to influence the party to take power. They are masses, who potentially are all Trotskyists. There are thousands and millions of Trotskyists, who are not in the IV International. But tomorrow, very shortly, there will be millions of Trotskyists with whom we will intervene together in a unified movement, because this is a necessity of history.

On this 31st anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky, Stalinism has been destroyed, not a trace remains of it in history. On the contrary any revolutionary who wants, to advance and acquire coherence says "we are against Stalin! Immediately! we are against Stalin! And we defend Trotsky!" And they rehabilitate Trotsky. And from there the process leads to us. Although they hide us and utilise us like Fidel Castro, who has to utilise our ideas and positions. On this 31st anniversary the International is in full development, Trotskyism is in full development. Militants who are very young exercise the function of leaders. This is the most beautiful homage to Trotsky. From the prison there are leaderships, who lead the revolution, an influencing and determining part of the revolution.

On this 31st anniversary of homage to Trotsky, the International develops itself throughout the world. The number of its cadres, the security of its cadres, the intervention on the march of the world revolution, and the concrete intervention in the revolution, the programme and the ideas of today, of this International, of our International, weigh. Our cadres of 15, 14, 16 years, of marxist nationality, developed without differentiation of nationality or condition. And the International develops now the security that in working as a public good of history, we are not a group of appointed people, of martyrs, but we are conscious of the utilisation of the capacity of thought, of the continuation of marxist thought and will to respond to this necessity.

What we are doing is the most beautiful and complete homage to Leon Trotsky. A team in the prison which leads a country. A team of arrested comrades in the rest of the world, who in difficult conditions of functioning were guided by their function of being a public good and their security as organisers increases.

Throughout the world, the International develops. It is not in crisis, from the point of view of policy, programme, or objectives. The problems which it has, arise from the fact that it does not have the means. And it has few cadres. All the other organisations are in organisational crisis, because the objectives, which they have, clash with the necessities of the revolution. The experience which the militants undertake clash with the objective and the conciliatory programme of these parties. The development of the revolution clashes with the existence and the policy of these parties. And the experience of the leading cadres and militants clashes with the imposition, with the bureaucratic method, with the political repression, which prevails in these movements. In our movement there is no such crisis. There is a lack of money, of means. All the course of the revolution coincides with our capacity for interpretation, foresight, orientation. We do not have the means; this is our only problem. On the other hand in all these organisms, the crisis is one of antagonism and contradiction between bureaucratic ends, bureaucratic methods, bureaucratic objectives, the absence of revolutionary programme and the necessity for revolutionary programme, revolutionary methods to advance.

On this 31st anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky, the IV International presents itself publicly in a process of identification with the world proletarian vanguard, of integration with it, of development of the confidence of its cadres, of its sections, of the increase of cadres and sections throughout the world, within and outside prison. Outside us there is no other organism, which functions in this way, within the prisons. All of which indicates confidence, security in the objective development of the revolution, and in the objective necessity of the party. It is the greatest homage, which can be made to Trotsky. It is the greatest record of Leon Trotsky, the transcendence and continuity of

# Homage to Leon Trotsky

Trotsky, which expresses itself in the functioning of the IV International.

In the name of the IV International we say:

Viva Trotsky, Viva!

Viva the world development of the socialist revolution, and the decision of

millions of revolutionaries, who like us fight objectively for socialism! Viva!

Viva the freeing of all our arrested comrades, and all the revolutionary militants of the world! Viva!

Viva the world triumph of the socialist revolution and the defeat of the Bolivian counter revolution, and the powerful impulse to the Latin American socialist revolution and the world revolution! Viva!

Another comrade:

Viva comrade Posadas, constructor of the party! Viva!

20. 8. 71

J. POSADAS

## 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.

The development of the world revolution, the advance of the struggle of the masses of the world and of Britain, the crisis in the Labour Party which is an expression of the failure of the pro-bourgeois sector of the leadership and the progress of left sectors more responsive to the will and aspirations of the working class, the civil war, the development of a class leadership in Ireland, all demand the application of the marxist method and conception. We are in the stage of the final settlement of accounts where there is posed not only the overthrow of capitalism, but the construction of human society in a socialist way. This construction, even more than the overthrow of capitalism needs the intervention of scientific marxist ideas. For this reason there is the necessity for the texts of Posadas in the world and in Britain, for they organise the understanding, give confidence to the vanguard, arming it scientifically to confront all the tasks which are posed in the advance towards socialism. Thus it is necessary for the British Section of the IV International, through its journal RED FLAG to publish more of the texts of Posadas and the International Secretariat, and at the same time to deepen, basing itself on these texts, its own understanding of the national process and respond to it with more and better articles.

For this reason the International leadership has orientated the British Section to begin, in the shortest possible delay, to publish RED FLAG each week. This decision of Cde. Posadas and the International Secretariat, which we salute and support entirely, is going to have very great repercussions in the process of organisation of the new revolutionary leadership in the LP, in the Unions and the Communist Party. It has a very great significance also for all the English speaking world.

We make an appeal to all the readers of RED FLAG to help us in this task. We ask that you contribute financially to this task and with observations, opinions, letters, reports of trade union activity, reports of the struggle taking place within the LP etc. so that RED FLAG really becomes a dynamic organ of revolutionary organisation fused with the struggle of the British working class. We appeal to all our readers to order several copies of the paper, to sell it in your place of work, factory, mine, bus garage, LP and trade union branches, CP branches, and to organise discussions on the documents, above all those of Posadas, to accelerate the formation of a marxist-Posadist current within the political and trade union organisations of the class. What impedes the greater advance of the British working class is not the lack of militancy, UCS, Plessey, Northern Ireland, the struggle against the industrial relation act, against unemployment show this conclusively enough: what hinders it is the absence of marxism, the absence of a leadership and organisms based on marxism. It is this deficit which weekly RED FLAG will fill.

We repeat our appeal for financial support, for subscriptions and donations, for articles and letters, for sellers in the organisations and work places of the working class, and student movement.

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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). C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi Belgium.

Die Arbeiderrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, C. Polet 100 BD. Bertrand Charleroi, Belgium.

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

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

CHILE: Lucha Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 10 D Corroero San Miguel Santiago de Chile.

CUBA: Voz Proletaria, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Montes No. 12, Ap.11, Piso 2, Havana, Cuba.

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

FRANCE: Lutte Communiste, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist). Roc Hongar, 63 Rue Victor-Hugo 92 Courbevoie.

GREECE: Communist Fight. Clandestine.

MEXICO: Voz Obrera, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Clandestine.

MIDDLE EAST: Bulletins in Arabic and Persian of militants of the International.

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

SPAIN: Lucha Obrera, organ of the Re-

volutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

URUGUAY: Frente Obrero, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

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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  
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Viva the  
Nationalisation without  
compensation of the  
copper mines in Chile

# Space science, the function of the Workers States and the construction of Socialism

J. Posadas 1-7-71

The conclusions from the deaths of these comrades, from these colleagues must be faced in a form combined with the analysis of the situation, with the development of the political revolution, the historic reencounter, the partial regeneration, the preparation of imperialism for the war and the world development of the socialist revolution. It is all combined, all united. It is a single theme. Taking the eminently scientific aspects, it is the death of three comrades, who were making an investigation, attained their objective, but did not succeed in returning.

The combination of life and death has expressed itself. Death triumphed individually for these three, but the human progress, which these three represent, does not stop, in spite of them dying. Death is unconscious, it does not have a purpose, it still works through the lack of adequate defence of the human being, because the defence against death still has not been found. There is a dispute with death, because life can be prolonged by treating sick people, by surgery, and by all aspects of medical science. But the most complete way to confront death is to prolong the security of the human being. Then we are going to find all the means, all the material, organic means there are in the relationship between the human being and nature, so as not to dispute with death, but to defeat it, to proceed to conquer it. Death, ultimately, is a result of the wearing out of the organism, so it is necessary to find the key, the means of prolonging this existence, as one of the ways of confronting death. But to do this, it is necessary for the human being to have a clear, tranquil, living mind. Having this results from occupying oneself objectively with understanding society; from seeing nature, and then seeing nature as a function of the objective interest of humanity, not functioning in the partial interests of one or another country, one or another sector of the economy, one or another army, but as a function of the objective interests of humanity; to find the way to inter-relate organisms in such a way as to defeat what today is death.

But the consequence of death is not the elimination of life, but the intimidation of the human being, which takes the form of impressions on the brain, resulting in a state of anguish, of pressure, of fear, of individual anxiety and individual preoccupation, being preoccupied with ones own life, and the rest can go to hell; as with the type who has a weak heart, and spends millions of dollars to cure himself, whilst in Pakistan you could prolong the lives of thousands and thousands with this.

This is still the price of death that acts on each individual, determined by the individual preoccupation, fearing for oneself. On the other hand, eliminating the fear of death, eliminating individual interests, and concentrating on the human being, on the collective life of communism, each one will feel, what is best to do. The thought, the will, the decision, the method will be collective. Then there will exist more elevated forms of thought, and the capacity to objectively understand history, humanity, the acts, the ways of life, to find the ways to live, to overcome nature. Because ultimately death is the way in which nature works. Because nature works like this, it requires a wearing away, a transformation. The human body is still not

accustomed, nor does it have the preparation to make the transformation that the plants make, that the elephant makes, that the animals make. Our molecular structure still does not permit us to do this, but we know that it is possible. But the essential base for meeting death is the consciousness, in the mind, in the social thought. And then instead of feeling depressed by death and saying, "I die and the rest of the world, does not matter to me," no, one will say "I die, but the rest go on living". Then one dies, but ones life is prolonged in the others. Then ideas, thoughts, capacity are left to continue in human activity. Thus individually death wins, socially it loses. Because with the ideas, the organic capacity for developing society, it communicates and acquires the means, the consciousness, the security, the collective vigour to defeat death.

This event forms part of the process. But much more important than this, in this stage of history, is the function of the Workers State in humanity, which unites a historical stage of disorder that made it, and still makes it live in constant upheavals, having to struggle for daily food, with security in the future. As the process is unequal and combined, but concentrated, Pakistan occurs, and there is this incident from the moon investigation. And whilst thousands and thousands die in Vietnam, hundreds in the Middle East, faced with this, the disturbance of humanity is very small. But the reaction is immense, because now humanity is used to it, and accepts it as a consequence of the barbarity of capitalism, of the crimes of capitalism. So it defends itself, it does not grieve. Humanity defends itself and defeats capitalism.

But the disturbance provoked by the death of these three comrades is caused, because already in humanity there exists the sentiment and the consciousness of a superior quality in social and collective relationships. Not human social relations in the abstract or in general, but collectively. This world consternation is genuine, and guides humanity, which still does not have the necessary social organisation to express it in any other way. There has been humanity itself expresses in this way, a sentiment of general grief at seeing that something of human value has been lost, which means a great progress for humanity. And besides being a progress that puts all people of the world in contact, it banishes the fear of the unknown and of the future, because to defeat nature is part of the future, because also the stars are the future, further from understanding, from what is going to come, beyond what one can dominate, beyond structure, it is part of the unknown, of tomorrow, and is part of that which gives sensation of social fear. But the Workers States show that

this social fear dissolves, because it shows that it can be dominated. The immense historic importance of the Workers State is to make these space experiments; as much for scientific as military interest, and the legitimate right to prepare itself militarily, because imperialism is awaiting the opportunity to launch the atomic war and to try to survive.

But at the same time, these space voyages put all of humanity in communication, and elevates it. It elevates people who are farthest away from the most elevated scientific understanding, and makes them see that today the problem is to find the means to advance, to understand the rest of what exists in the world, of what exists in the universe and to dominate it. It takes away one of the sensations of the essential base of fear. The essential base of social fear is the fear of not knowing how to produce, who produces, where to take the produce. Why price, why money, why crisis, why war? Already this is developing, the world comprehension of all this thought; because the Workers States, the struggles of the masses, the trade unions, the Communist Party is making it known, the action of the masses is going to make it understood. But still the rest, no. How is it that nature is superior to us, to the human being? Not to man, to the human being. The correct title is human being and not man. To keep on still saying man, is because of the pre-

vious education of the supposed superiority of man over woman. Although commercially and socially with private property, he is superior to woman, because it gives him more qualities than the woman, historically, humanely in the true analysis they are equal. There is no difference.

This problem of why the astronauts died is not simply to be confined within a superficial truth, but to understand the effects on the human body submitted to conditions of different atmospheric and cosmic structure. This means an internally different composition of the atmospheric structure to ours, with the same elements, but with a different combination i.e. instead of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen. What effect does this have? and besides, there is the assimilation of other gases, other abundant elements in constant suspension, that have the facility of transforming themselves, having an effect, and re-composing themselves, losing a little, a millionth or a five-millionth of its mass. How does this energy behave? What is the way to dominate it, and to see how we can understand certain aspects of the human life, in which the will exercises such an important function, limited, but very important. These are problems that we still do not have answers to, with which we must preoccupy ourselves in the sense of an immediate gain; in the sense of scientific comprehension.

## THE WORKERS STATE HAS GIVEN HISTORIC PROOF OF THE CAPACITY OF HUMANITY TO RESOLVE ALL PROBLEMS

The problem of communism in the mind of the most resolved, revolutionary team is already solved. It is a problem of time. For humanity also it is a problem of time. This is already solved, there is no doubt of this. In our head then this is already resolved, and now the problem is more advanced; what is our relationship with the structure of the universe? What influence, what effects will it have on us, what effect on the thinking being? This is what decides. Because of this, it is important, what the astronauts said, "We are a faction without importance, what is important is the destiny of humanity". Yes! This is a communist thought. All these comrades already pose this problem. We want to defeat the fear of the unknown. And the fear of the unknown is a product of the capitalist market, of the form of production, of distribution, of the form of dependence on the universe. It is less than for those who lived before, because now there is a great consciousness. But it still exists, because there is not a domination of this problem. The astronauts posed this. In their heads they do not think like a new caste, but like communists, although they still do not behave like communists, neither do the bureaucrats, who are going to behave as communists, some of them yes. But they are going to facilitate, they are obliged to facilitate this task.

Communist thought wants to know everything, to understand everything. "We will do everything" as Trotsky said. With

the difference that in the time of Trotsky he was unable to face this, because there were still many things to discover. Trotsky already foresaw this; "We will know everything". This is what Marx said too. Engels said, "In socialism the human being will not be stopped by any circumstance or any complication, because there will be the boldness, and the security in the thought that one is able to do anything. This is what Engels posed in "The Dialectics of Nature". He realised that nature is powerful, but the human being is more powerful, because nature cannot change, cannot transform itself, but it undergoes temporary, episodic changes of transformations, without destroying its historic position. Ourselves, yes. Because of this we have domesticated nature, we are going to persuade it.

Although it is still necessary to resolve economic problems, problems of power, of the political revolution, of the construction of socialism, already it can be seen that we can solve these problems. As Trotsky, when the soviet power was still not resolved, said "We will understand everything, we will solve everything". But matters were not resolved, and he did not have the experience, nor the practical proof that we have now.

The Workers State has developed the scientific capacity to understand, and to make such historic exploits. This gives security to humanity, an immense security for understanding tomorrow. But it does not give it only because of this. It

CONTINUED OVER PAGE

# Space science . . .

gives it because it came out of nothing. There have been no more than 54 years of the first Workers State. It came out of nothing, materially from nothing, as we have said in dozens of texts. The USSR in 1917 was nothing, it was nothing! The Soviets were organised by Lenin and Trotsky, with Lenin at the head, the leader, who organised, they proposed constructing a new social form, new social relations, based on a new form of property relations, of economic structure, which is the Worker State, the road to socialism.

One could see already that humanity was prepared, centralising itself in the means, which it possessed at that moment, which was the very poor and precarious Soviet economy, which was able to advance. If it was for the economy alone, they would not have advanced. It was the will to advance of the people, if not imperialism would have won. If humanity had not got the will to progress, if no one thought it important, or did not give a damn for the USSR, they would not have won.

On the other hand humanity grabbed hold of imperialism and said, "You leave the USSR alone". They did not abandon it. They could not speak one by one, but humanity expressed itself in the rebellion of the French fleet on the Black Sea, the rebellion of the people, who were sent to fight the USSR, the action of the armies of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania, who passed over to the Soviets. It is the world pronouncement of the people, as in 1917, when the Russian soldiers "voted with their feet", and refused to fight: humanity voted through them and said: "We are with the USSR, leave it alone". Already without knowing it, they saw the Workers State as a superior form of existence.

The Workers State, although bureaucratically and administratively controlled, shows that it is possible to make more pronounced, scientific investigations that, although they do not have immediate economic effects, have an immense influence on the masses of the world.

We express our recognition and our complete affection for the Soviet masses, for these Soviet astronaut comrades, and for the USSR as such, including everyone. We express our affection, our complete solidarity. But the masses of the world have seen and have understood that economic measures are not sufficient to determine existence, superior forms of existence and superior preoccupations of existence are necessary, preoccupations that permit domination and the removal of fear of the beyond.

Religion could be born, extend, create, develop, and sustain itself on the ignorance of the people. As people become more conscious, so religion disappears. It is a fire that goes on advancing, but it comes to the green pastures, then it starts to go out, go out, go out... And

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PORTRAIT OF LENIN IN SOYUZ AND THE COMMUNIST SENTIMENTS OF THE COSMONAUT COMRADES

This is the basis on which all of humanity today laments the death of these three comrades, but it is also a problem of political calculation. This is a political reasoning determined by the recognition of this historic function, objectively necessary to humanity. Because of this, the masses of the world unify themselves through those organisms, those actions, those elements that objectively signify progress.

Humanity has been constructed in strata, in organs. It was necessary to do it like this, to go on living, to go on developing the economy and society. They could not hope to gain scientific consciousness. Primarily because it was banned, it was prohibited, they did not have means to gain it; they did not have access. They had to go on learning scientific consciousness, consciousness of the relation of existence, through a very precarious form. But the most necessary form to understand is not the scientific consciousness of physics, space physics, nuclear physics, but human relations. This is what determines the security to face the rest. Humanity feels itself secure in facing all these problems, and so we win the base of the Christian Democracy and it passes over to socialism. Whatever important nationalist movement, passing towards socialist nationalism, whatever important social movement, even if it has a non communist origin, ends up as communist, because already there is proof that this is superior to the weight of the bureaucracy of the Workers States and the communist parties. Humanity already differentiates, already reasons and sees, not the superficiality, it sees what is within, and orientates itself well. It does not have organisms to decide, because this requires another series of means, another series of preoccupations and means, and it cannot have them, because it has to live everyday. It has to make strikes, has to defend itself from

without anyone throwing water on it, it is extinguished, because the green pasture prevents it advancing. As the people gain understanding, taking security in this, to dominate the problems of the economy, society, the understanding of nature, then they lose the fear, the necessity of having to depend on other forces, because they see through their practical experiences, they are able to reconstruct all that exists, and besides to increase, and improve it, as in the case of the stupidity of nature that still makes the same banana; they are going to make better things, other things of a superior quality.

To do this special feat, the USSR expresses a necessity that is unquestionable. Already humanity feels itself to have the force to abandon the dependency on struggling and making war to survive. It is necessary to eliminate capitalism, which still makes these wars, eliminate the bureaucracy of the Workers States, to impose the Soviet type of organisation that develops the Workers State. Already humanity feels that this is so.

The USSR shows that it is possible to do this, and the immense superiority over the capitalist system is that, with no more than 54 years of existence, after the killing of 23 million inhabitants, destroying 70% of the wealth of the USSR, they did not destroy the most important, the best, which is the base of human progress; the confidence of the Soviet masses that they could reconstruct everything. Capitalism could not do this. As capitalism was losing, retreating, hiding itself, it allied with the Nazis. The masses united and triumphed. They maintained their indestructible confidence that the structure of the Workers State was superior to the capitalist system. Already the masses gave their historic verdict.

The epoch of intelligence and reason is determined by the masses, who directly exert pressure, intervene in direct or indirect form, and determine the course of the process. They do not lead, because they do not have the organisms, but they determine, because of the weight of their will; their decision weighs. They seek whatever way to express themselves, to concentrate themselves, to decide, in trade unions, parties, whatever type of organism. Even in the church, even the military, civil, police institutions of capitalism. The masses use them in any way, to make it known that they are right, and that they can live without having to kill one another to survive and to progress, that they can eliminate the dependency from ignorance, and lack of knowledge, and that consequently they can determine the course of human relations.

the war, support the revolutionary wars, support the revolution. But it gives its encouragement, its support, creates a world climate of public opinion that encourages the sectors, those who decide and advance under this stimulus. It obliges them to advance. And it is going to eliminate fear. Because of this it concentrates itself now with a sentiment of very profound pain and sadness to see the three people die, who did this act, which means an immense progress for humanity; not just for the death of these three comrades, because death is still unavoidable, it cannot be stopped, but for the significance it has as a great progress in which humanity seeks to defeat inconvenience, space, the unknown, forms still unknown for science, to confront forms of new relations with nature. They are new relations with nature, or with the cosmos, and in these new relations it was logical that there would be a series of results like this, and these three comrades knew it.

Being experienced in the domain of space, they would have known this. They knew the effects, but they went none the less. They had already experienced it. They did not want to be paid millions, only the order of Lenin. VIVA LENIN!

They did not want millions, like they give the Yankees. None of them wanted this. On the other hand they took up Lenin; Lenin signified the objective expression of the force of communism to objectively impel the progress of humanity. Because of this, these three Soviet comrades had Lenin in their cabin, and did not take a toy dog, which is what the American astronauts took; these went without any preoccupation, and without any relations with the progress of humanity. Lenin signifies the most elevated progress of society.

The picture of Lenin was not adherence to the leader of the Russian Revolution, but the most elevated expres-

sion of the progress of humanity. Besides that, it is the recognition that these are the means for the progress of humanity. This is why they took Lenin. It was a symbol, it was direct communication, between the past of 1917 and the future of humanity. They did not take up Lenin simply as a symbol, or as a means of communicating with the world worker vanguard. This was part of it. But they took it as a means of communicating with the Soviet masses, with the masses of the world, to show them what is the aim of the objective development of the USSR; which is not the conscious development in the interest of the bureaucracy. Their historic nature prevents them from having this capacity of comprehension. Their historic

## MANKIND CAN CREATE NEW RELATIONS WITH NATURE

The masses of the world see Soyuz, the Soviet astronauts, and the behaviour of the leadership of the Workers State. They see that it is not as before, that even though there is not a constant, permanent, revolutionary behaviour, seeing that there is not yet the revolutionary behaviour, that calls for the struggle for power, and the smashing of the capitalist system, they see that the bureaucracy stimulates the struggle by confronting the capitalist system. It is accompanied by positions and measures that tend to conciliate with capitalism. But the masses understand that in the course of history, what is obviously tending to become elevated, is not conciliation with capitalism, but the inevitable necessity of confronting the capitalist system. They see that this trip to space of Soyuz was not to conciliate with the system. Because of this, they put Lenin forward. If not, they would not put him forward. It is the superiority of the Workers State that said to the masses of the world: "This is better than the capitalist system". Objectively, although the bureaucracy tries to appropriate this progress to justify its own existence, it impels the revolution, now it must impel the revolution.

The masses of the world see these conclusions. They measure the exact, concrete function of science. In capitalism science means Vietnam, signifies the crushing of the North American masses, it means the imprisonment of Davis, it means the assassination of presidents and senators of the United States, the killing of Negro leaders, even pacifists, while Soyuz and the picture of Lenin signify the support for Egypt, the support for Korea and Vietnam, the call for the Anti-imperialist World United Front, and the unconditional support for the Latin American governments that confront imperialism. The masses unify this. Although seeing and feeling that it is possible to do much more, they unify it in their consciousness, and see that these are useful measures. They do not have means of distinguishing, reasoning, deducing and determining politically, because they do not have the organisms to do it; so where there are communist parties, workers centres, socialist parties of the masses, the masses have the means to intervene. But in a whole list of countries such a possibility does not exist, in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia. Never the less, the masses have not been mistaken. Imperialism has not succeeded in attracting a single mass movement in the world, neither with its astronomical expeditions, nor through the war it makes. Not a single one—which shows the masses sense of smell, and their sense of historic indignation. Not a single movement has been gained. While in whatever part of the world, every important movement of the masses has a bond, in one way or another, with the Soviet Union, with China, with Cuba. It is the inclination, the tendency of the masses in a natural form, measuring and judging history by the social economic consequences, obviously, but also the social relations. They see the superiority of the Soviet regime. They still see in a very limited way, because there are not Soviets in the USSR, and there is not socialist democracy. But even so, although socialist democracy does not exist, progress and the path is not towards augmenting the negation of socialist democracy. They are going to have to open the doors, like the discussion of the writers, which is not the same as the discussion of the writers two years ago. It is a discussion in which is posed, though in a general form, but not abstractly, that art must serve the construction of communism. Not "Socialist Realism", the construction of socialism. Stalin said "Socialist Realism", which was just him boasting; preventing the formation of currents of public opin-

nature is counterrevolutionary, but in their actual function they cannot be counterrevolutionary, they are obliged to confront capitalism. This obliges them, then, to change their structure, change their functioning, and maintaining their historic counterrevolutionary nature they have, in their turn, to work objectively to contain capitalism, without leaving the controls and the lever of power. They have to combine all this. But already in this combination they cannot surrender as they did in Spain or Greece. Now they have to let Lenin go up with Soyuz, to give arms to Egypt and to send 20 thousand Soviet soldiers to Egypt. The fleet in the Mediterranean does not go to smash the revolution, it goes to support the revolutionary movement of the Arab masses, and also in part to control it, to mediate and impede what escapes its control, but already it cannot dominate this control. Now it cannot do this.

ion in art, of description, of works that were a condemnation of the Soviet bureaucracy. This is "Socialist Realism". It was a eulogy above reality, directed to sustaining, supporting, submitting itself to the Soviet bureaucracy. On the other hand the construction of communism includes the heroism, and the capacity of the workers in the construction, which these writers like Solzhenitsin resent; "No, this is an aberration. The writer must be free to say what he wants". Why does he have to be free? Does the bourgeois also have to be free? Does the soldier also have to be free? Does the politician have to be free? Why does the writer have to be free and the politician not? Does not the trade union have to be free? The trade union is to defend the revolutionary class interests, to impel the struggle for socialism. And why shouldn't the writer have to do the same? Does he lead a life of relations apart from this? Does he live in some compartment outside existence? Where are the roots of his inspiration? What are they? Whose are they? This is to say the writer is acquiring an elitist attitude, an elitist inclination and conclusion. This Congress of Writers is combating this. The achievements are limited, but it is combating this. Before is supported itself on this. Before they put them in prison as insane, they put them in prison. They could not combat them bureaucratically, and if they combated them with the truth, making the masses intervene, the bureaucracy would have to send them to the mental hospital too. Today they feel more powerful. What it is necessary to see from this Congress of Writers is not these conclusions, but the significance of these conclusions. Before they made them prisoners, because they could not face them, now they face them and tell them; "No art has to be like this". Because behind them is Soyuz, is the Lunakhod, but also is the support of Egypt, the Middle East.

Science is not an abstraction, socially considered science is human, social consciousness. Science is not the result of the capacity of one or another individual. It finds a nucleus or is centralized in one or another individual, in one or another layer of the population. Consciousness signifies knowing the structure, the relationship, the movement of things whether through scientific formula or social progress. This is science. All the rest has been added. But this is science, because to live it is necessary to know nature. What it to know nature? How it moves, how it lives, how it functions, how it transforms itself. This is science. All the rest is to add words and pedantries. But they add no capacity. Until now humanity has made a particular distinction in relation to science, because they did not have access to it. They did not have access. Once humanity has access to it, it will lose all its mystery. Science! Science is simply the organised consciousness, the organised consciousness that permits intervention in the relations with nature. But the most important are the social relations that determine the capacity to later extract from nature. Capacity signifies; the capacity to see, to dominate, to transform and to find the means to realise such action. Thus death triumphs individually and not socially.

CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE .

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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!

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
NO. 146 2nd Friday of November 1971 PRICE 3p

# Make the November 24th lobby into a 24 hour General Strike with factory occupations for Nationalisations under workers control and for the expulsion of the right wing from the Labour Party

As each day passes, the revolutionary current within the British working class which wants to overthrow capitalism and install workers power, makes itself more and more felt. Without a leadership, without an organisation which links the vanguard on a national scale permitting it to co-ordinate its actions, it uses all the struggles against unemployment, against the Common market, against the anti-TU legislation, the struggle against imperialism in Ireland, to put itself in contact with and attract the rest of the masses, the white collar workers, the students, the vast majority of the middle layers of society. The programmatic level of the struggle rises, political demands are added to the immediate T.U. ones; demands for nationalisation under workers control, the demand for an end to this Tory government and its replacement by a Labour government are more and more put forward. The experience of UCS in spite of the absence of appeals from the Shop Steward committee to the rest of the class, extends itself, because of its social effect, to other plants like the River Don Steel Works. In London Airport the workers fight with police showing an intransigence and combativity which cannot just be produced by the immediate dispute; in fact the dispute is a peg on which to hang all their opposition to the regime of private property and its repressive apparatus. In Ireland the masses are fighting an armed civil war, and it is the army of British imperialism and the party of the Ulster bourgeoisie which are disintegrating. All this tremendous process towards the revolution in Britain, which is supported on the world revolution, the 16 Workers States, the 10 revolutionary states, the struggles of the European and American proletariats, the partial regeneration of the C.P.s and the Workers States, imposes changes within the Trade Unions and the Labour Party and demands a more adequate response from the leaderships.

This struggle has forced a limited response from the TUC in its decision to organise a lobby of Parliament and demonstrations on the 24th of November, against unemployment, as it did before when there was the huge demonstration against the Industrial Relations bill. We are not against a lobby of Parliament, in which the working class weighs directly on the Parliamentary LP, but it only has a value if it is coupled with strikes and demonstrations, occupations of factories, mass assemblies, discussions, formations of factory committees, elected from mass assemblies etc.,

which will show the power of the working class, weigh on the LP and give encouragement to the left in their struggle within the party against the pro-marketters. Still the changes in the LP are very slow because the lack of political life, the complete absence of marxist tradition and preparation of the left which consequently fails to see the whole of reality, sees only the surface and attributes to capitalism and the pro-capitalist right in the LP a strength which it does not have. November the 24th, if it is developed and transformed into a national general strike with factory occupations; with mass assemblies and formation of factory committees, with slogans for nationalisations with workers control, with demands for the expulsion of the Jenkins right wing in the LP, is going to help to give security to the left.

In the period since the LP annual conference it has been seen that the Jenkins right can remain in the LP, not because of its own strength (the world and national situation do not allow it to have any strength) but through the timidity and incomprehension of the left. The left in the LP now must carry on a campaign for the expulsion of Jenkins and the Pro-Marketters. It is not a question of making a witch hunt in the way the labour bureaucracy did against the left at an earlier period; but the question of the function of the LP as the political instrument of the working class, and the use which Jenkins and Co. are trying to make of this instrument. What did the right in the last government try to do; simply to use the LP for bourgeois ends, just as now by voting for the Common market they vote to strengthen the monopolies; to permit the greater exploitation of the working class, to allow imperialism better conditions to prepare the atomic war against the revolution and the Workers states. This is what has to be discussed in the LP, in the YS and the Trade unions as well as also in the Communist Party, with a full discussion not on personalities but about the programme and the objectives. It is necessary to discuss the alternative to the EEC, the Soviet, Socialist United States of Europe, to discuss a programme against unemployment, for nationalisations under workers control etc. to discuss how to throw out the Tories in the shortest possible time, how to achieve the election of a Left Labour Government on an anti-capitalist programme. The left has to make such a campaign even at the cost of a split, because it only means a split in the apparatus, a purg-

ing of the pro-capitalist elements which will signify not a weakening but a tremendous gain, permitting the LP to influence much more the petit bourgeoisie. It is necessary to carry out the threat which Mikardo made that constituency LPs, would choose new LP candidates in place of the pro-marketters; choosing trade unionist known for their defence of class positions, shop stewards, young socialists, intellectuals who have shown that they defend anti-capitalist positions, basing the choice on this one criterion the ability and will to fight for the anti-capitalist programme. A great campaign must be developed for this throughout the country, and the demonstrations on the 24th can be the starting point.

All the world conditions favour this struggle against the right. They can find no example in the world which gives them confidence in capitalism. Where is it developing, where is it increasing its social basis of support? Nowhere. Even in the citadel of imperialism, the USA, defeatist pessimistic currents develop within the ruling class, while Nixon himself, to try to impede the development of revolutionary anti-capitalist consciousness in the US masses, above all to block the process towards the formation of the class party in the USA, proposes to visit the Chinese Workers State. As the IS of the IV International has analysed, when he makes this proposal after years of presenting China as the greatest enemy of the USA, it is because he has no other way, and it demonstrates to the world masses the complete weakness of US Imperialism. And coupled with this is the move by practically all the European bourgeoisies to seek their own arrangements with the Workers States, damaging the cohesion of the world capitalist system when it should be more united. It is the authority of the Workers States which advances, the authority which comes as a result of their economic structure, the centralised economy, the nationalisations, the collectivised land, the abolition of private property. This is what the LP left must consider in the discussion to expel the right. Precisely because of the growth of the authority of the Workers States, because of the loss of its own social support, imperialism concentrates its concerns on the preparation of the counter-revolutionary war. The dispatch of more troops to Ireland, the underground explosion of a nuclear war-head by US imperialism are parts of this preparation.

Imperialism does not have and cannot have any political solutions, be it for South

Vietnam, or Ireland or anywhere else, only military ones, and the leadership of the Soviet Union (as Posadas has analysed) despite its bureaucratic nature, cannot but be aware of and respond to this. Today it prepares not only militarily but with political actions. Thus it makes a diplomatic offensive to accelerate the decomposition of the Imperialist war alliance, it proposes the European Security Pact, makes opportunistic measures but ones which favour the revolution. Breznev goes to France and meets the Renault workers, who greet him with Red Flags and sing the Internationale. The Soviet Communist Party and Workers States are active directly to stimulate and aid the class struggle even when it means a clash with the national C.P. leaderships. As the I.S. has said Moscow is preparing new C.P. leaderships in Latin America but also in Europe. The Soviet bureaucracy has to confront problems for which it has not been prepared, which it cannot solve with commands, now it has to reason and employ marxism and because of this it comes closer to the continuators of Marxism, Posadas and the IV International.

This living marxism of this epoch which has been capable of understanding the most difficult problems is not only a necessity for the Soviet bureaucracy but for the left in the L.P. IT IS NECESSARY TO UTILISE MARXISM. To discuss inside the L.P. as part of the discussion to expel the right, all the problems of the world revolution, the construction of the Workers State, the construction of Socialism utilising the texts of Posadas, which give a comprehension of the whole of reality and from this understanding will come a greater confidence to struggle against the right.

We reiterate our appeals for the November 24th demonstrations. The slogans against unemployment, Work Sharing Without Loss of Pay, All Profits of Automations to the Workers, must be accompanied with demands for nationalisation under Workers Control and for the expulsion of the Right Wing from the L.P. Thus this demonstration will be a stimulus to changes within the L.P. and together with the formation of committees in the factories in workers areas etc. will mark a step towards the organisation of the Unlimited General Strike with the objective of throwing out this government and replacing it by a Left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme as a stage towards Workers Power.

9-11-71

**Viva the 2,593 votes in Charleroi for the POR(T) the Belgian  
Section of the IV International  
Viva Cde. Posadas the organiser of this triumph!**



# Space science, the function of the Workers States and the construction of Socialism (Part 2)

## J. Posadas 1-7-71

Death has triumphed over hundreds of thousands, but who gains? Were not these hundreds of thousands the way to progress? The way of progress is that these hundreds of thousands of humanity left the experience to advance, and as part of that advancing towards social relations that finish with war, finish with hunger, finish with human conflict, finish with having to kill each other to survive. Does death win? No! It loses! Because the human being is not intimidated, but draws the conclusions, and intelligence and reason triumph. And tomorrow intelligence and reason are going to determine the way to find the means to go on advancing in the relations with death, socially and individually.

This action of the three astronauts forms part of this consciousness. Although humanity still has not resolved the problem of subsistence—three million have died of hunger in Pakistan—, although living preoccupied by these three million and living preoccupied by the other millions who die constantly, never the less it lives more preoccupied by this, by the result of the space voyages—because already it gives an immense importance to these space voyages. But at the same time humanity says, "Good, these space voyages have an immense utility and importance, why don't we apply it here?", "Why don't we advance in a thorough way and it says, "It is good to have conquered the moon and to beat the Yankees. But why don't they help us, then we can conquer and eliminate Yankee imperialism". It is necessary to use the practical sense with the historic sense, to be able to intervene and utilise all this knowledge gained through space science; humanity does not condemn or oppose the voyages to the moon, or Lunakhod, or Soyuz. It is not opposed to this, but it demands a conscious utilization of this force. Because the problem is; "What are these voyages for? Who are they to defeat?" The backwardness of humanity, what is the backwardness of humanity? The hunger, the misery, the lack of subsistence for millions of human beings, who today are without work, people do not have the means to continue living, because of the social relationship that exists in the capitalist system. So people are preoccupied by this, already they are preoccupied by the problems and the central themes that tomorrow are going to determine the course of history. Humanity already feels itself capable of overcoming all the limits of fear, and in going to the moon is already defeating one of the essential sources of social fear, which is the fear of the unknown, of tomorrow. Then it creates an historic social base in humanity for overcoming this fear. Then each one has to do this and has to die, he goes and dies. It is the form of life; to die so that others live. This too is a new form of existence, of death and of life. Then it combines within the same diameter death and existence. Between sadness and happiness, happiness wins. The happiness of living, of dying for others to live. The happiness of dying for others to live. Then fear and individual egoism are eliminated.

All these actions of the Soviet comrades are a powerful impulse towards this. Limited by the limitation of the intervention, of the use the Soviet bureaucracy makes of it. But it is an enormous impulse that makes humanity advance. While they die of hunger in Pakistan, they go on advancing in the historic security of conquering space, nature and besides, giving the security that it was they that conquered space, nature. How are they going to defeat it on earth? If they do not do more, it is because the Soviet bureaucracy, the communist parties do not organise these forces to take power. Humanity, without waiting to be organised, already supports this and this gives an immense impulse to their historic security, which is not lessened by the Pakistan cyclones, but it was overcome. Before each one of them was enclosed within himself and turned to God, on the other hand now, on the contrary they turn to Ali Bhutto. Science must serve

class aims and be used by the class, surpassing the interests, the function and the limitation of the class. Surpassing because it is science, because it is the objective consciousness. Now the ruling class gives it the strict sense of being for their own interests. When Lenin says "class-science" he says this, because it is used for themselves. But Marx is the continuator of a bourgeois, of Hegel. He elevated the function of science that until that moment was utilised by the bourgeoisie, and he used it for the human being.

Science has class interests, and is used by the class that rules, but science comes from a necessity which corresponds to the nature of the existence of human society. Science springs from here, which is to understand how to be able to live, otherwise it is not possible to live. The consciousness organises who leads, who has the arms, who has the economic means. It is posed thus. But as consciousness is necessary for existence, it bypasses the limits, the barriers, the walls, which the rulers want to impose. In developing itself a world climate of understanding is created, which surpasses those who want to direct existence, and believe themselves holders of the truth of science. Then all of humanity lives the scientific consciousness. Who brings this about? Even without having eliminated the whole of the capitalist system, already the Workers States surpass the capacity, the class domination of science in the United States. They surpass them, because the Workers State enters within, and impels the masses of the United States against Yankee imperialism, and the science of Yankee imperialism. This obliges them, in order to be able to survive, to let out this dossier of McNamara.

Imperialism makes a class use of science and tries to subject it. An example is the very clear difference between the cosmonauts of Yankee imperialism and the Soviet cosmonauts. The social behaviour of each of them determines it. They were there for personal profit, not putting any importance on the course of humanity's history. Because of this their jokes are banal, because of this they once said, "Son of a bitch, who sent us up here". Because between them and the one who sent them into space, there was no communication, no direct social interest. There simply was a class interest. One was interested in being a hero, so that afterwards they could make little models of him, so that he gets plenty of money, and another was interested in being a millionaire, to play golf.

The Soviet astronauts were determined by what there is in the USSR, which even with the weight of the Soviet bureaucracy, has to serve the interests of humanity. Limited, semi-subjected, but the bureaucracy has to serve them. It is unable to oppose this. If not, it would not generate. If not, it would not give support. If not, it would not have developed. The Soviet astronauts express this superiority of the Workers State, for this reason in Soyuz they have Lenin and a department of literature to read, while the others have a department of dirty jokes and obscenity. Because of this, between the soviets who died and the millions of soviets, who lament the death of these three comrades, there is a social identity of interests which is the construction of the Workers States and socialism. Because of this, they do not say, "what a stupidity to send them up". No, they say: "What a pity, but it was inevitable". This is not resignation, it is the unavoidable acceptance of the logical consequences of the construction, not yet of socialism, but of the future of humanity, of the domination of the universe. Because of this the scientific behaviour of the Soviet masses, and in part the masses of the world. But also it is another historic proof, that this is the elevated level of the authority of the Workers States, of the socialist revolution, and its maturity for the construction of socialism in the world. Nearly 70% or 80% of the scientists of the world, of non communist origin showed their consternation over this accident. They did not show approval or

happiness; "Ah, the Workers State has failed, communism has failed". No, they were sorry, because they are already gained to the Workers State, to the objectivity of the scientific progress of development, even bureaucratically, of measures that construct the Workers State. All

this comes in a limited, accentuated form—not determined, but accentuated—after Bratislava (world conference of the Communist Parties in 1968). Not before, this comes after Bratislava, and it is nearer to the necessity of supporting the masses of the world.

### SPACE TRIPS HELP TO BEAT THE FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN

We make homage in the name of the IV International to the Soviet cosmonauts, to the Soviet masses, who made possible such historic feats. There is implicit in our recognition, a call to the Communist Party of the USSR, at the same time as continuing these space experiments, and preparing itself with atomic arms to confront imperialism and destroy it, to unconditionally aid the world revolution, that in the next voyages of the cosmonauts or Lunakhod, they transmit messages calling for the smashing of the world capitalist system, that this is not just limited to making a show of their atomic power, which it is good economy to eliminate hunger, misery, to do, but that they support the revolutions, that they make a world discussion on the planning of the economy, that they transmit from above, saying how it is possible to plan the world hurricanes, flooding.

That they transmit this with loud-speakers, as in a meeting, with the picture of Lenin, the International and the red flag, and the hammer and sickle, at the same time, unifying all the races of the world, all the nationalities of the world through the progress of planning the world economy, determined by the objective interests of all the masses of the world. Let them make this call so that the space trip is not solely determined by the scientific precision, but that at the same time it is used in a direct, political, economic, and military form, and that it is communicated to the masses of the world. Let them make these calls, that will have an immense effect, and at the same time make calls that will end hunger, misery, flooding in Pakistan, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America. Let them call for the end to this human indignity. It is undignified for human beings, that people die of hunger, while there is such productive capacity that today one can make in a minute what before took a thousand hours. Now they do it in a minute. They have to combine all this.

We send our affection, our embrace to the Soviet masses, and to these three cosmonauts who were conscious that they could end like this, with their deaths, they were conscious that this was a pro-

gress for humanity, because it was a progress for communism. It was not a progress objectively for their military, scientific, astronautic, or engineering career. They went up for the communist sentiment that is a progress for humanity. This at the same time has a very great significance. It means that in the Workers States a tendency is advancing, advancing in confidence in the methods, in the means, and the communist aims of developing the Workers States, otherwise such events would not take place.

It is not admissible to discuss if the death of these three comrades was avoidable. They are facing new conditions in the relationship between the human body and nature, and the cosmos. New relationships, in which it is still necessary to measure, to verify; risks are necessary. But at the same time as running such risks that show a great desire to defeat the fear of the unknown, and the relationship with the rest of the universe, it is necessary to tend to resolve above all the problems of Earth, which are going to have an immense effect in elevating all of humanity to a capacity to eliminate the capitalist system, eliminate the war, eliminate the armies, and impel the relationship with the rest of the universe. Then it is necessary to resolve the problems of Earth. Resolving and calling for the unification of the struggles, the measures to eliminate hunger, unemployment, poverty, hurricanes, flooding, epidemics like the recent typhoid and cholera epidemic in Pakistan. This would have an immense authority with the masses of the world and would aid the decomposition and disintegration, that is already developing in the capitalist system. It is necessary to do this.

This will have an infinitely greater authority than all that excited by the space voyages, because it arouses, attracts and sets in motion millions of human beings, tying the hands of imperialism, isolating it and making it launch the atomic war in circumstances infinitely worse than now. Then it is necessary to unite the practical socialist sense with the sense of general propaganda of these achievements.

Our declaration and our grief on the death of these three comrades is, at the

**Viva the 54th anniversary  
of the October revolution!**

**Viva the technical and  
scientific superiority of  
the USSR!**

**Forward to the formation of  
the world anti-imperialist  
United Front!**

# Space science . . .

same time recognition, of happiness at seeing that the Soviet Workers State produces such comrades, who know of such conclusions and without wanting any reward or emolument, consciously achieve such a function, to impel the authority of the Workers State, and to help humanity to defeat what is still one of the essential bases of the structure of fear; the fear of the unknown, and the universe. This is what the Workers State has done, the Yankees have not done it. Because of this, humanity is pleased to see the triumph of the Soviets and laments the loss of the Soviet astronauts. The grief and the lamentation for the disappearance of the Yanks was infinitely less. Because the Yanks associated themselves with Israel, and the aggressive imperialist function of Israel. They were associated with the imperialist function of imperialism in the Middle East, with the intention of invading Cuba and Santo Domingo, of the murder in Vietnam, and also the murder of Kennedy. Meanwhile the Soviet astronauts are associated with the sending of arms to the Middle East, the call for the World Anti Imperialist United Front, which signifies an immense progress for the revolution, but a limitation of the possibilities and the means that exist.

With these same measures, it is necessary that the Communist Party of the USSR calls for the World Antiimperialist United Front, and shows that the scientific superiority of the Workers State has the aim of developing, toward socialism, and it cannot leave the initiative to Yankee imperialism. The initiative has to be in the hands of the Workers State. And together with the initiative of social, political declarations, there must be practical measures.

Unemployment is a result of the capitalist system. One cannot struggle against the massive unemployment that exists in the world, if you do not struggle against the capitalist system. It is necessary to smash the capitalist system, it is necessary to elevate, and impel the struggle of the masses, courageous in every way, in every sense, giving them full support, making them see that unemployment is part of the capitalist system; war is part of the capitalist system. It is necessary

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET COSMONAUTS AND THE COMMUNIST SENTIMENTS DEVELOPING IN THE WORKERS STATE

These comrades of the USSR are comparable to the masses of Vietnam, or Korea, or the Middle East, or whatever part of the world where they struggle for socialism. It is the same function. It has an immediate, apparent effect, more important than the action, because the capitalist world gives it an immense importance, and because it serves the interests of humanity in a concentrated form, although still not immediately. But as important as this, and more important is to eliminate the capitalist system, but there are superior ways to eliminate it. For this reason, it is necessary at the same time to show our emotion and our fraternity, and to salute in solidarity the Soviet people for the loss of these three comrades. At the same time we call for intervention in the world revolution.

This loss of the three comrades signifies the loss of three, who were already won over to the Workers States, to the organisation, the capacity to intervene. This is the lament. This is not because they were astronauts, but because they were the accumulation of the scientific consciousness that benefits the development of the Workers State, calls the masses against the capitalist system, this is why we grieve for, and lament the accident of the three comrades.

This implies, at the same time as the recognition of this loss, the call that just as they give importance to the journeys to space, they must intervene on earth to solve the problems of hunger, poverty, unemployment, the imperialist war, calling on the masses to take power, calling for the organisation of the World Anti Imperialist, Anti Capitalist United Front, and posing a programme of socialist organisation of all the countries of the world. This is the call it is necessary to make.

At the same time this expresses a development in the interior struggle in the communist parties. It is not a chance form, it is not accidental, nor is it propaganda (in the communiques) that some of the communist parties are making—the accent they put on the fraternal sentiment, on the communist function of these voyages, in which there are non scientific comrades, openly attempting to

to eliminate the capitalist system in order to eliminate war, unemployment, hunger, flooding and hurricanes. If flooding and hurricanes occur, they are the result of the action of nature. Their destructive effects are, because the human being does not have defense against them. Already a series of natural disasters, like flooding for example—a lot of countries have no effect. There are already, natural defenses against this, as in China.

In China they eliminated drought, flooding, winds. Wind and certain flooding exists, but it does no damage, because it is used for agriculture, to canalise the waters, for moving apparatus, machines, to moving forces. This is what it is necessary to do, and this is what the USSR must call for. We do not dedicate ourselves to cultivating or lamenting the death of the three Soviet astronauts, three comrades, but to making felt the social superiority that this represents. These three astronauts saluted the 24 Congress of the USSR, the North American astronauts insulted "the son of a bitch who sent them up there", and did not give them any food. It is a difference! The salute to the 24th Congress of the USSR posed a relationship with the programme, that came out of the 24th Congress of the USSR, which was a call for the anti imperialist struggle.

When they communicated with the 24th Congress, saluting it, this also indicated to the rest of the world the programme of the 24th Congress, spreading it through the world, supporting it on the scientific force, on the scientific authority of their action. This is how they used it, using it for all. It is no propaganda, it is not an action of propaganda that diminishes or tends to diminish the scientific capacity of the Workers State, but makes use of the immediate effect that the scientific capacity still cannot use, that is to resolve the social problem, to eliminate the capitalist system. It is necessary to make use of this experience immediately for this.

communicate with the rest of the world that what they are seeking is the socialist society. It is an attempt at political relations that shows struggles, interior confrontations, which are determined by the necessity to respond to the organised struggle for the development of the communist struggle. It is to this that it is necessary to pay attention.

It is not a language that eulogises, but a language that responds to the objective aims of communism, which is human fraternity; When the accent or the preoccupation is on showing such inclination, it is because they lead a base that has these preoccupations, because they are not simply a description, but a political position. Communism is superior to the capitalist regime, because it creates superior human relations, not because it gives more food.

Superior human relations means the elimination of the struggle to be able to live, all means of oppression and repression, all means of opposition and coercion, and on the contrary, means human relations determined by the sentiment of fraternity, of understanding, of collective consciousness, which is the consciousness that regulates existence. It does not depend on the economy or the ability to kill. To eliminate all power; this is the aim of communism.

This call, this description of human fraternity, or better, superior social relations between human beings, indicates an emphasis on one of the fundamental conclusions of communism, and ultimately the generic conclusion; to eliminate all system, all means, all relationships of repression, this is whether imposed by the domination of the economy, of distribution, or from consciousness.

This is simply an indication of what is developing in the consciousness of the communist masses. It is an indication. It is not the most living, the most complete expression, it is an indication of what is happening in the consciousness of the communist masses. Brezhnev crying is not an act, nor a circumstantial passion. In part it is possibly a game, but a game that escapes his own control. He does not cry to play or to dominate. He does not need

to, he does not cry to pacify, and it is not important to judge Brezhnev through his tears, but through his conduct and behaviour as a bureaucrat. The bureaucrats of the USSR rule, they do not let the masses intervene. At the same time it is necessary to take Brezhnev as he was in the Congress of the Polish Communist Party, and in Czechoslovakia, in the Writers Congress, in which their position tended to put priority on the interests of the Workers State, on the centralised economy, against the market economy, and for a certain intervention of the masses. It is this that we are interested to see. The weeping of Brezhnev comes after all this. Although it is in part an act, he sustains all these positions that are not acts, which make a tangible reality that weigh and decides. It is not merely the subtlety of the bureaucracy, it is the state of mind of the bureaucracy, which indicates the enormous pressure, it receives from the masses, and at the same time from the great progress of the revolution. It is necessary to see the crying of Brezhnev like this. It is necessary to see that it is not merely an act. On the other hand, it is necessary to see it with the resolution, with which they intervened at the Writers Congress, and the positions of the official leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy that tends to respond much more to the necessity of socialist relations rather than merely bureaucratic interests. The bureaucratic opinion has to yield to the necessity of making literature, art serve socialism. Not socialism serving art and literature, a dependence on individualism, decline, caprice, which is the form, which the individualism of the writers takes, but a submission to the interests of the construction of the Workers State, in which the motives and means of allusion, of inspiration lie in the Middle East, in Korea, in the Soviet aid to Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Ecuador. The writer does not see this. For him these things are banalities. He only sees some-one gardening, gardening every day, doing some watering, living in consternation, because the leaf does not grow or the petal changes colour, because the woman has gone away and does not salute him. They live all this tragedy. The masses leave them to live with their tragedy and give them a pillow.

On the other hand the masses succeed in making the Soviet Union support Egypt, Sadat. Sadat benefits and grasps it all in his hands, but the warmth reaching his hands is going to make him open them. He is not going to be able

to leave them closed. Art serves the revolution or it does not serve. Then it is not art. Literature serves the revolution or it does not serve. Each time literature is less necessary. When the action and participation of the masses advances, literature loses meaning. Then it resides with the petty bourgeoisie, and describes their life. What importance does this have for future life? On the other hand the life of the masses, yes. Because they show their heroism, their capacity. But they do it more directly, they have direct access to reality.

If art does not describe, does not picture, does not serve to continue the reality of the objective revolutionary relationships of the masses, who does it serve? If literature is not a continuation that explains life and tends to impel it, what is it for? It is of no use. They do not describe things, because they are liars, they do not tell the truth. To describe the life of the petty bourgeoisie does not describe the truth, it is just the life of a couple. And literature has to be an example that guides. The life of two, what importance does this have for the rest of humanity? The life between a couple!—who are incapable of seeing that three Soviet astronauts died for the progress of humanity. That three million died in Pakistan, because the capitalist regime is incapable of helping them. Such literature is a refuge in themselves. Because of this the intervention of Brezhnev is important, he tends to weigh, bureaucratically, trying to impel literature to be closer to the Workers State, to use a sector of the bureaucracy—that of the party—against the past. But this bureaucracy has to impel forces that are nearer to the needs of the Workers State. From this level it is necessary to intervene. Because of this Brezhnev comes out crying. It is not an invention. It is the state of mind of the bureaucracy, that is taking the conception of communism in a superficial form; but taking it. Before they rejected it. But there is no reason to cry, there is reason for positions, exclamations and declarations. This is better than crying. But in any case, crying must inspire the declaration, the position, the revolutionary programme. But crying itself is harmless, it has no force. To have meaning, the crying has to be accompanied with measures etc.

The Workers State has the interest and the necessity of communicating science to all the world. It has this objective interest. The bureaucracy reduces, limits this interest. But to weigh, it has to do this, to put itself in contact with the masses of the world. The Yankees, no. Because of this, the way of transmitting

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## 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.



# THE L.P.Y.S. RALLY SHOWED THE EXISTENCE OF A REVOLUTIONARY CURRENT WHICH WANTS TO MAKE THE LABOUR PARTY AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

THE LABOUR Party Young Socialist Rally and Demonstration on 6/7 November was an expression of the process of advance in the Labour Party towards transforming it into an instrument for the struggle for power. This was shown in all the interventions of the Young Socialists both in the Rally on Saturday and in the demonstration on the following day. The LPYS have clearly been encouraged by the process within the Labour Party which was expressed during the recent National Conference of the Labour Party, by the struggle of the workers in UCS, by the struggles of the Northern Ireland masses and by the victories of the masses on a world scale. They expressed in this meeting and demonstration not just a spirit of militancy but a communist sentiment with the portraits of Marx and Lenin on the wall, with the singing of the internationale at the end of the demonstration and, above all, in the invitation to a member of the YCL to speak. The fact that a member of the CP intervened in the meeting and the reception he received marks a significant advance in the development of the LPYS as a revolutionary tendency within the Labour Party.

This Rally and Demonstration against unemployment had been proposed some months ago by the leadership of the LPYS and, in many ways, the campaign leading up to it was limited in the sense that it was confined to "unemployment" and "youth" without using the full, revolutionary programme of the LPYS. However, it became very clear immediately the meeting opened at Westminster Central Hall on Saturday that those young socialist comrades present—about 1,500—were not going to be limited to a discussion on one issue. What, in fact, was discussed was the whole process of the class struggle—UCS, Northern Ireland, etc. What was discussed was how the Young Socialists can intervene in the constantly advancing struggle of the class, how to transform the Labour Party and how to impel those sectors open to advance in the party. The call which came from the opening speaker for a 24 hour General Strike on November 24th—the TUC's mass lobby of Parliament—showed that under the pressure of the base the YS leadership is capable and prepared to advance even if this advance does not express the full revolutionary potential of the LPYS.

The consciousness of the role which the LPYS can play in impelling those elements in the party open to advance and in the process of developing a new revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party could be seen in the reactions to the intervention of Wedgwood-Benn in Trafalgar Square on Sunday. When he called for the implementation of the decisions of the national conference, on nationalisations for example, he received applause but when he suggested that for the sake of "unity" the criticisms of the right

wing should be muted he was booed and heckled.

The attitude of the majority of young socialists was put very bluntly from the floor of the meeting on Saturday when a young socialist comrade said of the Labour MP's who voted with the Tories over the "Common Market" that they were class traitors who had no place in the Labour Party and should be expelled, immediately.

Another important aspect was the consciousness displayed by large sectors of the LPYS, particularly in the Saturday meeting, of the role which they can play not only in the Labour Party but directly in the struggle of the working masses by intervening with the revolutionary programme which they have adopted. This is the significance of the call for a one-day General Strike on Nov. 24th, and of the resolution moved by a LPYS comrade from Northern Ireland which called for the removal of all British Troops, for their replacement by armed workers "under the control of the Labour movement" and for a United Socialist Ireland. This comrade said in moving the resolution that the struggle must be for a United Socialist Ireland and for the removal of three governments; those of Lynch, Faulkner and Heath. This resolution was passed by the meeting unanimously and with an enormous, revolutionary enthusiasm. In the same way Ernie Roberts (Ass. General Secretary, AEUW) who spoke from the "Platform" was well received when he talked of the armed class struggle in Northern Ireland and when he said that society was changing not only economically, not only in the methods of the class struggle but in the way in which the population thought.

Roberts reacted well to the spirit of the meeting saying in an intervention at the end that the necessity now was for workers control over their own organisations, the trade unions and the Labour Party. He put in a concrete way what had been implied in one way or another in many of the interventions both from the floor and the platform. Clearly this trade union leader was moved—as he said—by the revolutionary, communist spirit of the meeting.

However the most important expression of the advance of the LPYS was the fact that a Young Communist comrade was allowed to make an intervention which was comradely, communist and internationalist in every way. This young comrade spoke with all the force of the Workers States and the world communist movement saying that he did not represent a small organisation but an organisation of hundreds of millions. He called for more discussion between the LPYS and the YCL, for unity in action and, in saying that many of the best militants were in the communist party and had more right in the labour party than those who vote with the Tories, for the right of tendency in the LP. He also underlined the importance of the Soviet Workers State by calling on the LPYS to look to the Soviet Union for the solution to many of the problems of capitalism.

The reaction to the intervention of the CP comrade showed vividly the attraction of the Workers State and the fact that the LPYS are looking for ideas and methods necessary for this stage of history. The search for marxist ideas and methods could also be seen in the way in which the YS comrades reacted to the IV International at the meeting. Many LPYS comrades not only bought our publications but took copies of Red Flag to sell and quantities of our leaflet to distribute. It is a limitation of the leadership of the LPYS that we were not allowed to speak and this was criticised by the LPYS rank and file after the meeting. This is a sectarian limitation which must be overcome to allow a more rapid advance of the LPYS as a revolutionary tendency in the Labour Party.

We appeal to the base and the leadership of the LPYS to strengthen the links which already exist between the LPYS and the IV International; to discuss with us and above all to study and utilise the texts of the IV International, of Posadas, to utilise the marxism of this epoch, in their struggle to create a marxist tendency in the LP.

9-11-71

## Manchester

### PARTY CENTRE

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MIDDLE EAST: Bulletins in Arabic and Persian of militants of the International.

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

SPAIN: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Re-

volutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist).

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

PUBLICATIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL:

*Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the Executive Committee of the IV International. Clandestine.

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Claudine Polet, 100 BD Bertrand, Charleroi, Belgium.

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## Space science . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

the contact with the rest of the world is not through scientific description, because this is more complicated to understand. It is the superiority of the social regime. Because of this the Yankee astronauts sang and made jokes about animals; most of them stupid. The Soviet posed Lenin and Viva'd the 24th Congress of the CPSU. It is a way of putting themselves in contact with the masses of the world. This shows the course of the partial regeneration and the extension of the bases for the historic reencounter.

In the problems of life and death, of science under capitalism, and in the Workers State, its continuity, the domination and use of science, and the construction of the Workers State, while in the United States the science of the three astronauts is not communicated, does not excite anyone, the science of the Workers State attracts the masses of the world. It is the continuation, and in turn the promotion, of the struggles of the masses of the Middle East, of Africa, Asia and of Latin America. The Yankee astronauts excited nobody, because between them and the masses of the world there was no identity, nor perspective of observation, nor common interest in the future. Meanwhile, with the Soviets, yes. This is the difference that exists, and it is necessary to keep it like this.

We repeat our homage to the three comrades who died—as died millions of Soviets in the war—for the progress of humanity. To render them homage is to recognise the progress of the Workers

State. Like the Workers State, like the leadership of the CPSU, like the Soviet masses, we regret their disappearance. But we feel with infinite happiness that this is part of the great progress of humanity that makes the Workers States, and shows their superiority over the capitalist system. And at the same time shows that it is an impulse to the political revolution. Because of this our happiness is superior to our sadness at the deaths, but also our happiness is superior, because the deaths were not a product of negligence or stupidity, but of the conscious, premeditated knowledge that it could be like this. Just as the Soviet Workers State stood against the Nazi hordes. Because of this our happiness is not independent of the concrete observation of facts. It was not banality or stupidity. It was still the lack of capacity of science, of the Workers States, of being able to defeat the new relationship that exists between the human being and the cosmos. For this reason it is a triumph.

As 1905, led to 1917, these three Soviet astronauts are going to lead the rest!

VIVA THE SOVIET UNION!!!

VIVA LENIN!!!

VIVA THE WORLD REVOLUTION, AND THE LIBERTY OF ALL POLITICAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS OF THE WORLD TO CONTINUE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!!!

VIVA MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, TROTSKY AND POSADAS!!!

J. Posadas, 1. 7. 1971



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. 147 4th Friday of November 1971 PRICE 3p

**Viva the  
strike of  
the Asturian  
miners**

Balance of the 32nd National Congress  
of the Communist Party of Gt. Britain

## We appeal for a Marxist discussion throughout the Communist Party on all the fundamental problems of this stage

The 32nd Congress of the C.P.G.B. showed the existence of a revolutionary tendency. The amendments on Ireland, on the role of the Morning Star, on the electoral policy of the Communist Party, on the main resolution submitted to Congress by the executive, each of which gained about 15 per cent to 20 per cent of the total votes cast, showed the presence of a consistent tendency which is seeking class positions. It is a tendency which wants to have closer links with the Soviet Union, which blames the decline in the membership and authority of the C.P.G.B. on its anti-soviet positions. It lacks an overall understanding, in particular in relation to the iron centralisation of the British masses around the Labour Party, but it wants a revolutionary policy. Now there is an advance in the understanding in the Communist Party, even at the level of the top leadership, that the role of the C.P. must not be that of a competitor of the L.P. but of a force which impels the left wing in the L.P. in its struggle to make the L.P. the political instrument of the class, adequate for the struggle for socialism.

Also the force of this tendency is greater than that which the votes at the congress expressed. It was expressed by the pre-congress discussion in the columns of the "Morning Star" and "Comment," which showed also that there is a sector of the leadership of the Party which is sympathetic to this tendency, otherwise these letters wouldn't have been published. This is part of the process which Posadas has analysed as the partial regeneration of the Communist Parties, where because of the whole world balance of forces, the approach of the final settlement of accounts, because of all the new problems confronting the C.P. for which they are not prepared, they are forced, in order to understand reality, to return to Marxism, as the discussion on the role of "non C.P. member marxists" which has developed in the Morning Star in which Maurice Cornforth the C.P. philosopher said it was necessary to distinguish between a party which disrupted the movement and supported its enemies and "... recognising that there are marxists who remain outside its (the C.P.'s that is) ranks but contribute from that position to the movement, including to the Party's own development and to its own political understanding." This is a statement of fundamental importance because it recognises the role which the IV International—even though he doesn't mention it by name—is playing in relation to the communist parties. It is an expression

of the process towards the historic encounter.

The absence of a Soviet delegate from the Congress was no chance affair, but a form of intervention by the Soviet bureaucracy to weigh in the Party, to show their dissatisfaction and lack of confidence in the leadership. It is not the most elevated way of doing this, but nevertheless it weighs. They were present a few months back at the Congress of the Irish C.P. Posadas has analysed that the Soviet Bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of the Soviet C.P. headed by Brezhnev, conscious that Imperialism is preparing the war, makes preparations for it which are not solely military but also political. Part of this preparation is to intervene in the Communist Parties of the world particularly in the capitalist world to stimulate the formation of new leaderships closer to the necessities of the world revolution and the revolution in each country. The absence of the Soviet delegate at the Congress of the C.P.G.B. whose leadership condemn the intervention into Czechoslovakia and supported the Dubcek tendency, has to be seen in this light.

We make an appeal to the base and to the leadership of the C.P.G.B. to those comrades who want to make the party a bolshevik revolutionary organisation which struggles for workers power, to those comrades who greeted us fraternally and took or bought our literature, to push forward a marxist discussion at all levels in the C.P. on all the fundamental problems of this stage. It is necessary to return to Marxism, to re-study in the party organisations, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and also it is necessary to study Trotsky and as all these writers have not been able to foresee the concrete forms of the struggle today but have left the marxist method which permits by its utilisation an understanding, then it is necessary above all to study and apply the conclusions of marxism today, the marxist analysis of J. Posadas the General Secretary of the IV International. The study of the texts of Posadas, on the Construction of the Workers State, on the Construction of Socialism, on Communist sentiments, and the resolution of the International Secretariat of the IV International to the 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U. are a necessity for the Communist vanguard. We salute the communist vanguard for all its activity in organising the industrial struggle, against the Industrial Relations Act, Unemployment, against the closure of U.C.S. and we salute it for its activity in the Congress.

23-11-71

## OUT WITH BRITISH TROOPS FROM N. IRELAND

**For the Workers Militia based  
on the T.U.s Street, and area  
Committees in N. Ireland**

THE COMPTON REPORT whitewashing the conduct of the army in N. Ireland, and the universal sceptical reaction to it, indicates the deepening social crisis of British Imperialism. All the repression, the torture, interrogations, internments without trial are failing in their objective of terrorising the Irish masses; they are on the contrary stimulating new forces, who have up till now remained on the side-lines, to intervene. Now for example the Catholic Church, which has always been an instrument in the subjection of the Irish masses, always preaching conciliation, non-violence etc. trying to make the Irish masses content with their lot, is now affected: (At the base of the church the priests in contact with the masses in their everyday life, intervene actively, as with the incident of the escaped prisoners from Crumlin Road Jail, while at its very top Archbishop Conway, for the first time makes a condemnation of the repressive methods of the army and criticises the government for having no political solutions to the problems. He does it because he feels that his authority, the authority of the church is slipping away, but his statement is going to encourage more sectors of the clergy, of the catholic petit bourgeoisie to intervene.

Ireland is now an armed civil war raging in the centre of Europe, supported by the world revolution and stimulating it. British Imperialism cannot crush it not only because of the heroism of the Irish masses, but because every action of Imperialism is subjected to a critical examination by the proletarian and revolutionary vanguard in Britain, which in part ties the hands of the army, does not allow it to utilise all the arms at its disposal, to raze bogside to the ground with heavy artillery for example as fascist dictators have done against proletarian areas earlier in this century.

But shackled though it is by this sentiment of the British proletariat, it does not mean that it is not going to employ harder methods; it certainly is. The whitewashing of the army's conduct by the Compton commission, even though it had to admit there was some ill-treatment, the demand by some Tory MPs for some form of censorship of the press, radio and television on Ulster, because they say they present the army in a bad light, show what is in the mind of the bourgeoisie.

The demand of Merseyside dockers that British T.U.s should intervene more to implement T.U.C. policy of a Bill of Rights in Ulster, is correct but insufficient. The LP, the CP and the Trade unions must concern themselves more with Ireland, issuing appeals, organising support, intervening directly in the province, because Ireland shows how British Imperialism is going to act in Britain itself tomorrow. It has no political solution for Ireland only military plans, but what solutions does it have for the growing unemployment, the lack of houses, the rising prices, the lack of schools and hospitals in the whole of Britain? It does not have any, only the anti trade union law, the restriction of school milk, the abolition of childrens half fares etc, the "lame duck" policy of Davies. The attitude of the Labour leadership to Ireland is in line with all their pro-capitalist policy when they were in power. The counter-revolutionary visit of Wilson to Ireland, accompanied by a senior civil servant, his refusal to discuss with the IRA, and his private meeting with Heath when he re-

turned, must be condemned in all the LP branches. It is a direct alliance with British Imperialism against the Irish masses.

Also the position of the Conference of the British Communist Party (which we deal with in more detail in the article on the Congress must be rejected and rectified. The British army must be withdrawn immediately, this has to be a centre of CP policy for Ireland. The resolute neutral in Northern Ireland, it defends the interest of the dominant class. This resolution is not the position of the Soviet Union which expressed itself through the cash sent to the Irish TUs by the Soviet TUs to be used in the struggle against British imperialism. It is no accident that there was no Soviet delegate at the Congress of the CPGB while a short time earlier there was one at the Conference of the Irish CP. It is a way of expressing opposition to the line of the CPGB, over Ireland as over other problems, and to weigh in the internal struggle.

The LP, CP and Trade Unions must take clear class positions on Ireland. It is a class struggle in Ireland, and if the Protestant masses have not intervened more it is because the struggle is empirical still, it still lacks a leadership and programme which will attract all the sectors of the exploited masses. The British labour movement must rectify this, must itself put forward political solutions to the problems of N. Ireland, a workers plan of production, of provision of jobs, houses, hospitals, schools etc., a plan based on the nationalisation of the principal sources of production and of the banks without compensation and under workers control. And at the same time, to protect the masses against the unionist gunmen and against the army and the RUC, and to give one of the essential organs for a Workers State in Ireland, it is necessary to form an armed workers militia based not only on the trade unions, but on all the mass organisms which have been constructed in the last period, the workers areas committees, the street committees, the committees which have organised the successful rent and rate strikes. This is the policy the LP, the TUs and the CP must make.

**Viva the release of our Spanish Comrades  
Nicole Boyer, Maria Paz Cuadrado, Gabriel Ybarra**

# The crisis of growth of the world Communist Movement, the proposal of the Spanish Communist Party and the IV International (Part 1)

J. Posadas

1-9-71

**THE CRISIS OF GROWTH OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THE PROPOSAL OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY & THE IV INTERNATIONAL** IN A declaration over the normalisation of relations with the Chinese communist party, the Spanish communist party has made a proposal to discuss the situation of the world communist movement, with the participation of all the communist parties and all the workers parties of the world. It is a useful proposal and we support it. But it is necessary at the same time to discuss it, because as it is now, it can give rise to mistakes and erroneous interpretations.

The proposal of the Spanish communist party poses a series of necessary points in relation to the life of the communist party. It is an attempt to oppose and eliminate the impositions of Moscow and of the Chinese and seeks to navigate between the two to try to be independent. At the same time it poses a series of problems and points which it is necessary to discuss. It is necessary to discuss the independence of the parties in several aspects. But they pose independence without posing unity of action, unity of programme, unity of objectives, unity of organisms, organic centralisation. This is their greatest deficiency. Above all it is necessary to discuss in the world communist movement in order to reach a common agreement. Independently of the errors, what counts and determines in this stage, in this proposal, is this. It is necessary to discuss, to reach a common agreement, to unify the world communist movement.

In the moment of Sino-Soviet division, in the moment in which the bureaucrats make a confrontation, the proposal of the Spanish communist party is to try to co-ordinate the unification. They give neither programme or politics, simply means of organisation. The proposal is not a programme of unification of the workers movement, but it expresses a necessity without giving the programme to do this. On the other hand, it is possible to succeed in the unification of the world communist movement and this for itself is going to pose and impel the understanding of the necessity to discuss the most elevated aspects.

We support everything which leads to this. The Spanish communist party does not have such an intention nor such a capacity but the proposal which they make leads to this, through the discussion of all the workers parties of whatever nature. We intervene in this process. We are partisans of a world public discussion in which all the revolutionary tendencies participate. We fight for this objective. It is necessary to make this necessity advance and we do not have another better measure.

It is a way of influencing the communist parties. The Spanish communist party is a part of this. It does not make this proposal through a marxist programmatic internationalist consciousness, because they are empiricists. But using empiricism to defend themselves, they have no other choice than to do this.

Partial regeneration means that the communist parties regenerate themselves because they have no other way of advancing. The Spanish communist party has no other way of advancing than by making proposals which lead to the necessary answers for unification of the world communist movement. They attack the impositions of Moscow. Put all the blame for the crisis of the world communist movement on Moscow. But this is not so. The root cause is not in Moscow. It is expressed through Moscow but this is because there is no real communist movement based on marxism. Each party supports itself on local interests. Then the argument for the proposal of the Spanish communist party conceals the root of this division in the world communist movement and also the impositions and arrogance of Moscow. Why does Moscow act in this way? The others say that it is because the Soviet communist party is the most powerful, the big brother, has more money, more arms. But Moscow has a dominant position on the basis of this, because in the world communist movement the marxist functioning is absent. This is what gave origin to the bureaucracy, and afterwards to all those divisions, and what is posed is how to suppress the bureaucracy. We are going to intervene and to discuss on the basis of this proposal which the communist party is making. We sustain the necessity for this discussion without attacking the Soviet communist party. The base of the division of the world communist movement is not the arrogance or the impositions of Moscow—which exist—but is the result of the absence of a previous marxist discussion, of marxist organisation. Then placing the blame on Moscow, one cannot understand what is happening. And one cannot make an indirect attack as they do on Moscow and not criticise the Chinese, when the Chinese as much as Moscow are

responsible for this.

In the communist parties, they are discussing this, and the Spanish communist party has taken hold of the Rumanians to try to to compensate for the weight of the Soviets and blackmail them. And if this continues without organisational consequences, in a short stage, parties like the Rumanian, the Spanish, the small parties are going to form a type of association to discuss with the great parties—That is to say, a greater division in the world communist movement which is going to favour the discussion in one aspect only. And on the other hand it is going to immensely damage the world communist movement.

The Spanish communist party comes out to use the opposition, the inter bureaucratic dispute, for their own benefit. But at the same time they are obliged to discuss. And the problem which they pose cannot be resolved simply among the bureaucratic leaderships. We ferment such a discussion trying to extend it to the maximum, to try to elevate the level and the objectives in such a way that it makes the communist movement progress towards centralised unification through the communist international. For this reason we accept the proposal which Carrillo makes but we formulate it in relation to the way that it has to be carried out.

It is undoubted that Carrillo does not come out simply on his own account. He is seeking points of support. Before he intervened in the crisis of Czechoslovakia, of Poland, of China and now he is not going to stop in Rumania. He is trying to utilise the differences between the bureaucracies of China and the USSR to try to be able to develop his own party. But when a party as small as the communist party... with so many complications, with so little weight in Spain—because it does not have a decisive weight, concerns itself with this theme. It is not because it obeys a sectarian, internal limited reason of the party. It is responding to a historic necessity which they feel that they have to formulate to defend themselves. They have to do this because it is the only way to defend themselves.

It is thus how history advances. It cannot advance in a conscious form in a form previously prepared and has to advance taking the elements which it finds on the way. When it does not find a conscious representative, it invents it. Afterwards the conscious representative carries out the task. But every invented person has to have something of the necessary qualities to be legitimate. It is necessary to discuss in the world communist movement, to reach a common agreement. When Carrillo comes out with all these problems, giving them so much importance when the Spanish communist party needs and depends on the other communist parties, it is because it responds to a necessity which is being discussed in tendencies, in sectors, groups, leaderships.

Carrillo already said "the Trotskyists have to be in a united front." And he did not say it for reasons of diplomacy. Undoubtedly there is confusion, but an elevated confusion. A confusion which tends to discover the road for an honest answer. Honourable and just. This does not mean to say that they are going to find it. We have to intervene in this discussion, giving a very great importance to it. Although they let it die or put it on one side, we are

going to give much importance to this proposal.

It is not the working class which forces the Spanish communist party to do this. The communist party has seized hold of this proposal in order not to collapse. If it had been the working class which forced it to do this there would have been other effects. And partly it does influence. But the Spanish communist party existed and exists as the function of a stable base; the USSR. It has roots. But it receives a series of influences which oblige it to advance. If not, it dissolves. The contradictory character of this progress, of its functioning is not the most important. The most important is the line of contradiction. The Spanish communist party has an internal confusion which is the product of the fact that they do not understand their contradictions. And they do not understand them because they are not prepared to understand them. They have an

## THIS REPLY REFLECTS THE NECESSITY FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

There is an historic necessity and this party is not the genuine representative of this necessity. But the necessity exists. And there are forces which impel it to fulfill this necessity. It is not the force which represents it. The necessary representation is a concentration and centralisation of the party, leaders, militants, functioning in agreement with marxism. They are not there but the necessity exists. It is expressed then in an unequal development, circumstantial events or constant tendencies which express this necessity. There exists the necessity for the discussion in the world communist movement. The attitude of the Chinese, of the soviets shows this. The communist movement has to confront an historic situation, in which a cycle of human activity is closed and another opens. We enter into a new phase of the history of humanity. It is logical then that the communist leaderships vacillates in understanding what it is necessary to do. They do not represent this necessity. They are bureaucrats. They do not represent this necessity and in consequence they do not feel it. Why have they arrived at the necessity to make this discussion? They are not genuine representatives of this necessity, but the necessity is genuine and the members of the communist party, the cadres, the leaders, the militants, the structure reached by the revolution demands of them this discussion, that they place themselves in agreement to co-ordinate the movement because a cycle of history has closed.

The structure of the communist parties does not correspond to the structures reached by the Workers States, which has such force and such influence that it has reached Bolivia, Peru, Chile and allows the development of socialist revolutions.

The Spanish communist party does not have such great strength. It depends on the world help of the other communist parties. It does not have capable theoretical cadres or leaders. They change every day. They modify interpretations of how to make the same policy. They have a very great poverty of leadership. How do they animate themselves to make this appeal? They have a small periodical, a few pages. They have hardly any publications. And they animate themselves to come out in the world to make this policy. Why? Does it obey the historic necessity of the Spanish communist party. And not the Polish communist party? Because it has the necessary independence to exercise this function. The independence and also the dependence on the other communist parties. It expresses the two things. It has the independence because it has a policy which clashes with all the others. It cannot apply what the soviets want because the consequence would undermine it and clashes with what the base wants. It cannot apply what the Chinese want because the Chinese do not have a policy. Simply the Chinese do not have a policy for Spain. When it is necessary to speak of Spain, they say "death to Franco" and "out with him", nothing more. Outside the policy of the soviets, there is only the policy of the Spanish communist party: there is not a communist policy for each one of the communist parties of the world. Each one of them, is free—as the Spanish Communist party—to exercise its own policy.

origin distinct from the necessity which these contradictions pose.

The Spanish communist party to defend itself and to progress has to eliminate a whole process of previous functioning. It has to come out to discuss a problem for which it is far from having the understanding, the capacity and the necessary strength. To what force does it obey? Is it because it is impelled, obliged to advance or is it a contradiction within the communist movement which breaks out there?

The Spanish communist party is being pressured, like all the communist parties but the proposal does not result from this. It emerges through the Spanish communist party because it is a necessity in the world communist movement. The world communist movement finds that it has to construct socialism and it does not know how. Thus the forces of history are accentuated.

They do not have control, comparison, and they do not have experiences. Then each one is between Moscow and itself.

Moscow has a line for Spain which is more conciliatory than that of the Spanish communist party. But a conciliation which leads to power. The policy of Carrillo is less conciliatory than that of the Soviets in relation to Franco but it is more conciliatory in relation to the Spanish bourgeoisie. That is to say there are two lines of conciliation determined by local interests as much by the Soviets as by Carrillo. How can this be conducted? How is this co-ordinated? There is no co-ordination because there is a lack of political life, of capacity and dominion, of preoccupation for marxism. Then the policy is determined by the desire to advance for the road to smash and replace capitalism.

And why is this small group of the Spanish communist party, which has to live on the credit of the other communist parties who support it, and give it political and diplomatic assistance, animating itself to make such a declaration which undoubtedly is going to weigh? Which undoubtedly is going to find resistance from one side or the other, which besides animates it to confront criticism by a polemic. Does what they are doing answer to their necessity? A necessity of theirs or a greater necessity of which they are mouthpieces and also representatives?

It is not possible to expect from any communist party that it makes itself capable of representing the necessities which uninterrupted historic maturation pose. This is an unequal and combined process. As none of them represents genuinely the interest, the progress of the revolution, nevertheless the progress of the communist parties expresses itself in an unequal form. They all have the content which impels the revolution. In accordance with the level which they have, the relation which they have with the masses with the quality of the leadership, with the preoccupation of the leadership, so the level and the weight of the proletarian vanguard within the leadership, so the level and the transcendence of the proposals which they make; if they are favourable to the revolution, if they are favourable to the unity of the communist movement, if they are favourable to an agreement. This process takes place in an unequal form, but it is the product of a situation which is already mature for the unity of the world communist movement. For this reason the proposals are contradictory, but they remain within the camp of communism. As the great communist parties have no interest in unification because it clashes with their regional interests—there are only two large communist parties, the Soviet and the Chinese—then the present development takes place in the small communist parties, among them in the Spanish communist party.

## ★ TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF RED FLAG

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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**



"The crisis of growth of the world  
Communist Movement, the proposal  
of the Spanish Communist Party and  
the IV International".

J. POSADAS

Part II - Centre pages

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL  
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# The crisis of the capitalist system, automation and the construction of Socialism

J. Posadas

20-8-71

Human progress tends towards the substitution of human labour, and its concentration through means of the machine. The machine is the concentration of human potential, and will be capable of doing all that humanity will concentrate into it. Therefore the question is one of taking power, so that we will be the ones to push the button, and we will be the ones to use the machine.

The struggle against automation, against the progress of automated work is without perspective and isn't gainful, instead we must struggle in order to decide who uses automation. In socialism everything will be automated. Capitalism automates production because competition obliges it to do so, but the basis of this competition isn't inter-capitalist commercial competition, but rather the development of the worker states and the world revolution which forces it to give in to the masses. In order to compensate for this it must increase automation, and, as however, the functioning of the capitalist system is determined by its interest in capital accumulation, automation is done with the intention of exploiting. For this reason capitalism doesn't concern itself with how many redundancies result from it, but only with its profit. It uses automation at the expense of the workers because it is in its interests to do so. Before very long there will be only one person needed to push a button, the automated machine will replace a thousand workers but there is a central command, and preceding that is the manufacture of the machines which is carried out by the workers and technicians.

There is no perspective in impeding automation, it's not possible to impede it. Instead we must overthrow capitalism so that we are the ones to automate, so that work which today takes 8 hours will take 2 hours tomorrow. This is the understanding with which the revolutionary tendency in the trade unions must be organised, this is the way!

There is no successful way of struggling against automation, progress demands it. One thing, though, is capitalist automation whilst yet another is automation, utilisation of the cybernetic and electro-technology in the workers state. There, instead of using human force the machine takes the strain, the machine will concentrate the potency of human energy in the form of mechanical organisation. Then, by pushing a button, it will be possible to release all the accumulated energy in the form of machine-made capacity and intelligence. That which capitalism uses today for the accumulation of capital, tomorrow we will utilise to eliminate the need for human labour. Human effort will be orientated into other spheres. It's necessary to convince a current within the workers movement of these conclusions.

In the meantime it's necessary to struggle to impose a series of demands. Not a single worker to be made redundant. If the boss automates the works and wants to get rid of workers we won't allow him to make anybody redundant, all the profits from automation to the workers! this is the way to discuss, and if the boss then says that he is no longer able to compete as a result, that's not our concern.

There must therefore be discussion on how to assure that the profits from automation go to the workers while capitalism still

exists. Because who makes automation? In whose benefit? Who does automation serve. It is developed by technicians and engineers, but they are paid and trained by the production of the masses. Capitalism uses for itself all mechanical progress at the expense of the masses. All mechanical progress ought to elevate the living conditions of humanity, we must demonstrate that with every progress must correspond an improvement in the standard of living and the conditions of existence of the masses.

In the meantime, as this lasts only a short time and sharpens competition between the workers states and the world revolution and capitalism its necessary to take power and show the need to struggle for power. So that in those countries which today are still capitalist automation will be increased a thousand times more than under capitalism. We will be able to clean the streets automatically, produce rain automatically, we will automate; instead of bombarding and destroying entire countries we will be able to make or prevent rain. We cannot as yet substitute gravity and the effect of the poles but it's already possible to have an influence on them. Once humanity has been able to dominate the structure of matter, it will be capable of all this. The parion (a sub-atomic particle) has already been discovered and there must exist other ones as yet unknown. We have already stipulated that there must be an infinite of sub-divisions of matter and that these demonstrate the concentration of energy. This is what moves the world. Why, therefore, shouldn't we be able to influence the atmosphere. We will influence it by sending out a series of waves and influencing their functioning.

It's necessary to discuss this with workers, not simply calling for trade union meetings but by carrying out a work of cultural persuasion, of explanations. Automation is an inevitable necessity for the capitalist system which cannot be impeded. The same in the Soviet Union, the workers in the capitalist countries see that, there, production is automated, that textile factories exist where thousands of machines are looked after by a few workers. Every worker has charge of a hundred or even a hundred and fifty machines. The same in China, where they have control panels and the workers sitting at the controls study Engels. In a photograph five or six years ago was a worker in a textile factory in the Soviet Union, who whilst working her machine carried a book of Engels which she studied at break times. Whats more, in the workers states exist mines which work by themselves. This can be done, already exist machines which allow this to take place. Machines based on a system of a diaphragm which registers movements, as with insects in the fields with sensors which allow them to register movements, impulses, scents and colours which we are unaware of but that they register and react to.

Automation's function under capitalism

is that of increasing capitalist power and of degenerating the human organs. We must prepare the conditions for when automation is in our hands. In the meantime all the benefits from automation must go to the workers; not a single redundancy! For a sliding scale of working hours. It's necessary to give a programme which responds to this, and to struggle to overthrow the capitalist system because capitalism has only a limited capacity of withstanding the workers demands.

Its essential to achieve a salary which guarantees the workers an adequate standard of living. As capitalism has no possibility of conceding such demands it must inevitably respond either with failure or with blows. This problem must be posed in the factory. The masses must take the initiative and not rely on capitalist initiative. Expropriate capitalism in such a way that automation serves the workers. These conclusions must be discussed in the trade union field.

If the owner proposes transferring his factory to another place we must impose that the workers coming from where the factory originally was maintain the same salaries as before and that those made redundant receive a guarantee of full pay for a certain period. But the most important problem (as this is a circumstantial problem inasmuch as not all factories have the possibility of giving a programmatic, social and political answer to social, political and economic problems which the system transfers from one part to another) is that capitalism feels forced to constantly increase the exploitation in order to compete on a world scale. In this stage this becomes ever more essential because capitalism has to use much of its profits to finance the war in Vietnam, 20 per cent of the income of world capitalism must be dedicated to financing the counter revolution. Together with preparation for war, and in arms, world capitalism spends 40 per cent of the G.N.P. in financing the counter

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## Intensify the struggle against the pro-capitalist sectors in the Labour Party on the basis of mass struggles and strikes and the application of the anti-cap- italist programme and methods

Whilst world imperialism and capitalism continues on the path of precipitous decline, with the devaluation of the dollar and the inability to present a coherent united front against the world revolution, the working class in the workers states and in the capitalist countries increasingly effect changes in their class instruments, trade unions and political parties to make them correspond to the class objectives of taking power—in the capitalist countries—and advancing towards socialism. This is clearly the case in the Labour party. There we can see from the results of the recent elections to the Shadow Cabinet, the disintegration of the whole old pro-capitalist team. Castle who attempted to impose anti trade union legislation is out, Healy the supporter of NATO sinks to the bottom, Callaghan and Crosland also decline. What results is of course a purely transitory situation the right and centre on paper are still represented but the fact that Foot has emerged as second points to the real force of the current going steadily leftwards.

All this is the result of a whole series of international and national experiences which have imposed changes in the heart of the LP. And this was analysed and prepared for by the leadership of the IV International, J. Posadas in his document on the defeat of the bourgeois leadership in the LP, as the result of the elections in 1970.

The document predicted the main lines of advance and forecast also the general direction of the policy of capitalism. At the same time as the vanguard are in process of imposing their will on their own organisms, British capitalism is necessarily obliged to maintain a posture of no concessions and undisguised reactionary policies i.e. agree-

ment with the Rhodesian regime, supporting Iran in the Gulf, increasing the regime of military terror in N. Ireland, proposing to enter the Common Market, refusing to raise pensions whilst at the same time increasing the income of the Queen, attack on student unions, imposing a harsh sentence in the Angry Brigade trial in order to create an atmosphere of intimidation. But this does not stem in any way from a real position of strength, rather it is a necessity imposed on British capitalism by reason of the fact that it does not possess the resources to reach an accommodation with the masses. Its political and social needs enter into conflict

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3



# The crisis of growth of the world Communist Movement, the proposal of the Spanish Communist Party and the IV International

(Part 2)

J. Posadas

1-9-71

There are two great communist parties, the Chinese and the Soviet. But as the Chinese has no authority, relation or authority which unites it to the rest of the communist parties in reality it is only the Soviet communist party which can decide. Hence the phrase of Posadas "the impulses can come from any side but the decisions are taken in Moscow" is valid for a whole period of history, until a period of fundamental change, as with the atomic war. But this does not mean to say that the impulse having been produced from whatever side, the animation is going to be sustained, pushed forward, impelled by the USSR. It means that in the USSR, there are the forces which can give organic forms to the impulses. It has the material force and is the sector within the communist movement which is better prepared theoretically and politically. They have the economic, political and trade union structure more ready to decide. The Chinese have some of these aspects, but not the combination of all. For this reason the Chinese have some of these aspects, but not the combination of all. For this reason the Chinese cannot be the centre. And for this reason they involve themselves in this policy now with Nixon. And they have to go justifying at each step because within they are under pressures.

We propose a discussion for the programme of unification of the world communist movement.

The Spanish communist party makes this proposal to incorporate in the discussion in the world communist movement all the other tendencies—which includes us also—to protect themselves. But also because it is a logical necessity, not only a means of protection against Moscow or against Peking but because it is a necessity which they have to understand. But not to dominate the objective. They feel such a necessity. As a small party which feels itself to be without bases, without support, and which already has a bureaucratic layer and aspires to be also a power, it has to respond to this necessity and makes this proposal. It has a certain freedom to think but it does not have the capacity prepared for this. For this reason the proposal is not programmatic. What programme do they present to discuss? They do not give any programme. What is the objective of a discussion between all the communist parties? It is necessary to formulate a programme. The objective is the unity of the communist movement to overthrow the capitalist system, to struggle so that imperialism does the least damage possible with the atomic war. And now to prepare the masses of the world in the struggle against the capitalist system, but it is necessary to open the discussion on how to overthrow capitalism.

We are going to push forward a full discussion with them, without attacks, without giving an aggressive polemical character but discussing what is useful, unification on the base of a discussion of the objectives. The objective is to unite the worker forces, of the communist parties, the Workers States, the communist parties of the capitalist states, the socialist parties, the left Christian democrats, the revolutionary nationalist movements, the great workers trade union and worker centres; a unification of the communist movement. For what end? To unify the programme, to form a world leadership which allows the co-ordination of the progress, the support to the revolution in all the countries, generalises the experiences and develops throughout the world the world experiences of the struggle for power.

But above all, it is necessary to discuss where we are going, what is the stage of history in which we are living, where we are going and what we have to do, to discuss the present stage in the development of the Workers States, the crisis of the capitalist system, the unification of the world workers movement, to discuss the unification of the socialist parties, left Christian democratic movements, revolutionary nationalists, with the communist parties, with a programme of anti imperialist and anti capitalist struggle.

To plan such a struggle. To discuss the help to the struggle of the masses in whatever part of the world; to make the whole workers world movement participate in this discussion and to push forward a public polemic with the object of clarifying, developing the truth, the capacity and the experience, not to blame the Chinese or the Soviets. It is necessary to discuss. But to discuss on the basis of an objective. If not what discussion is there?

The objective is to reach the understanding of the necessity for the unification of the revolutionary world and workers movement. To succeed in answering to such a necessity what programme is it necessary to pose? It is necessary to analyse where we are, what is the situation of the world? Is it favourable to the revolution? What forces has capitalism? What intermediate forces can capitalism utilise? For what is capitalism preparing? What strength has the camp of the revolution?

What perspective? What authority? To discuss the unequal levels in the development of the revolution, the workers states and the masses of the world, led by the communist, socialist, nationalist revolutionary parties, left Christian democrats and Trotskyists, to discuss the intervention of the Trotskyists, the necessity to return to marxism, to discuss on the basis of marxist experience.

We are going to make a polemic with them without accusations, criticism of one sector against another sector but with critical polemics on the basis of reasoning giving examples. And on this base to discuss the unification of the world workers movement. And within it, the tactic. For example why has the Spanish communist party posed the possibility for an alliance with the monarchists and at the same time criticised the soviets for making a conciliatory policy? And why didn't they criticise the ping pong policy of the Chinese? They accept the ping pong policy of the Chinese because it is the same as that of the Spanish communist party in relation to the monarchists. And then why don't they accept the same for the soviets? It is necessary to show that these are determined by a regional bureaucratic interest.

It is necessary to return to insist on the position which we defended when the Spanish communist party condemned the Polish workers states for selling coal to France during the strike of the miners. We were in agreement that the workers state should sell coal to France. What it is necessary to say to the miners of the Asturias is not to condemn the workers state but to say "take the power." The sale of coal does not determine the existence of France. And the maintaining of the backward mines also means the interest of the masses. It is necessary to overthrow all this. Then to create the conditions so that they make the necessary struggles to overthrow all this. We are for progress. We are against those who impede progress. Progress is not measured by one automatic machine but is measured by the social progress which eliminates conditions of misery, hunger, insecurity, unemployment, lack of food.

The progress in the unification of the world communist movement was led by them. They have the base. We are not able to replace them, not to substitute for their force. We have to intervene in this process such as it is, impelling forces so that they progress within this same camp. The stages are short and we do not have the strength to substitute for that already existing in the communist parties, the tendencies. We have to intervene in accord with this objective development. The stage is short. There are powerful communist parties. They are the ones who decide and our duty is to intervene to impel, within the communist movement, the revolutionary tendencies, to make them conscious of how to conduct the discussion. And how their progress is very limited, how they are obliged to advance to sustain themselves. We sustain the progresses which they are making, without compromising ourselves or submitting ourselves to their

leadership and to the limitation of their progress.

It is necessary to point out the critical aspects, the lies they utter and to support the aspects which they make to advance without ceasing criticism of the other. But the centre is not the criticism, but it is the secondary element. It is necessary to place all the attention of the movement so that it preoccupies itself with advancing to the maximum possible. And the more it advances the better, because it weakens the force of the bureaucracy, tends to destroy it to paralyse it, to deprive it of efficacy and confidence and to disintegrate the cohesion of the bureaucracy. . . . It is necessary to seek this. We have to base ourselves on the process such as it is.

Why is it that the Spanish communist party with such confusion within, happens to launch such an appeal? Why? It is because there are forces which have this necessity. Within the USSR the bureaucracy is not homogenous nor does it dominate the different tendencies. It does not dominate the process. It cannot dominate it. Then it responds in an empirical form with this reaction. Its reactions are empirical. When the Carillo sector comes out to proclaim the necessity to discuss so that all the workers tendencies participate, it is because it feels the necessity to understand the world. The Spanish communist party has changed its position six times over the last two years. It does not have a fixed position. What is the leading thread in the changes? Favourable to the revolution? No against. They insist on conciliatory positions with the bourgeois opposition, including the monarchists, but in its turn they are developing and submitting for later it to the movement towards socialism. On the contrary before, socialism was a task, a slogan for festival days. But today no. They can make agreements with Don Juan, with all the democratic tendencies of the bourgeoisie but what determines is that it is necessary to make the task of socialism. In this policy there is an interior contradiction which the bourgeoisie is not going to accept and which a part of the communist movement is going to repel. And this proposal which they are making, of discussing the situation of the world workers movement goes against the conciliatory conclusion of their policy. It is against.

They want to systematise the line of compenetration but there are no historic bases, there is no experience which makes the masses admit that this is the correct policy. In moments in which it is necessary to concentrate the divergences which there are in the communist camp, to unify themselves against imperialism which prepares the war, they come out to answer in this way to this necessity. Why? It does not depend on their necessity. They are the mouthpieces of a necessity of the communist camp and they can express it because they are part of the communist camp. And in the heart of the movement is concentrated the necessity that a discussion is necessary. It is not an initiative of the Spanish communist party. When Breznev, two years ago posed to the delegates

of the French communist party in the meeting of the CPs in Moscow "Take power," they were saying "we discuss." When they had three meetings as they did in Moscow and now they pose a fourth, they are performing this task of discussing under the hegemony of Moscow. It is under the hegemony of Moscow, but they have to discuss. Before they did not discuss, they imposed.

When Breznev had to leave the USSR, he has already visited six countries and now is going to France—the first capitalist country to where he is going—it is because they need to co-ordinate the world communist movement, at the same time as influencing the bourgeois camp to make the policy of disintegrating it.

At the moment that the USSR sends Breznev to France to give a certain guarantee to the French bourgeoisie that they are not going to use the unification of Europe to overthrow the capitalist system, the Spanish communist party comes out making this proposal which is the inverse. It is an expression of the contradictions within the interior of the communist movement which sees itself obliged to advance towards power. They are afraid of the atomic war and they have to prepare themselves for the atomic war. The progress of the structure of the Soviet economy and society impels the objective discussion of the truth and impels the leadership of the Soviet communist party to bring out a dictionary ultimately where they annihilate Stalin. A short time ago Breznev made a speech in Georgia where he placed Stalin as a individual who lived in the USSR. Not as a leader. As an individual who lived in the USSR and did certain things. . . . A person who dominated the USSR for thirty years! The attitude of Carillo responds to the necessity to organise the discussions which he is making in the world communist movement and which express themselves through this concentration of facts. Carillo obeys very profound reasons, much more profound than the interest of the Spanish communist party although he does not succeed in understanding it. From this preoccupation which he formulates there are two determining points: first the demand that it is necessary to discuss, to place oneself in agreement; and the second that other tendencies should intervene which are not the communist party. With this is expressed the necessity for the unification of the revolutionary and workers movement. This comes from a communist party not a Trotskyist movement. It is necessary to take into account the maturation which there is in the workers states the course of the political revolution, the maturation and elevation of such a development which expresses itself besides in a decisive form in the declarations which Chou en Lai has to make to justify himself, to defend himself. It has to show that the invitation to Nixon is no policy of abandoning communism, of concessions, of treason. According to versions the Rumanians publish, Chou en Lai has shown that if for an agreement with the Yankees it is necessary

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

**Viva the nationalisation of B.P.  
in Libya.**

**Forward to the anti-imperialist  
world united front**

# The crisis of growth of the world . . . .

to abandon Vietnam, they do it. Chou en Lai came out to deny this, which showed that basically it was not a lie. There is a sector in China disposed to leave Vietnam.

In 1951 there was another tendency in China which stimulated the workers state to defend Korea. They are two distinct situations. Then the future of China was at stake and their security depended on this.

On the other hand today China feels secure and uses the world process, the Soviet-Yankee conflict, the weakening of capitalism and the advance of the Workers States to make a policy of greater penetrative demands. Not extending the revolutionary methods but the methods of alliance or agreement or of peaceful co-existence with the capitalist system.

## WE INTERVENE AS THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TO IMPEL THE OBJECTIVE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION

Facts such as this proposal of the Spanish communist party or other different events but which respond to the same necessity of unifying the world communist movement against imperialism are going to be repeated constantly. And we are going to intervene. Our greater capacity for influence is to understand the process, its historic roots and where it is going, independently of who impels, which does not have consciousness. And when the Spanish communist party speaks thus, it is because it is already paying attention and hearing what we are saying. This influences them.

There is no change in the historic nature and behaviour of the Soviet bureaucracy. The essential base for understanding it, is that the bureaucracy is not necessary in history. Hence its behaviour. Also its functioning, which without being a class works as a class. Without being a class means that it is not a ruling class, cannot project its reproduction on the base of the state apparatus, the financial functioning and economic reproduction financial and social. But functioning as a class means to say that it thinks for itself. Stalin corresponded to this. But now already it has to project also thinking of

others. It does not stop thinking for itself but it cannot stop taking into account the rest of the world. It is fundamental to be able to intervene in these discussions which are coming and which are going to deepen in the communist movement, to understand the nature of the workers state, what are its roots and what is its degeneration; the behaviour of the communist party, the united front which comes inevitably—although it may be delayed for some years because it does not depend on us, it depends on them (but having acquired a certain strength nevertheless is going to depend on us). Then at the same time that we intervene, we have to study, to learn to draw conclusions, to elevate our theoretical capacity and organisational capacity to be able to dominate these problems.

In this discussion we work as an organism, as the IV International. Our interest is not to lead everything for our organic growth, as this is not possible, but within the course favourable to history, we impel those movements which they can make advance now and lead now. This is the correct thought. This proposal comes from Spain because

through the circumstances of this country where no one is directly involved, where problems are raised in a distant way with the other communist parties, where the Spanish communist party has no interior competitors—whilst in England on the other hand there is the Labour party—they can support themselves on the Rumanians, on the Chinese to draw advantage from the competition between them and the soviets and this gives them a certain relative independence. It is evident how they are moving. It does not mean that it is an advantage for them. No. It means that this allows them to play this function now.

We support this proposal to discuss and at the same time we intervene with our proposal on how it is necessary to discuss. And in the discussion is included also the policy of the Spanish communist party for Spain which changes constantly. Also we are going to discuss this. We support this proposal and we impel it to push it forward because it is the way to advance in all the problems which the world communist movement has posed.

1/9/71 J. Posadas

## EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

### Intensify the struggle against the pro-capitalist sector in the Labour Party on the basis of mass struggles and strikes and the application of the anti-capitalist programme and methods

with such an accommodation. For example the enormous cost of the war in N. Ireland adds further to the general military budget of imperialism. The policy of concentration of the big monopolies, the lack of interest in investment shown by capitalism, the policy of stimulating unemployment are all aspects of the fundamental crisis of capitalism, the preparation of the war. On an international level this has shown itself in the dollar crisis, in the decline of the capitalist economies, all arising from the incapacity of capitalism to develop the productive capacities because the only real production that interests it is that dedicated to the war machine.

The masses in Britain have not been in any way dismayed by the policies of capitalism, on the contrary they have shown their will to take power. The imposition of workers control in UCS, the take over at Plessey, the preparation for such control in the Don valley Steel works at Sheffield, and on the other hand, the corresponding development of popular organisms in N. Ireland as part of the waging of the civil war against imperialism, are all demanding a NEW FIRM LEADERSHIP IN THE INSTRUMENTS THAT MATTER, THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS. The changes in the Shadow Cabinet show the direction of the changes in the LP but of themselves they are quite insufficient. We appeal to the forces of the left in the LP to organise themselves in a far superior way than hitherto and this applies to the level of the trade union intervention in the LP. Certainly there are, all the time, signs of a better intervention in the Labour party. Constituency parties as at Lincoln summon MPs to explain themselves in voting for the common market. And trade union leaders like Jones and Daly speak openly of the need for strike actions against unemployment and even a general strike to throw the Tories out. But it is not sufficient to make a correct statement and then leave it there without taking measures to organise the fight. And it is not enough to wage a purely parliamentary struggle in the Labour party. The left in the LP must pose as the ORGANISED ALTERNATIVE to the Wilson clique challenging his "leadership" and in no way fearing a split—the right can be thrown out but the masses will remain with the LP because the right wing do not represent any current of support in the LP. It is necessary starting now to call mass meetings and mass assemblies where the anti capitalist programme is explained and the methods adopted i.e. the organisation of permanent factory committees and mass assemblies, workers area committees. This will give added confidence to the masses and redouble the pressures on the functioning in the Labour party to transform it into a party with real roots in the masses. And it is necessary to extend the struggles of UCS and Plessey so that these advanced examples of dual power become the bases for the organisation of an UNLIMITED GENERAL

STRIKE to liquidate capitalism via the imposition of a left labour government with a socialist programme sustained by the permanent and direct intervention of the masses in their independent committees.

Just as war conditions envelope a whole sub continent as in India-Pakistan so preparations for major events develop in Britain. The November 24 demonstration against unemployment led to a violent collision with the police and many slogans calling for the general strike were displayed. The left in the LP has to feel this force and organise it. It has to realise the significance of the revolutionary current which made itself felt in the CP Congress demanding a more political "Morning Star," more emphasis on factory cell committees, closer links with the Soviet Union. It has to feel the weight and significance of the reorientation of the world communist movement, the greater intervention of the Soviet Union against imperialism, its emphasis on the world anti imperialist united front, the recently produced programme of the French communist party posing the socialist alternative to French capitalism despite the absence of appeals to the masses and the posing of revolutionary methods. And it has to feel much more than in the past that the British proletariat is linked to all the proletariats of Europe, linked to the recent actions of the Spanish workers in Barcelona and the Asturias and the engineering strike of the German workers linked in a common desire for A SINGLE WORKERS CENTRE IN EUROPE FOR A SOVIET SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

It is necessary that the left in the LP links itself much more directly with the strikes and occupations of the masses, preparing to intervene in an elevated way with the coal miners strike, giving it a political perspective, appealing for the support of the masses in their committees, preparing for its extension into a general strike. They have to give programmatic leads on all issues. An end to unemployment by occupying factories, appealing to the workers states for markets, imposing workers control. In the face of automation, all the profits of automation to the workers. An immediate 100 per cent increase in pensions and to rise with the cost of living. Expropriation of unoccupied houses, linked to a plan of production to utilise all the resources of the country to satisfy the needs of the masses. OUT WITH THE MONARCHY. OUT WITH BRITISH TROOPS FROM IRELAND NOW. AN END TO INTERNMENT. FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST IRELAND. OUT OF NATO. And all this has to be linked with appeals for the independent activity of the masses, proletarian democracy in the trade unions, the right of the communist party and the IV International to work as open revolutionary tendencies in the Labour party to extend marxist understanding and application with the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Posadas.

## Viva the 2,645 votes for the Belgian Section in Charleroi

We salute the 2,645 votes for the P.O.R.(T) Belgian Section of the IV International in the elections of the 7th November in Charleroi. It is an important expression of the will and preoccupation of the communist vanguard in Belgium, to form a united front of the Communist Party, Socialist Party and Trotskyists, to unify all the forces of the proletarian vanguard, in order to impel the formation of a popular left government in Belgium.

The 2,645 votes came in particular from the Communist vanguard that, whilst it remains centralised in the Communist Party, sees that the way forward is through Trotskyism, and Posadism. This victory is an expression of a process that is taking place in all the working class vanguard of Europe, that feels confidence in the process of the world revolution, with the profound disintegration of capitalism and imperialism, and seeks the way to unify all the forces of the revolution. This is a victory for the IV International, a victory for the Communist Vanguard, which is seeking the programme of Trotskyism, and it is a concrete proof that the Communist Vanguard regards the IV International as a part of the world communist movement.

## 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.



# The crisis of the capitalist system . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
revolution, in arms and in war industry.

Capitalism is obliged to compete, and in order to compete it must transfer factories from one part to another, or else face closure. In this way its necessary to insist that no factory closes! Nationalisation without compensation under workers control of all factories closed or threatened with closure.

To discuss with a concrete programme that factories mustn't close. In the cases where they do close they must be nationalised. Workers in the factories due for closure have their lives organised around their factory. Capitalism must compensate them and the compensation must be that the factory continues to function, that it must improve its production to suit the needs of the masses, lowering the selling price of his products diminishing the working hours, guaranteeing production for everyone. By eliminating profits prices go down a minimum of 40 per cent. Any price has at least a 40 per cent arbitrary increase on it.

The transfer of a factory isn't always done in order to increase profits at times capitalism does it to prevent itself from bankruptcy. In Belgium, capitalists have closed

something like 30 per cent of the mines and have concentrated their exploitation in areas where they can eliminate all the transportation costs, and move industries close to the mines being worked. They have sacked thousands of workers. Capitalism's objective was to increase the unemployment and in so doing increase capitalist power in order to weigh on the masses. It had the contrary effect, strikes developed more than ever and there was a formidable revolutionary development in Belgium. The same thing happened in England. The Conservatives proposed a year ago their anti strike laws. They were to have been put into operation six months ago, but they still haven't approved the law. Their objective was to intimidate the masses to split the workers movement, by introducing in it the individual interest of every worker, in order to save capitalism. In England, instead, are developing strikes as never before, and what's more there has been the largest labour victory since 1945 which was a landslide. Which shows that the anti strike laws haven't intimidated the workers in the slightest. This is an indication of the spirit of the masses, wherein they see the problems posed by Capitalism, and they respond, not

in a desperate way or by resorting to individual actions, but looking for a collective class answer. The same must be done everywhere. If the Factory owner wants to move his factory he must compensate the workers so that they have at their disposition more time and more resources with which to live. If the owner hasn't any money, that's his affair, but before he's allowed to move the factory or close it we must impose nationalisation without compensation under workers control, a planned production and for the workers to give a programme of what it's necessary to do. If for example the factory produces luxury articles, to demand that it produces articles the people are in need of. Certainly capitalism and a sector of the petit bourgeoisie will be against this. It's logical that you can't "satisfy everybody" and these measures go against the capitalists. One can't find a solution within the Capitalist system to every problem, according to the needs of the masses and of the same sector of the masses most directly hit by the crisis created by capitalism. The solution for this sector must be linked to the general interests of the class. The way is; nationalisation without compensation, planning the economy on the basis of the need to over-

throw capitalism. If the factory introduces automation, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism! All the profits of automation to the workers. If the owner won't tolerate this and closes or threatens to close then demand nationalisations. To demonstrate that it's possible to produce, that it's necessary to produce, that it's the interests of capitalism that impedes production; therefore we must throw out capitalism.

There are two solutions. Either the workers must starve or eliminate capitalism. We must eliminate capitalism. Capitalism has all the arms, but Allende, the president of Chile said something very important seen in the context of the policy he is carrying out, which contains a certain conciliation with capitalist measures (not in supporting capitalism but of co-existing with it) Allende said "we don't have any arms but we have the power to paralyse the country." This is a direct appeal to procure arms. Which indicates that even a party based on a reformist policy must resort to methods which stimulate revolutionary organisation in the factories.

J. POSADAS

20-6-71

## Extracts of a letter from Cde. Posadas to Cde. T. recently liberated from prison in Mexico

We believe that your release is a triumph for the world proletarian vanguard and for Trotskyism, because it signifies that we have succeeded in interesting the world proletarian and intellectual vanguard in concerning itself with the communist revolution and communism. We have interested it in devoting its preoccupation, its activity, its solidarity and economic, social and political support, for the liberty of our imprisoned trotskyist comrades. This liberation means a triumph of the pressure of the world trade union, worker and intellectual movement, against the reactionary government of Mexico. It signifies one of the bases of the united front in which one of the essential bases is our activity.

The influence of the world revolution imposed your liberation as it is going to impose that of other comrades. The intention of the government was to keep you in prison, for a wing within them sought to impose a new sentence, no matter how. It was only looking for an excuse to do it. The world pressure and that of the Mexican TUs, of the student movement, the mobilisations, the resolutions, have forced the government to liberate you.

You must feel all the joy, as you have shown, to form a part of the mexican revolutionary and workers movement, with which you have collaborated and of which you are an integral part. Your freedom is the prolongation of the struggle of the Mexican masses.

We salute your development, your irreproachable conduct in the prison. We salute your decision to progress, to function as a revolutionary leader of the International and carry forward the task of education, even in such difficult conditions, in spite of the

lack of means, of conditions, of possibilities for a political life. The confidence, the security, the life with the International has given you the bases to carry forward such an activity, to maintain yourself fused with the sentiment, the consciousness, and the policy of the International. In your letters, which improved one after the other, you expressed the elevation of your political life and preoccupation.

There is a very great progress in your activity. A progress which all the comrades have stated, your communist will to progress politically, theoretically and organisationally.

It is necessary to take up again all the experiences which you have made to apply the conclusions to continue in conditions which, if they are better than those in the prison, without those obstacles, are not fundamentally different, in which the objective remains the same. Once out of prison, it is possible to act more freely, with more depth, continuity; the work can have a greater scope. It is on these conditions that it is necessary to base oneself to continue the activity.

We congratulate you and embrace you; as we do with the comrades who remain in prison. Fernando Bruno, Gilly, Luna and Colmenares, because, all together you have maintained the authority of the International in prison. All of you have maintained the assurance, the living force of the International you have given the living example of the theoretical and political capacity by your theoretical and political and practical intervention, demonstrating in this way that we are a "public good" of history, that we are concerned with the objective progress of the revolution.

You have demonstrated how one must fight to incorporate militants to the party, and to impel the revolution, even if we do not recruit militants. We devote ourselves to impelling the revolution; this is the best way of making our movement bigger, for it is the necessary form for the progress of the revolution. Neither in our comrades, nor in our militants, nor in our movement in its entirety does there exist an egoistic attitude. On the contrary everyone has the objective intention of impelling the revolution, the revolutionary movements, of the entire world, whatever be the conditions in which we find ourselves, the means which we dispose of, the possibilities which we have . . .

Your imprisonment, your behaviour as a trotskyist is irreproachable, your liberation due to the world pressure of the communist vanguard, indicating that we are already within the world communist movement, that we make up a part of the revolutionary current in the world communist movement. We have already been incorporated Cde T. your liberation confirms this. It also expresses the weakness of capitalism which has not been able to eliminate you when the conditions could not have been more favourable for it. The fear of the reaction of world public opinion, and more particularly of Mexican public opinion have prevented capitalism from killing you. Without this they would have done it.

Your liberation cde T. is, at the same time a homage, which we render to the proletarian and revolutionary vanguard of the world, to Trotsky, to the communist sentiments of the masses of the workers states who in one way or another have exerted an influence; through their leaderships, on the world workers movement, on the TUs and on the intellectual leaderships, inclining them to accept the campaign for the liberation of the imprisoned trotskyist comrades in Mexico. This intervention of the masses of the Workers States is put in evidence by the fact that twice in the Soviet Union there have been published resolutions in favour of all the political prisoners, in which they have quoted the names, even if they did not say that you were trotskyists. Such a fact, repeated twice, indicates that it is the expression of this objective world united front which mobilised in defense of the trotskyists.

In the name of all the International, of all the imprisoned comrades and all the revolutionaries imprisoned in the world, we embrace you.

Viva the liberation of all the revolutionary prisoners who, like us are fighting for socialism!

Viva the world socialist revolution and the right of all the workers states to impose the world socialist revolution!

With all our fraternal and revolutionary salutes.

J. Posadas

## BOLIVIA

We salute with immense revolutionary happiness the reappearance of "Lucha Obrera," organ of the Bolivian Section of the IV International, which published in November the resolution of the International Secretariat. "The defeat of revolutionary nationalism in Bolivia; an aspect of the process from nationalism to the workers state and of the permanent revolution in Latin America" The reappearance of "Lucha Obrera" has a very great importance coming out as it does with the political conclusions on the coup in Bolivia posing the tasks to push forward the "interrupted" progress of the revolution. "Lucha Obrera" poses in great depth the necessary conclusions that the revolutionary vanguard has to draw to regain the level and dynamism to progress from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State. The IS resolution is the key that enables the achievement of the tasks of this stage—reorganisation of the revolutionary forces, of the revolutionary leadership of the COB, of the Anti Imperialist United Front. We salute the Bolivian masses, the proletarian and miner vanguard which is preparing and organising itself in its Trade Unions. We salute the P.O.R.(T), Bolivian Section of the IV international which applies the conclusions and orientations of Cd. J. Posadas to organise the new leaps that are being prepared in Bolivia. We salute comrade Posadas, who with his documents, analyses and orientations prepares new advances of the socialist revolution.

Viva the reappearance of Lucha Obrera in Bolivia, drawing the political conclusions after the fall of Torres to permit the further advance of the Bolivian revolution!

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Near Victoria Station

## Mobilise to secure the release and guarantee the safety of the imprisoned Mexican Trotskyists



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. 149 4th Friday of December 1971 PRICE 3p

Stop the murders in Lecumberri.

Resolutions, telegrams, letters to

President Echevarria

Palacio de Gobierno

Mexico City

Mexico

And the Mexican Embassy

48 Belgrave Sq. London S.W. 1

## All the organisations of the class, the La- bour Party, CP & T.U.s must give full support to the miners strike

The miners strike, which will take place in two weeks time, if the Coal Board does not increase its offer, is an action from which the whole of the working class and exploited masses will benefit, and which has to be given every type of support. It has a fundamental importance, both because of the power of the miners in the economy and because of the whole situation in the country, the accumulation of anti-capitalist feeling which seeks a vehicle to express itself. The breakdown of the engineers pay talks, of the power workers pay talks whose unofficial leadership proposes to make a strike starting on the same day as the miners, the persistence of the occupations at Plessey and UCS, the threat of new occupations, the open civil war in Ireland, are different expressions of the same basic content; the desire of the working class to get rid of this government and the regime of private property which it represents.

The miners strike can be used as a bridge towards this objective. The struggle to overthrow capitalism at this stage is the struggle to create the organisms, and leadership, and formulate a programme, so that the non proletarian masses see the working class as a capable leadership, can have confidence that this class can solve all the problems which rise from the existence of capitalism. For this reason the miners strike must be made into the most advanced strike yet seen in Britain, with the functioning of miners committees in the mines, occupying the mines, making them work in some selected areas as an example of the technical capacity of the miners, and distributing the produce cheaply to workers families, to old age pensioners etc. It is necessary to appeal directly to the Workers States to intervene, as they have done through the TUs in Ireland and UCS, to give financial and other types of support, and to buy the coal directly from the occupied pits. The miners must not be seen by the rest of the masses as fighting solely for the miners interests but for the interests of all the exploited. The masses must see the mines functioning like soviets, with mass assemblies taking all the important decisions, discussing all the problems of England and the world and taking resolutions and appealing for support from workers and student organisations. The miners, through committees elected from mass meetings, and with all the delegates subject to instant recall, must co-ordinate nationally and work out a workers Plan of Production, a plan of house building, of providing schools, hospitals, of full employment, of increased pensions etc, based on the expropriation of the banks and key industries without compensation and under workers control. We make all these proposals not only to the base but to the leadership of the NUM; our objective is to strengthen the forces of the left in the NUM leadership, to give confidence to them so that they advance basing themselves on the actions of the miners. The committees we propose are not in competition with the union branches; they are an extension and deepening of the function of the branches, inside the occupied pits.

All the working class must support the action of the miners, by demonstrations, taking resolutions, sending money and above all organising strikes in solidarity with the miners. In this way the miners strike can become the centre around which a general strike can be organised. But a general strike has to have political objectives, be-

cause the simple winning of an economic demand is not going to solve any of the problems of the working class. Inflation and the rise in unemployment are going to continue; the capitalist class and its government has no ability nor interest to solve them. If it had any interest in solving the problem of N. Ireland it would spend a fraction of what it spends on repression, to make houses, jobs etc, but it doesn't, its only plan for Ireland is to extend the internment camp at Long Kesh in preparation for new internments of Trade Unionists, the CP, the Civil Rights Association and the left in general. Thus this government has no perspectives, because the capitalist class has none, has little social support and continues to exist only because the leaderships of the workers movement have not organised a struggle to bring it down. This is what the objective of the general strike must be; to overthrow the Tory government and replace it with a left Labour government on an anti-capitalist programme. Such a government swept into power by the mass movement would be forced to take measures weakening the structure of capitalism and would open the way to a superior stage of the class struggle.

The LP must come out with a declaration in full support for the miners strike and must mobilise all its forces to ensure that it triumphs. The right wing sector of the LP will be against the strike because they feel it is against them as well, that it is against conciliation with the capitalist class, but it is a support for the left wing. The left must declare that they are not only in support of the strike, but must also appeal for its extension into a political general strike. The CP also must use all its industrial authority to impel the strike as must the LPYS.

This strike is going to take place in conditions of acute crisis for imperialism. The Indo-Pakistan war has led to disastrous consequences for imperialism. Bhutto takes power in West Pakistan saluted by a demonstration shouting "Down with capitalism up with socialism" while in Bangla Desh a revolutionary nationalist process develops outside the control of the Indian bourgeoisie. As an expression of its social crisis US imperialism suffers a financial crisis and has to devalue the dollar in a desperate effort to stabilise the world capitalist monetary system. US and British Imperialism take different positions over the Indo-Pakistan war and US Senators like Kennedy and Humphrey denounce British repression in N. Ireland. The advance of the revolution is internally disintegrating the capitalist class, and its alliances. Even the absurdity of the confrontation of the Soviet and Chinese Workers State cannot be profited from by imperialism to any important degree.

This is the world situation in which the miners strike will occur, if the capitalist class and the conservative sectors of the NUM bureaucracy do not manage to make an agreement to avoid it. It is most probable that it will take place because now the margin of manoeuvre of the TU bureaucracy is very small and the pressure on them very great. The miners must not be allowed to fight alone; this struggle must be linked to UCS, to Plessey, to Ireland to all the struggles of the exploited masses, must act as the unifying centre of all these, raising the level of demands so that it is not just the division of the surplus value which is put into question but the expropriation of the whole capitalist class.

## Mexico

## Stop any further assassinations in Lecumberri

## Act now to safeguard the lives of the political prisoners

We have recently received news from our comrades in Mexico, that makes it clear that the lives of all the political prisoners there are in danger, among them the Trotskyists, Communists, Revolutionary Nationalists and the trade unionists.

We have heard from comrades in the jail that a provocation has been made by the police against the political prisoners in the last weeks. 80 police invaded Lecumberri jail, they forced the political prisoners to come out of their cells, they took their finger prints, and from some of the cells, they stole objects of value. Since this, some 40 "falcons" (right wing thugs used in the last armed attack on the students demonstration) have moved into the jail living with the political prisoners waiting for a moment when they can take advantage of a provocation which they themselves will instigate in order to assassinate the leading political prisoners. The political prisoners state that they are completely unprotected in face of any offensive which these "falcons" may take.

In appealing for the safety of the prisoners it is important to see that there is a deep crisis in the Mexican government in which the political prisoners are the focal point of all the struggles of tendencies, a struggle which is furious and public. It is necessary to differentiate between one wing of the government which is linked to the CIA, to the right in the army, which wants to make a coup, to stop the advance of the other tendency, that of Echevarria, which wants to link itself more with the nationalists, and poses a programme to be carried forward against imperialism. Not all the government is involved in this repression against the political prisoners, it is instigated by the weak right wing linked to imperialism which wants to repress to murder, to make an ambience of terror.

At the same time that there is this inner weakness in the government, where the sector of Echevarria seeks links with the nationalists, while the right wing advances to try to impel a coup, the working class and student movements develop open united fronts between the Communists, the Trotskyists the Nationalists and the trade unions. We do not support the Echevarria tendency politically but it is possible to obtain concessions from it to the advantage of the political prisoners as the partial amnesty granted when Echevarria took office shows, when a world campaign was organised to put pressure on him with this aim.

An indication of the weakness of the present government is the fact that they have had to allow the publication in Mexico of the book of Adolpho Gilly, (a comrade of the IV International who has been in jail since 1964) called "The Interrupted Revolution." This is a complete history of the Mexican revolution from 1910 to 1920, and from its very title shows that the process is not finished.

We make an appeal to the Labour, Communist, TU vanguard, to the Young Socialists and Young Communist League, to the student movement and intellectuals to protest to the Mexican government against this latest provocation, to denounce what is happening in Lecumberri jail, demanding the safety and release of the political prisoners, among them Adolpho Gilly, Oscar Fernandez Bruno, Cesar Colmenares, Roberto Iriarte and Francisco Luna of the IV International, together with all the Communist, Nationalist, T.U. and student political prisoners. It is necessary to state that a sector of the government is preparing another Tlateloco, and appeal to the nationalist sector in the government to lean more on the forces and strength of the working class in order to confront this sector.

We have just heard that one political and two common law prisoner have been murdered in the last days in Lecumberri. These murders announce new and worse actions, if the world workers movement does not mobilise to prevent them.

Telegrams to Echevarria have been sent in the last days from our Party and the following

The Young Liberals

The Young Chartists

Mike Walsh Journalist of "Tribune"

Maurice Cornforth for the

Progressive Publishers Lawrence & Wishart.

Lawrence Daly secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers sent the following telegram. "Denounce intention to murder Communist, Trotskyist, Nationalist, Political Prisoners Lecumberri demand guarantee their physical safety".

## Appeal of the I.S. of the IV International

# Transform the war between India and Pakistan into the Socialist Revolution

4 December 1971

The International Secretariat of the IV International appeals to the communist parties of the Workers States, of the capitalist states, to the socialist parties and the left Christian democrats, the nationalists and all the world workers and revolutionary movement to pronounce against this war which does not have any objective or interest in the progress of humanity.

This frontier dispute responds to the interest of groups, of layers and sectors of governments linked, submitted to and dependent on the capitalist system. This capitalist defense does not have any sense and does not respond in any way to the interests of the progress of humanity.

There is on the other hand, as much in Pakistan, as in India, a series of revolutionary movements which are trying to transform the capitalist regime in the two countries. Even though it is necessary to take account of the existence in the two countries of progress of nationalisations, they remain nevertheless fundamentally capitalist with structures which the masses, as much on one side as the other, want and try to surpass.

In Bengal, as in various other states of India, there has occurred numerous uprisings of the masses and movements have developed which have tried to reform the economy, the regime of property and which have been heavily repressed. It is with the objective of being able to maintain themselves that the governments of these two countries have had to yield in a series of measures which constitute progress within the capitalist regime; a limited progress, in so far as the capitalist system in its fundamental structures, still remains in place. The masses of Calcutta, of Madras, of Kerala, or of Bengal continue their struggle to put an end to this system.

In East Pakistan, Bangla Desh has tried to organise a movement which is going partly outside the limits of the capitalist system. Even while it still remains under the control of this system, it has been heavily repressed.

It wishes in this way to be able to develop its movement and to be able in this way to respond at least in part to the will of the masses.

The solution of the war between the two countries in which the governments are still in the hands of the capitalist system, will not lead to any solution favourable to the development of the socialist revolution. It is on the contrary a retreat. This way is on the contrary going to permit the capitalist countries to intervene and make an alliance with certain workers states, as is the case of China. Yankee Imperialism finds itself allied with China on one side and on the other the Soviet Workers State is allied to England and France. This is how the masses of the world feel it. They see that this going against the objectives of the socialist revolution.

The Sino Soviet Conflict appears to the masses of the world as a loss of authority, a retreat, an inter Workers State dispute. Even if it is not capitalism which gains authority from this, the hesitation of the Workers States before such a confrontation is a historic advantage given to capitalism. The latter does not increase its social power, but on the other hand it does gain time. This is why it is a crime which it is necessary to condemn.

The Chinese and Soviet Workers States must present themselves differently before the eyes of the masses to imperialism, which is made difficult because of the bureaucratic policy of the two, the absence of a revolutionary policy. This is what leads them to ally with capitalist sectors and to confront each other with different policies, when in each of these two countries there are revolutionary movements which are trying to transform the structure of property and the social structures.

To respond with a correct policy to the needs of progress of history it is necessary as much on the side of the leadership of the Chinese Workers State, as the Soviet, to call to the masses of the two countries to take power. In India, as in Pakistan, it is necessary that the Workers States impel the struggle to transform the property regime, to expropriate capitalism and the landowning proprietors, and to install worker states.

It is quite clear that the problems between India and Pakistan are engendered by the existence of the capitalist regime, by its crisis, its incapacity and its lack of social and economic means to resolve them. This

is why, it has recourse to reactionary solutions or to the war, and it is because of this that we propose neither war nor a reactionary solution, but a revolutionary solution. For this the workers states must present themselves united before the masses of the world, with a common policy against the capitalist regime. Never must two workers states present themselves divided, with a different policy, faced with capitalism. In the present situation there is not a direct confrontation, but a support to different positions of the capitalist system in crisis, signifying by itself a containing and diminution of the authority of the workers States before the masses of the world.

It is necessary to demand of the world workers and communist movement that the Chinese and Soviet Workers States put themselves in agreement, stop confronting each other with different policies, in a process which can only give the bases for an atomic war. It is necessary to appeal to them, on the other hand to co-ordinate their policy to stimulate on one side and the other a discussion between the nationalist movement and the workers movement, with or without the workers movement, with organisations representative of the masses with the objective of organising the struggle for power. It is necessary to appeal for an end to the war and that the masses of each country starting from the present situation make a war to transform the economy. This is the policy that the workers states in the workers centres must carry out, the mass trade unions, the nationalist movements, the left catholic movement, the socialists must carry out. The confrontations between the USSR and China must end and these two Workers States must, on the contrary, put themselves in agreement to confront the capitalist system. Their confrontation is a monstrosity against the progress of history. It is not a product of insoluble opposition of interests, of contradictions between the USSR and China. It is the product of an incorrect policy which responds to bureaucratic and not revolutionary interests. This conflict can be transformed into a war of the Vietnam type; imperialism profiting from it to maintain a Vietnam situation. Its interest is to maintain constant foci of war, as much in the Middle East, as in Vietnam and today in India. In this sense the position adopted by the Soviets cannot be put on the same level as that of the Chinese. Even though they have an important part of the political responsibility, their position is less damaging, less harmful in the measure that they are calling for an agreement. Without taking positions one hundred per cent for Bangla Desh, they give a general support to India which in this case has a position which is more progressive than that of Pakistan.

India sees itself forced in every way to support Bangla Desh which is a progress compared with the situation with Yahia Khan. India finds itself forced to support a nationalist process which since its beginning has already advanced not badly along the road of the revolution. Even if Sheikh Mujibur Rahman can return to East Pakistan he will not find the same situation as before. In his movement a nationalist tendency quite left and quite advanced which has published an anti-capitalist programme has developed, in the framework of the present revolutionary policy.

Even if the war is stopped now, it none the less demonstrates that imperialism has opened a process which it has to support, and if it cannot do it, it will only demonstrate its weakness. This is already demonstrated in the fact that it cannot bomb India as it has bombed Vietnam, because this would create a state of affairs in which the Soviets would intervene openly or negotiate. The Soviets intervened openly before to prevent such an action by the Yanks. This is the reason why the responsibility of the Soviets is less. The Yanks are preparing for a new Vietnam. They have the means there to maintain foci of war which permit them to maintain themselves in Indo China,

in Israel. They have wanted to do the same thing in Latin America, but they have failed. From this comes the importance of the Soviet Union setting itself up in several countries. In this way they stop any possibility of the Yanks doing again what they did in Santo Domingo; make a bridge head to install the Yankee armies in all Latin America. They wanted to do the same thing in Pakistan, but the intervention of the Soviet Union prevented them.

The intervention of imperialism has the objective of containing the development of the revolution, as much in India as in Pakistan and in the rest of the Middle East, to pass from there to the south of the Mediterranean. The Soviet intervention has cut short all this and their policy with Indira Gandhi and the agreement concluded with her is now more clear. In the framework of their policy of 'penetration,' they have in this way blocked the advance of the Yankees and partly stopped the war.

This policy presents some correct aspects and some incorrect. Incorrect in as much as it believes it can succeed in preventing war; correct in the measure where it reduces the margin of manoeuvre and the geographical progress of the Yankees. This is why one cannot put on the same plane, the policy of the Soviets and those of the Chinese. It is not excluded that the Soviet had pushed the intervention and offensive of the Indians, profiting from the weakness of imperialism to unleash a process of expulsion of imperialism. The USSR seeks to reinforce the positions of the Workers State taking a certain military initiative, always in alliance with a sector of the bourgeoisie but in the line of a world intervention with the objective of replacing imperialism.

The aspiration of the Chinese in wanting to prevent the progress of the Chinese in India is absurd. One has to be really stupid to believe that the presence of the Soviet Union in India is a danger for China. It is absurd! All this comes from the bureaucratic policy of the Chinese.

Capitalism must bear all the responsibility for the existence of such problems. We do not want war, but when it is necessary, it is necessary to wage it against the capitalist system. If it were possible to advance without problems, without war, we would do it, but everything shows that it is necessary to make war on capitalism; the revolutionary war, expropriating it. Thus the progress of history is made as much on a world scale as regionally; in this way the forces of the revolution progress and the forces and the military capacity of imperialism diminishes.

British Imperialism has not been able any more to maintain its domination over Asia. It was shown the door after the second world war arriving at agreements with the nascent bourgeoisie, with the feudalists with a view to maintaining private property and the capitalist system. This is why up till a little while ago, the princes still received enormous subsidies from the State. And to progress economically to maintain a social support in the masses and the petit bourgeoisie, they recently had to expropriate the princes. This indicates the ascent of the revolution in India. The subsidy to the princes has just been eliminated. Why didn't they

do it before, if the same conditions existed?

They have maintained these parasites, this charge on the economy for as long as they could in the fear that a conflict with them would only be benefitted from by the masses who would find in this conflict a means of making themselves independent of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie were frightened of losing control over them. Putting an end to the subsidies to the princes indicates what the force of the revolution is and explains the will of imperialism to contain it.

The masses of the world are watching stunned, the senseless bureaucratic policy of the Chinese Workers State and in part of the Soviet bureaucracy. In spite of the resistance and refusal of the Chinese CP, the Soviet CP must launch appeals to stop the fighting, putting themselves in agreement to help the masses of Bangla Desh, to carry forward the programme of expropriation in all the zones, for the self-determination of all populations, but also for the unification of Bangla Desh, Pakistan, and India in a single Workers State, as in its time the Soviet Union organised itself. It found in this way, the means of unifying regions and countries of different religions, and cultures and languages through a regime of superior property and economy.

It is not by dispersing the economies that one can resolve the problems of nationalities, of language and culture. All these problems remain secondary in relation to the need of centralising of the economy. It is this which is going to permit the resolving of all the other problems, by imposing the monopoly of foreign trade and centralised planning.

It is absurd and criminal that two workers states confront each other. The masses of the United States in particular see this absurdity. They see that China and the USSR are putting themselves on the same plane as Yankee imperialism. No strategic problem nor the interests of one or another Workers State can justify this, but only by counting on the general and world interest of the socialist revolution. This is why the masses regard such a political behaviour with fright. In effect, this is a blow made against the struggle against the capitalist system. The two workers states must jointly appeal to the masses of India and Pakistan to struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, to plan the production and on this basis to resolve the problems of nationalities, and culture as it was done in the Soviet Union.

The future of humanity is not in the separation of nationalities but on the contrary in centralisation in relation to nationalised property, the elimination of the capitalist system, and the installation of soviets.

Such is the appeal that the International Secretariat of the IV International launches to the world workers and revolutionary movement.

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