

*Workers of the World, Unite!***RED FLAG***Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),
British Section, IVth International*

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

— Trotsky

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SIXPENCE

Smash The Capitalist attempt to block Wage Increases with the struggle for Nationalisations, Workers Control, *National Minimum Wage to rise with the Cost of Living*

THE increasing military involvement of the American imperialists in South Vietnam, the inability of Kosygin to make any concessions to the Imperialists and find a means of arranging a compromise settlement, the attempts of the American imperialists to unify the Latin American armies at the Conference of the Organisation of American States against "subversion" in that continent, confirm the analysis of the IV International that the policy of "peaceful co-existence" has collapsed and that we have entered the very last phases leading to the final encounter between the workers states and imperialism. The Yankee imperialists cannot leave South Vietnam. To leave South Vietnam is tantamount to handing the whole of Asia over to the forces of socialism. They will not leave. On the contrary as can be measured from the most recent speech by Macnamara, they are preparing for the final showdown, openly affirming their intention to attack peoples China — which means the Third world war. They no longer bother to conceal their intentions from the world petit bourgeoisie. They are simply warning the world bourgeoisie that this is the line they intend to follow.

This of course does not alter the fact that world imperialism despite its vast financial, economic and military resources grows weaker politically and socially by the hour. For example what amounts to the total failure of the de Gaulle regime to rally a massive support for French imperialism totally confirms the analysis of the IV International that despite a relative economic stability—now also failing—imperialism cannot rally a serious support against the advance of the world revolution.

Furthermore the vast extent of the military expenditures necessitated by the preparations for the third world war are inevitably undermining all the time any economic stability of the imperialist countries. Wilson has had to make it clear that Britain cannot increase its contributions to Nato, although in fact Macnamara at the recent Nato meeting in Paris was also attempting to winkle more commitment from the Nato forces for military aid in South East Asia. American imperialism is feeling the financial strain of the Vietnam war and has been forced to raise the rate of interest to combat inflationary pressures.

The profound crisis of the last stages of world imperialism inevitably becomes much more marked also in Great Britain. The Rhodesia crisis reveals the anxieties of the ruling class at its total inability to exercise any substantial control over the course of events. Whatever they do, they feel that the crisis will undermine imperialism in Africa. Hence the carping of the Tory opposition at Wilson's efforts, their pronouncement that he is being too hard (!) with Smith and yet they cannot but accept that sanctions are inevitable to meet the pressure from the colonial revolution. Similarly in relation to the dissolution of the Territorial Army which the Labour government has been forced to carry out because of the financial burden, the Tories undoubtedly fear that yet another means has gone to maintain capitalist authority before

and during and after the nuclear war (the continuous breakdown of capitalist authority is shown now by the fact that they have to mount machine guns in Durham gaol to prevent a gaol break).

CAPITALISM WISHES TO INTENSIFY EXPLOITATION OF THE MASSES

Economically a furious competition is now taking place in the capitalist world. The Americans gain the contracts for Air Italia. The British capitalists secure contracts to supply Saudi Arabia with arms but on the other hand are forced to buy American military aircraft because the British aircraft industry cannot supply the relevant planes. The inability of British capitalism to expand the home or export market—the huge unproductive expenditures for war prevent any serious growth—means the danger of unemployment under the stop-go economy. The bourgeoisie led by the Labour government want to prevent heavy unemployment because of the extremely dangerous social consequences which could follow. Hence proposed state intervention in Fairfields shipyards and the aircraft industry. The capitalist class has very mixed feelings about this because, although not averse to benefiting from state financial support they fear the "look" of state intervention at this stage of the class struggle, as one which directs the attention of the working class to the actual liquidation of private property.

At the recent CP Congress, faced with the massive opposition of the British working class to any attempt at capitalist stability, the leaders of this revisionist party called for a "popular front" (!) with the left MPs in the Labour Party. This is typical of the completely cynical reactionary line of the CP leadership. The days of Parliament are over. The masses are searching for an anti capitalist programme based on themselves not for verbal protests by completely feeble M.P.s who are not seriously interested in anything save parliamentary manoeuvres. The

CP however was forced to emphasise the role of the shop stewards to defend the basic interests of the working class. Of course the CP bureaucrats only wish to intervene to promote the conservative elements in the factory committees, etc., i.e. Dash in the unofficial Docks Liaison committee, nevertheless the fact that they were forced to emphasise the shop stewards movement shows that they feel they have to meet the leftward pressures with some demand that stresses a militant struggle to defend the interests of the workers.

The strike action of the masses is continuous—even teachers have been on strike despite the grotesque lack of unity through the competing bureaucracies in the teaching profession. In practice despite the lack of a political centre, the masses go forward as a united front weakening and paralysing the capitalist system. The crisis over Rhodesia has injected the power of the colonial revolution directly into British

politics. We appeal to all militants to match the centralisation of the class with a centralised activity particularly directed at the unofficial factory committees—the only forum for working class activity—which mobilise the struggles around housing, against increases in the cost of living with demands for genuine democratic unions, all the profits of automation to the workers for a basic minimum wage in all industries to rise automatically with the rise in the cost of living, nationalisation under workers' control. In face of the attempt to reduce employment as in the mines it is necessary to demand that no worker is to be dismissed.

The constant mobilisation of the class around these demands is the way to smash British imperialism, aid the world united front against imperialism and centralise the activity of the class in preparation for the war which is to come.

All Possible Aid to the Rhodesian Masses

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the white ruling class in Rhodesia has caused a crisis not only for British Imperialism but for all the African petit bourgeois nationalist leaders who, to varying degrees, are linked to Imperialism and are impeding the progress of the African masses towards Socialism. All these leaders want, at all costs, to avoid stimulating the Rhodesian masses to overthrow Smith, because this would be a tremendous encouragement to the rest of Africa and would endanger their own already shaky positions.

Kaunda of Zambia is a clear example of the conciliatory and pro-imperialist African leaders. For Kaunda the end of the Smith Regime must come through the intervention of British troops. Even the intervention of other African nationalist armies, is hazardous for Kaunda because the African armies are not isolated from the masses or insulated from revolutionary anti-imperialist ideas, and a struggle between it and the white Rhodesian army will stimulate both the Rhodesian masses and the soldiers of the nationalist armies. This is the basis of Kaunda's reluctance to allow other African armies into Zambia; instead he makes the counter-revolutionary move of inviting the R.A.F. But there are limits even to the conciliation which Kaunda is allowed to make. He has not allowed the stationing of British troops in Zambia on Imperialism's terms; he wanted them

to take over the Kariba dam inside Rhodesian territory, while Imperialism insisted on the troops being based only within Zambia. This proposal by the Wilson government was in order to have troops ready to intervene to suppress an internal uprising in Zambia against British property and against Kaunda's conciliatory policy, and also to intervene in Rhodesia if an African uprising there threatened Smith and capitalism. British troops will not intervene in Rhodesia to substitute "one man—one vote" for the present Police State. If Wilson is forced to send in troops it will be to forestall an African uprising and to replace Smith by another pro-imperialist government who will continue the repression of the African workers as before. The "one man—one vote system" is a democratic task which will be accomplished only by the socialist revolution; a revolution which expropriates Imperialism and Capitalism and distributes the land to the peasants. It is a part of the process of the Permanent Revolution.

EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR INTERVENTION OF WORKERS STATES

The trip of two Zambian Ministers to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. (presumably for military aid, as Britain has not supplied it on Zambia's terms), demonstrates the favourability of conditions in Central Africa for a decisive intervention of the Workers States. For the U.S. to intervene at Kaunda's request is fraught with dangers for Im-

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THE ECONOMIC REFORMS IN THE U.S.S.R DAMAGE THE WORKERS STATE, DEVELOP PRIVILEGES AND OPEN A PHASE OF STRIKES AND OF WORKERS STRUGGLES FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

J. POSADAS (EXTRACTS)

The recent economic reforms and reforms of planning in the Soviet Union are bound up with changes in the Supreme Soviet, the ascendancy of Breznev, Posnyanski, Shelepin and Suslov. These are two aspects of the same evolution.

These economic reforms are reactionary, are a retreat towards capitalism, the open door to capitalist relations. There is an augmentation of normal relations determined by salary income, but this time they rest on a weakening of the planification and of the possibility for the workers state to dominate the market, production or prices. It is an opening towards capitalism. But it is not going to succeed, we are convinced. The working class is going to overthrow the bureaucracy before they can attain their ends. The working class has been able to overthrow Tsarism and capitalism in almost half Europe, in China, in Cuba, in Indo-China: it is in process of expelling it in 15 other states and it is going to overthrow in a little time equally the Soviet bureaucracy.

The reform has no economic reason. The bureaucracy has recently published —Breznev and Kosygin have reported on this—that there is an economic progress in the Soviet economy, an immense increase in production. There is then no economic reason for this reform because the increase is progressive and constant. All the reports of the soviet leaders coincide in affirming that they have advantage over capitalism. Why the economic reform then if there is no economic necessity? There are other reasons. And the reasons are that the bureaucracy cannot continue its present role with former planning, because in the process of the economy and of soviet society there has been introduced, there has developed and there develops a very important sector of the bureaucracy which includes the planners, the administrators, the technicians, the managers and also a part of the labour aristocracy which is interested in these economic reforms. That is why Kosygin presented the report. He, Liberman and Trapeznikov are those who have led the campaign for changes and reforms. This discussion has lasted several years. And this discussion has arisen between this team of the bureaucracy, a sector of the bureaucracy, with the bureaucracy of the communist party which is leading in the CP. These are the distinct sectors of the bureaucracy, the technicians, managers planners, administrators and factory directors with their entourage.

These recent economic reforms have been imposed by this sector of the technicians. It is these who have no future in the planning of the economy. The increase in the planning of the economy would make them disappear because the development even bureaucratically realised at the present stage attained by the soviet economy demands the intervention of the soviet masses; direct intervention, a type of workers control. But more than a workers control, as is demanded under capitalism, a planning which responds to the necessity, to the desire for the development of the soviet economy and more, which responds to the enormous power of the soviet economy which has a very weak sector, agriculture.

Economic reform affected by the bureaucracy is not going to develop, to raise the economic power of the Soviet Union, but is going to weaken it. What allows the workers state an advantage over capitalism, to achieve in 30 years what capitalism did not do in 500, has been planning, centralisation submission to the centralisation of the plan and decentralisation in application. The elimination of the central plan disturbs, damages, harms directly the development of the power, of the centralisation, of the economic and social force of the workers state. The workers state can develop itself and the working class, its chemical industry, its technique and

armament, a powerful nuclear industry thanks to centralisation. These new measures tend to interfere with that. They have not yet touched all the points of the economy but if they maintain themselves, if they can continue to maintain themselves, they are going to involve the whole economy. This is the logical necessity of this reform.

We do not believe they are going to succeed in this; we reject this possibility. They are going to be overthrown because the reforms imply at the same time a considerable differentiation in the factories. This reform is not self management, it is worse, it is more backward than self management. The latter is a retreat vis a vis planning the proof can be seen in Yugoslavia which has just made capitalist reforms. Yugoslavia is not a capitalist state; it is not returning to capitalism. But these blows given to the planning of the economy, to production, are going to lead inevitably afterwards to a return to private property in sectors of the economy.

It is that to which the planning of the bureaucracy is leading. They are not going to succeed in this. The recent economic reform in Yugoslavia, the recent practical diminution in salaries, the enormous increase in the prices of the principle articles of consumption; and unemployment follows this line. In the Soviet Union, a workers state there is no need for unemployment. In Yugoslavia the economic reforms—a retreat from centralisation to decentralisation, the return to the particular interests of each factory—have produced this and are going to continue to produce it. In statified property, centralised planning eliminates private interest, the particular interest of one factory as against another. A national plan unifies the forces of the country and all the forces can plan. With planning, production organises itself in accord with what is useful for the national economy, and does not take into account the private interests of one or other sector of the economy, because the objective is not profit but the taking into account of the needs of the population of what the population can afford, of what one can pay for national defence, arms, the development of production. And centralisation allows it to respond to this necessity even if one keeps wages as will be retained for a certain time.

But the centralisation of production, of planning hinders the development of private interests, of sectors because the basis of the sentiment, of the awareness of private interests arises from the role of the economy. As the human being is under the obligation of producing to live so his role in the economy determines his role in society. The proletariat has a determining role in society because he is irreplaceable in

the economy; and further its class consciousness and the development of its socialist consciousness arises from its role in the economy, because it allows it to acquire a collective consciousness which is the basis of a communist consciousness. It feels that in the factory or the country, it is the workers as a whole who determine production. Each worker in himself is nothing. Taken in its entirety the proletariat is an enormous force. The workers feel that they are the cells of society. That is why there arises in each of them a collective consciousness.

Marxism, the Bolshevik party and Trotskyism have developed, and continue to develop not thanks to the propaganda and the agitation of Marxism, Bolshevism or Trotskyism but because there exist the social and historic conditions which permit them to develop. This is the role of the class in production. The formation of its collective consciousness, of solidarity, of socialist sentiment and spirit depart from its role in the economy. Its collective consciousness elevates itself because it sees its collective function (which provides the solution for everything and which is consequently historically progressive and necessary).

The retreat to relations determined by the interest of each factory with economic decentralisation develops private interests as with self management and it has not for its object the raising of socialist consciousness but its opposite; it does not go towards the collective socialist spirit but goes against it. There is no propaganda which can replace it.

Planning, planned centralisation, production in accordance with the needs of the population, with what is necessary and with prices adjusted to the needs and interests of the population even when production is insufficient, develops collective sentiment collective consciousness. On the contrary, production for profit and under conditions of supply and demand stimulates the interest of factory against factory. This is contrary and opposed to the development of the socialist consciousness and on the contrary develops layers-complete sectors—who have an interest in extracting the maximum against the rest.

This reform which the bureaucracy has just made is an immense stimulus to private interests, the particular interests of important sectors of soviet society. It acts as a stimulant for the struggle of sectors, for the distribution of the national income to their own interest.

Until now the Soviet trade unions have been ignored. There is no union life in the Soviet Union. The unions exist nominally. The communist parties including the leaderships of the workers states, Fidel Castro, Mao Tse Tung, that is to say the Cubans and the Chinese have made no criticism, no attack, no campaign for the right of the Soviet unions, the right of the masses of the Soviet Union to function in their unions. The Chinese CP and the Chinese workers state have there a powerful means whereby to criticise the Soviet bureaucracy. They have never utilised it. Why? Because if they criticise the Soviet Union, they criticise themselves, the same for Fidel Castro.

The reforms are going to elevate the contradictions and the antagonisms between the bureaucracy, the administrators planners and worker aristocracy. There is a type of Soviet aristocracy, which thirty years ago was called the Stakhanovites, an aristocracy who through diverse conditions in the

economy, by their role, have a salary which is almost double the majority of the workers.

The immense majority of the Soviet workers consume little. The statistics which are given for car and textile factories, show that these articles are for a small section of the population. This is not because there is no capacity to produce, it is because there is no market to purchase.

ADVANTAGES FOR A PRIVILEGED SECTOR AND NOT FOR THE MASSES

These reforms among other consequences have as their object to satisfy an immense layer of millions and millions of bureaucrats who can buy, who can choose, who can select and who have already raised their pretensions to those of capitalists. This is to say they have enough money, they stand above Soviet society to decide by the market, they feel themselves capable of being able to choose production and to demand for themselves an improvement in production. The reform is not for all the Soviet people. It is for a little circle of 10, 15, 20 millions. No more. It is for them.

The proof is that the principle reforms are made on the articles of the consumption of the bureaucracy: sewing machines, television sets, fabrics, shoes. But not clothes or shoes for everyone but for the consumption of the bureaucracy. It is for them that this reform is made.

But the reason for the reform is not that. The reason for the reform is that the bureaucracy cannot continue to plan. Its last plans show that it is incapable of resolving the agricultural problem. The bureaucracy, in continuing to plan, will meet great obstacles and great contradictions: the masses, the peasants and a sector of the bureaucracy. It is the bureaucracy who are trying to stimulate the transition on the largest scale to justify its existence (because they have no other issue from the bureaucratic point of view) which has introduced these reforms. These reforms demand in depth the policy of peaceful co-existence, but the bureaucracy cannot sustain it.

Thus the social necessity of the development in the Soviet Union of the colonial revolution, is even more than before, antagonistic in relation to the policy of peaceful co-existence. And in a little time this contradiction and antagonism is going to reflect itself in the Soviet Union. This sector of the bureaucracy; planners, administrators, technicians; it is this stratum which has led the campaign for reforms. It is this stratum which has stimulated the mass of the bureaucracy to adopt such measures. It is the product of the previous struggles but these struggles have not for their object the progress of the Soviet Union. And the bureaucracy now shows its inability to continue as before its function of leadership of the workers state.

Until a little time ago to justify their role of leadership, they defended the historic forms of the workers state. Now to support themselves and to be able to continue to survive so that the three sectors of the bureaucracy remain joined together they make this concession, a concession which means an enormous step backwards.

This is not the result of a plan to make the economy advance. The Soviet economy is not going to advance but on the contrary is going to retreat. It is going to advance for six months, but in a longer perspective it is going to retreat. This is the case of Yugoslavia.

ECONOMIC REFORMS IN THE USSR DAMAGE THE WORKERS STATE, ETC.

In exchange the bureaucracy, which until now has maintained itself in a united front, shows by this last reform that its united front can no longer continue, that there is a struggle of interests and that it cannot any longer continue to uphold itself as before. And to maintain this united front there is a need for these reforms which are an enormous retreat and damage the economic structure of the workers state. This is to say that the structure which is the common base of all the bureaucracy for its existence is directly affected. This is not going to be perceived immediately because the reforms are going to be made over a period of three or four years. But in a short time one is going to see the consequences.

This is not because it is necessary to impose this reform that there is a delay of three or four years. It is because they wish to confirm if this plan could go forward to see if it does not provoke conflict with the masses, to measure the resistance of the masses.

And equally if the plan failed the sector of the bureaucracy of the party represented by Breznev, Shliapan, Volyavski have a reason allied with the army to liquidate the sector of the technocrats, etc. It is for this reason that Kosygin has presented this report. And at the same time as the economic reform, the changes in the Supreme Soviet with the ascendancy of the sector of the party in the government where the best posts are for the party, indicates that the sector has no assurance and fears that these reforms will provoke a resistance on the part of the masses. They have put themselves in a position where they can liquidate all this, to stop the process. But at the same time this indicates that they fear, in case of success that these economic reforms are going to increase the weight of the administrators, that is to say its rival in the appropriation of the surplus and is going to increase its political power, but this is imbecilic because the reforms are not going to have any success but this is the mentality of the bureaucrats, the same mentality as when they wished to hand over Cuba or Vietnam but the masses refused to allow this. On the other hand to find an ally they speak

of workers control and of a greater participation of the workers. It is false, there is no participation of the workers. If the workers participated they would have the right to discuss the plan. Fidel Castro who speaks of democracy, of democratic rights why does he not accuse them? We invite Fidel Castro to denounce this plan of the Soviet Union which no one discusses. Who discusses the economic reform? No one. It was the team of the bureaucrats which has decided and which has put it into operation.

In the workers state which they call a socialist state, they say that there is a socialist democracy. This means that all is done as a function of the masses. Good. And who has discussed these measures? This workers control of which they talk, which the workers are going to exercise which is to mean the participation of the workers; this workers control is for the worker aristocracy so that it controls the administrators so that they do not appropriate everything, stimulated as they are by interests of profit with an administration factory by factory which leads to catastrophe and economic chaos—that is to say to hinder chaos as in Yugoslavia, product of the interest of each factory to extract the greatest profit. It is for that that they talk of control and the participation of the workers. These are not workers; it is the aristocracy of labour allied to the apparatus of the party; it feels that its force does not lie in the sector of planning but its role as a worker aristocracy finds its force in alliance with the party and the unions. This is a measure of protection against a sector of the bureaucracy. Nothing more.

But this reform is going to lead to a terrible chaos, not only as has been seen in Yugoslavia where they have modified planning but also to unemployment, increase in the cost of living and more to a slowing down in the rhythm of economic development.

These reforms in the Soviet Union are going to lead directly to an increase in disorder as in Yugoslavia, of the type the capitalist market produces. One of the consequences of planning is to hinder supply and demand; that is to

say to control it, direct it, manage it. On the other hand in the capitalist market, supply and demand cannot be controlled or directed and it is that which in the last interest conducts the course of production as seen in prices.

The planning of the economy allows the calculation of the cost of production and the sale of goods in accord with the needs of consumption and of production.

It does not prevent the public buying more of one thing than another. But this pressure in the measure that it is planned, controlled by the fact that the state has no interest in profit does not mean automatically as in the capitalist regime an increase in prices. There is a control of supply and demand. It does not eliminate it because the public buys where it can exercise a pressure for production, without this leading to an increase in prices; although the increase in prices can come from the cost of production from an increase in the cost of primary imports, etc. That is the control of supply and demand.

This measure of the bureaucracy to impose what can be called the participation of the workers is a measure of protection against the disastrous consequences of this reform. It is a bureaucratic protection which is going to have no effect. Already the bureaucrats, the technicians, the administrators, planners are going to find the way to associate with the worker aristocracy.

On the contrary the result is going to be that the rest of the proletariat, of the peasants who work for wages are going to be impelled to defend their conditions of life which are going to be depressed and stagnant.

That is to say that the structure is not going to retreat historically but it is not going to follow the necessary and possible rhythm of production. In effect it is the bureaucracy which decides and the planning is not the result of what the people demand, because an important part of production of the articles of consumption is determined by those who possess, that is to say by the bureaucracy. And this is going to have an effect on the whole of the apparatus of production of the articles of consumption which are determined by those who possess, that is to say by the bureaucracy. And this is going to have an effect on the apparatus of production, raw materials, machines, technicians and workers. There is going to be a change in the market of production.

The planned economy, the monopoly of foreign trade allows the control of supply and demand and prices. That prevents for example a preference of the population for a particular product leading to an increase in prices.

Only the planned economy of the workers state can realise this, because its interest is not profit whereas when production is done as a function of profit the sale of a series of products in the free market leads to an increase of prices. The bureaucracy to hinder this increase of prices must control them, but that is impossible on the free market. A parallel black market is going to develop.

There is a stratum of the bureaucracy of 10, 15, 20 million people who have an interest in intervening in this process of supply and demand and which is going to accentuate the tendency towards an increase in prices. The free market is going to impose itself. Those with money are going to buy whatever the cost. The administrators are going to produce for profit, the development of production is going to answer to the needs of this market. And there is going to develop the spirit, the relations, the capitalist sentiments which exist already.

The development of the planned economy allows the development of the collective sentiments in the increase of production and of productivity. Today the planned intervention of the masses is necessary. It is going to replace not only the organs of repression but also the administration in favour of the auto administration of the masses, not for the profit if each factory, but for the good of the whole community. It is this that

is the advance of socialism. Thus it expresses itself in the workers states demanding each time in a stricter fashion the centralisation, the planning and the intervention of the masses. The planned economy is necessary for the development of production with the direct intervention of the masses in this planning, direction and distribution.

All the measures which have just been taken are going to act to the contrary. They see competition increase. In a planned economy competition is eliminated. These reforms will develop individual interest, waste, etc., but also the organs of repression.

The masses are going in consequence to reply with the trade union struggle. They are going to raise the struggle for the political revolution and they are going to increase the crisis of the communist parties in the whole world. And consequently it opens the road to a reanimation of the class struggle, not of small territorial bourgeois land ownership, but a reanimation of the class struggle where the centre is going to be the proletariat, against the bureaucrats, technicians against all those, to defend their wages so that production meets what the people need and not what the bureaucrats wish, a struggle for union democracy, strikes, reanimation of the pressure for trade union life. It is all that which these reforms are going to produce.

The Soviet bureaucracy has confidence in nuclear arms. This is right against imperialism but the nuclear arms in the Soviet Union have no possibility of serving against the masses.

SOVIET MASSES FEEL THE APPROACH OF THE FINAL ENCOUNTER

These reforms are going to produce in a short delay, inevitably, a reanimation of the internal antagonisms within the Soviet Union. The bureaucracy is going to find itself in front of the masses with all its historic impotence.

The Soviet masses without doubt, feel that they are in the period of the final settlement of accounts, that is to say, the final struggle against capitalism. The proletariat of the world, the colonial masses of the world see and feel that this stage is approaching and they receive the influence and inter-influence of the world revolution; the proletariat of the Soviet Union also experiences this.

If up till now it has not reacted, it is because of a series of historic conditions, amongst them, that it does not feel the proletariat on a world scale as direct points of support. It does not need as does the proletariat of the colonial and semi-colonial countries to eliminate capitalism and imperialism within the country. The problem of the class struggle against imperialism and capitalism is not posed in the USSR, but the problem is posed of making the Workers states progress through measures of planning of the economy towards socialist measures. That is to say that the proletariat does not feel itself in the same situation as the proletariat of the rest of the world. It feels itself in a better position and more capable, and it is more capable of attaining what it wants. It feels that it has been capable of building a workers state. It feels that the final settlement of accounts approaches. It feels that the communist parties of the world are not carrying out a revolutionary policy. The Soviet proletariat has not had the opportunity to sense, see, or live the Marxist life of this epoch. The example which it receives from the world doesn't amount to anything, on the contrary. All of it gives the proletariat the sensation, the consciousness, and in consequence makes it feel that it is possible to obtain and that it can obtain all that it needs and everything that must not put the workers state in danger. But up to this stage, there has been, without doubt, a constant progress. There has not been a stop.

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Bakers strike shows the necessity to struggle for a National Minimum Wages to rise with the Cost of Living

There is no doubt that the bureaucrats of the bakers' union did not want this strike and, when pressure from below forced them to call it they did so half-heartedly and, finally sabotaged it altogether. As we pointed out in our editorial of last month the idea of guerilla strikes was nothing more than a manoeuvre to diminish the effectiveness of the strike and, once again revealed the anti-working class nature of the trade union bureaucracy. In fact, at one stage in the negotiations, an interim pay award could have been gained from the employers, but, under pressure from the Minister of Labour, Mr. Gunter, the officials of the bakers' union decided to submit the claim to the prices and incomes board. To quote a report in the 'Guardian'—"But did they or did they not know that . . . they could have had 15s. if not the full £1 they were demanding? . . . the Federation of Wholesale and Multiple Bakers . . . had been falling over themselves to buy off the threatened strike." This report also states that Mr. Gunter had for three days been devoting his efforts to keeping the employers and the union officials apart. This then is the weakness of capitalism that it takes the government and the trade union bureaucrats days of work to prevent a small sector of the working class from gaining a pay rise.

The importance of the bakers' strike was the actual demand for a 30% rise in the basic rate. In general, recent strikes in this country have been con-

cerned with bonuses and piece rates and, to keep production at a high level, the employers have given various awards, but basic rates of pay in most industries have remained at a very low level. The basic rate of pay, £11/10/0 in the case of the bakers, reflects the amount of faith capitalism has in its markets, in its ability to expand. This is what, in times of slump, capitalism can cut the wage bill back to. Capitalism dare not allow a high level of unemployment and this makes it more important to keep the basic rates of pay low. Thus, when the bakers attempt to raise their basic rate to a reasonable living wage great panic and confusion is created in the capitalist class and the whole machinery of capitalist government is brought into action to block the demands of the workers.

World capitalism is in permanent crisis and this crisis is reflected in the British economy. The capitalists will attempt to solve this crisis at the expense of the workers. It is now that the slogan "For a National Basic Minimum Wage to rise with the cost of living" should be raised. It is a demand that can unite the whole of the working class.

The official trade union leadership will not launch a campaign for a national minimum wage, the workers themselves must do it through their unofficial committees. The unofficial committees must be united in a joint national trade union centre. A national unofficial committee must be formed in every industry and a committee in every factory, mine and shop, on an anti-capitalist programme.

ECONOMIC REFORMS IN THE USSR DAMAGE THE WORKERS STATE, ETC.

This reform is a turning back. And it is going to pose the problems we have just mentioned, that is the sharpening of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, but we repeat not with the peasant, the small proprietor partisan, and on a world scale, but with the Soviet Union itself. And in this struggle one of the most important demands is going to be the right of functioning of the trade unions, trade union liberty and the right to strike. The conditions are being prepared for massive strikes in the Soviet Union, and in the other Workers States. It is necessary to await the consequences and the results of these reforms.

This proletariat has not been able up till now to overthrow the bureaucracy, because of the historic conditions which we have mentioned, but the bureaucracy cannot continue to strengthen its power and to construct itself as a new class. This is an attempt to build itself into a new class, it is done with the consciousness of creating itself as a new class. The response of this miserable Kosygin to questions of the journalist who asked him: "Do you believe that this is a return to capitalism?" was "No because property continues to be social." "But" said the journalist "everything else is as in a capitalist country!" "Yes but the property continues to be social."

The property relations, the relation of the individual in the economy, are determined by the property regime. But when the property relations, the social relations, the distribution of income, the form of property is not submitted to the necessity of statified property, the elimination of planning, the profit interest, factory by factory of competition (as in Yugoslavia) is going to result inevitably because the interests and stimulants are being maintained, for a return to private property. This is the logical conclusion of these reforms. They are not going to reach this.

This is one of the bases on which Yankee Imperialism and world capitalism waits, hoping to claim advantages from these reforms. They hope these measures will distort the workers states, weaken them socially so that they can draw advantages from this.

It is not because of this that Imperialism does not launch the war. It is one of the reasons from which they hope to gain advantage. Imperialism still does not launch atomic war in a global fashion, because it feels that this is its end. It has already launched the war in Viet-nam, in Santo Domingo, in Cuba, in Korea, and in the Congo.

It is necessary to take into account that in all this discussion on the reforms the army has not been involved; this is not because the army is indifferent. It has interests but it has not the weight, the necessary force, it does not have direct interests in the form of production. The army bureaucracy wants production to increase, it wants it so that it is given armaments, so that salaries are increased, it wants to live well and it wants to see what this reform is going to be like. But the fact that the bureaucracy made this reform so cautiously and gave themselves three years delay before enforcing it, the discussion itself, shows the cowardice of the bureaucracy, the fear and, on top of this cowardice and fear, the knowledge of the reaction of the soviet masses. The soviet masses see that it is an historical step backwards. This is why the bureaucracy is so anxious to constantly assert "this is not a return to capitalism, it is not a return to capitalism." But it is an attempt to return to Capitalism.

THE LAST PHASE OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The property continues to be statified but the forms of development, of production correspond to Capitalist property and, inevitably to make profits as is the point of this reform, the base for the increase of production, means to return to the private ownership. It is the death of the bureaucracy. It is one of the last, we must say, the last attempt of the bureaucracy to maintain itself, this shows that the bureaucracy is not able to plan the economy any more but that its interests clash with society. The functioning of the bureaucracy, the development of the bureaucracy creates the stratas of the bureaucracy which direct blows at the statified property. These are the planners and technicians. And, in consequence, the interest of all these stratas is a return to private property. They have an interest in private property.

But the concessions made to the technicians and administrators, the reforms made are not only for industry but also for agriculture. Through these reforms they eliminated nearly all the regulations in the Kolkhozes; they gave most of the land to the Kolkhozes in private form. Legally the land continues to be the property of the State; but the utilization of the Kolkhozes is a form of private property. The bureaucracy gave more land to the collective farmers which means less work for the Kolkhoz itself but more time for land held individually; and also there is elimination of price control, that is to say a free selling on the market.

One of the reasons which limits, one of the reasons which limits the capacity of capitalist production, which leads to the death of capitalism, is competition, because competition means the dispersal of the productive forces, of the social forces. In the Soviet Union it is this which is being introduced. And this dispersion is not going to last a long time. This shows the rotten idiotic mentality of the bureaucracy which believes that it is going to be able to last, because it is going to increase production; it is going to increase production in 3, 4, 5 15 or 20 factories, but production as a whole is going to stagnate. There is going to be an immense loss in physical material, in working force and energy.

It is going to be followed by unemployment by free competition, production functioning for the customer, if it does not base itself on the freedom to work in one factory or another on the liberty to pay higher salaries in one factory than another, that is to say that the differentiation of salaries is going to increase, re-introducing all the chaos of capitalism. This is going to happen within a short time.

Also the conclusions show in a clear fashion, that the bureaucracy does not find the way to maintain itself and that in consequence, the bureaucratic sectors of the party have yielded to the planners. From here, we can expect new struggles.

As Trotsky said, all the bureaucracy do not have these interests, the bureaucracy of the party does not have these interests because they will have robbed themselves. The technicians and planners and directors, who play a role in production are sure that they are more secure and more capable. For them the change is a stimulant. But when the sectors of the Party and the army allow it, it is because they are sure there is no other way to resolve the internal disputes of the bureaucracy and to maintain bureaucratic domination.

One of the conditions which has allowed the large development of the Workers State in such a few years, was at the same time as the planning of the economy, price control, state control of buying and selling, monopoly of foreign commerce which impeded the presence, and influence of the world capitalist market. The influence, the direct relation with the world capitalist market brings as a consequence production for the external market. And in order to advance and stimulate profit, it is going, in an open fashion, to refuse to submit to the state monopoly of trade. That is to say, these measures will bring about the rest. That is why they do not have any historic perspective, none!

With full awareness, certain of our predictions, we can say that, as Cuba was the beginning of the fall of Khrushchev, these measures of the bureaucracy will accelerate its downfall. This is why world Capitalism has such a flexible attitude; it has not made a great propaganda, it has hardly commented. To profit, to combat communism they could have said: "In this way communism is returning to Capitalism." Capitalism does not do this because it knows that this would prejudice the position of the bureaucracy. It is silent. In the same way that it has hardly commented on the fall of Guevara because it does not want to provoke difficulties for Fidel Castro. This is the world wide attitude of capitalism. While it approves of the reforms, it does not say anything which is going to prejudice the bureaucracy and, it is the same thing for Guevara.

This reform opens in a powerful fashion, the way to the imposition of supply and demand and the accentuation of the differentiation in consumption of the Soviet population. The Workers States, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, China, Cuba, Poland, etc., maintain and maintained before these reforms, forms of capitalist relations in wages. Salaries are an inevitable consequence of every new workers state; Although today the new Workers States do not have to maintain it with the level of differentiation of the first workers state.

There are now fourteen Workers States. There is an elevation of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, a greater understanding, an elevation of the revolutionary consciousness of the world peasantry. That is to say that the best historical conditions exist to pass over stages, to make dialectical leaps, and without waiting for a high development of the economy, tend already towards a certain equalisation of salaries.

We posed this for Cuba, for the first time in 1959. Guevara rejected this, but starting from 1963 he himself posed it. And this is one of the Trotskyist ideas, Trotskyist conceptions.

Guevara has been in China, in Algeria, in Mali, in a series of countries which he has seen concretely. This view is not solely a product of thinking, or of imagination but because he has seen the possibilities of doing it. All the last works of Guevara, even though confused, try to show the possibility of a certain equalisation of salaries showing that in order to develop itself, the Workers State, it must develop its socialist spirit and consciousness.

These reforms are going to stimulate

competition between factories, to open up the market. That is to say that in a sharp way this is going to clash with the rest of the population. The bureaucracy up till now has been able to hide this. Not completely, because the proletariat knows its foul face, it sees it already, but the economic reform is going to show it for what it is, and presenting it for what it is, is going to stimulate inter-bureaucratic competition, an internal struggle. It is going to be an immense fetter to the development of production and productivity. There is going to be a development of branches of the economy at the expense of others as in Yugoslavia. The process of increase of production and productivity in the Workers States can only have a solid

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 control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

World Trotskyist Press

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

Economic Reforms

base in the planning and the monopoly of foreign trade, because planning benefits from the centralised force of society. It eliminates competition.

STRUGGLE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE MASSES

These reforms have as an end the development of a whole layer of worker aristocrats, bureaucrats, etc., by stimulating private interest and in consequence an individualist consciousness and spirit. This is peaceful co-existence against solidarity with the world revolution, against support to the world revolution, while the objective necessity of the objective process of Asia, Latin America, Africa and the struggle of the proletariat in Europe is the opposite. Hence the necessity for the revolutionary struggle is sharpened and raised.

The bureaucracy realises these reforms in the stage of the development of the world revolution. And this is going to accelerate its downfall. Capitalism tries to profit from this situation, but there is little that it can do. One must on the other hand expect reactions from the soviet masses. One must prepare for a struggle within the workers states in which transitional demands, the programme of transition will immediately have a primordial and fundamental importance. The democratic rights of the masses, rights for the plurality of Workers parties, trade union rights, the right to strike, workers control. All this is going to be posed. The road of the political revolution is going to open itself to the masses who are going to differentiate themselves from the bureaucracy. And this process is going to define itself in a short period.

The interest of the direct relations between the market and production is going to develop inevitably a much greater antagonism than exists now, not only between the sector of the planners, administrators, etc. and the proletariat, but with the necessities of foreign policy. There are going to be more and more violent collisions. It is necessary to expect in a short time, a new expression of this crisis perhaps produced in the new Central Committee in which the bureaucratic sectors of the party are going to try to increase the key posts in the Central Committee in order to defend themselves from the consequences of these reorganisations of the economy.

One must expect reactions from the part of the Chinese, even if they are limited and conciliatory. They are going to have to attack these measures which go against the Chinese workers state. And one must expect the reaction of the Soviet masses in the not distant future.

Capitalism has done all that the bureaucracy are doing, ages ago. These idiots of bureaucrats think that they have invented something. What have they invented? What Libermann proposes today was done by capitalism 500 years ago. And they have to present themselves before the Soviet masses as inventors "Look at what we have invented" and capitalism replies "We did it 500 years ago and look what a mess we are in."

The internal antagonisms between the masses and the bureaucracy are going to grow, as also are the inter-bureaucratic antagonisms, and this is going to be a means of binding the action of the masses in the Soviet Union to the world revolution, directly.

The bureaucracy is not going to be able to contain the consequences of these reforms which they have made. It is going to increase the internal struggles, and the interests and preoccupation of the Soviet masses to unify themselves, to live in a direct way, to participate in a direct way, to bind themselves to the revolutionary sectors of the army, that is to say, it is going to sharpen the struggles within the Soviet Union and the tendency of the masses to unite with the world revolution with repercussions in the communist parties of the world. These are the conclusions. J. POSADAS

THE REMOVAL OF GUEVARA—A BLOW AT

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION (J. Posadas Extracts)

This same Fidel Castro who accepts this ignoble trick, unworthy of a revolutionary leadership, as in the elimination of Guevara without discussion, without expounding publicly the problem before the Cuban people, is the same Fidel Castro who two years ago referred to Khrushchev calling him a great man and a Marxist Leninist. The Soviet bureaucracy liquidated Khrushchev, put all the blame on him and Castro did not say a word. He did not draw any conclusion from this. Castro must meditate and understand that this measure which he has supported and encouraged will lead him to the same situation as Khrushchev. The power of Cuba does not lie in economic planification or arms. Its power consists in its capacity to develop the revolution, in its influence.

...Castro must feel—and the tendencies who wish to be honest and who believe that they have been correct in eliminating Guevara—they must understand that they have encouraged the bureaucracy within Cuba. All the conservative sectors of the economy of the trade union and political apparatus, of the army see in this measure a point of support to terrorise and persecute the revolutionary tendencies and prevent them developing. The revolutionary tendencies in Cuba are those who propagate the development of the socialist revolution, proletarian democracy, the right to discuss everything to propose everything, to control everything. This is socialism.

The measure that Castro and the Cuban leadership have taken with Guevara is more perilous than ten defeats in the world workers movement, because the Latin American movement sees that the leader who organised the revolution is driven out and cannot appeal to the masses to discuss if he should go or not, see that the masses cannot ask him to remain. And a blow against the socialist democracy is infinitely more severe than twenty defeats. Taking this measure Fidel Castro reinforces and develops the bureaucracy in Cuba. There is no guarantee against the bureaucracy but it has no historic possibility of developing itself and Fidel Castro and the others are dreaming if they think that it is going to last much longer.

If they must liquidate Guevara calling him "our comrade" and in liquidating him seek to liquidate the revolutionary policy which Guevara represents, if they must liberate the Trotskyists, it is because they cannot deceive history; there no longer exists the historic basis of Stalin. Stalin based himself on the world ebb of the revolution, which Stalin himself induced, basing himself on this ebb. Supporting himself on this ebb he justified (the necessity to retreat and lean simply on the Soviet Union) before the soviet masses, before the bureaucracy, before the party, before the masses.

But now that there is no possibility for this, the time that remains for them is very short. It is absurd to base oneself on this historic inadequacy and to take these measures. The Latin American worker masses and those of the world have taken the elimination of Guevara as a blow against socialist democracy, the interests of the socialist revolution.

The divergencies between Lenin and Trotsky were infinitely greater than were and will be the differences of Castro with whatever person. The books of Lenin show this. On the trade unions in the workers state, Lenin polemicised with Trotsky in at least two thirds of the book. Lenin polemicised sharply with Trotsky as with all the old Bolsheviks. All the works of Lenin during the revolution are a polemic with the leaders. In the full course of the revolution Lenin was writing books of every sort without fear and the Bolshevik party made the masses intervene. Why is not the same done in Cuba? The masses of the world see everything. The Cuban revolution is not isolated from the world.

CASTRO WISHES TO PURSUE THE ROLE OF CENTRIST

This behaviour of Fidel Castro is in complete contradiction with his discourse of the 26 July last, although in this discourse Castro showed his continuous vacillations, his political indecision. The courage of Castro as a revolutionary does not involve his courage on the ideological and political field. This actual indecision and support which he gave to Khrushchev before is completely in opposition to his speech of the 26 July.

There is no doubt that Fidel Castro wishes to pursue the role of centrist but there is no possibility for centrism; this can have a much shorter duration. The revolution develops and advances. Neither imperialism or capitalism have obtained any important success. Even the events in Indonesia do not represent a success for imperialism. In part—as we have analysed and as will be said in an article—it is part of the necessity of the development of the revolution which does not find the necessary leadership, on which thereby the reactionary sectors can be sustained, above all through the absence of a centralised power which appeals to the masses to intervene.

It is necessary to encourage the Cuban masses to discuss why Guevara has been eliminated—Guevara who has made the revolution, who has been considered the ideologist of the Cuban revolution, the one who has tried with a certain success to organise and carry forward the struggle for the socialist objective.

Guevara has leaned on the trade unions, turned a whole period of activity to the trade union field, has been the man at the head of the preparation and the selection of the elements to incorporate in the single party of the socialist revolution, eliminating bureaucrats carrying it out in such a way that from the factories, from the trade unions would come forward the appropriate elements after the workers had discussed who would be a member of it.

This is not the correct method but it is an attempt even if not correct, to select cadres and impede the bureaucracy. If it has not been correct it is through the lack of political experience and also because the Cuban leadership, including Guevara, has not been capable of assimilating the historic experiences of the revolution. For example they all ignore the works of Trotsky and apart from that they do not discuss him nor the works of Lenin.

It is sufficient to read the works of Lenin during the revolution and in the first years of the workers state it is enough to see in his struggle to impede bureaucratisation, how Lenin made the masses intervene in assemblies and trade union committees. This did not damage the revolution, on the contrary it reinforced it and propelled it forward. Lenin supported himself on the workers militias. What has the Castro government done? He has practically annulled the militia has ordered the surrender of all the arms of the militias. Why? The militia men would not launch an attack against the Cuban workers state. It is against capitalism that they would use them. When they are in question it is a sign of an internal struggle. There is an internal struggle in which Fidel Castro does not stand on the side of the tendency which wishes to impel the revolution, but on the side of the bureaucracy. For this reason he wishes to take the arms of the workers. It is not from the Soviet bureaucracy that he is taking arms.

It is necessary in Cuba to develop the popular militia, which is not in contradiction with the maintaining, in part of the regular army. It is necessary to insist on the organisation of the popular militia in a territorial form; it is the most elevated form, the strongest and most solid, the politically most secure to develop and defend the revolution from the attack of imperialism, from the organisation of the attack which the Latin American bourgeoisie is preparing against Cuba and also against the internal possibility of the bureaucratic and counter revolutionary tendencies. And beyond this, it eliminates above all the creation of a stable body like the army, a conservative force which weighs on the economy and in addition which imposes conservative and usurping tendencies which impede the development of the enormous creative capacity of the masses.

But for this reason socialist democracy must develop; the right of the masses to discuss, the independence of the trade unions on the basis of the programme of the socialist revolution, the plurality of parties.

The development of the political revolution in Cuba as in the other workers states means to advance the conquest of the revolutionary democratic rights of the masses. This does not mean to overthrow Castro nor to revolt for a social change, but on the contrary to fight to impel the socialist revolution.

Even this recent measure of the incorporation of fifty soldiers in the political committee according to the papers is on a conservative line, because in Cuba as elsewhere, the army through its nature is a semi professional army. It is not the militia. The officers who are those included in the political committee of this party now constituted, are conservatives. They cannot be defined as revolutionaries. What role do they play in production and in politics? They are simply conservative. Why do they not put workers in the leadership? There are unions who struggle, who discuss, who carry forward all the country to impel the revolution. Why has Castro not put workers in the leadership? He has not been capable of developing a workers leadership through lack of a socialist democracy and apart from that from fear. The official dependence, has conservative interests, from his nature. Thus like the bureaucracy of the administrative apparatus, the army creates conservative parasitic interests bound up with its military function.

It would be different if there were workers and at the same time soldiers. But there are soldiers, officials. If Castro put these people in the Central committee it is because he has need of a social base submitted to the state apparatus. This is part of the struggle. But we repeat, Castro is mistaken if he thinks that this can last. He is encouraging the communist party and the Soviet bureaucracy giving them points of support more important than yesterday which tomorrow will turn against him because in every degree Castro is an obstacle for the bureaucracy because centrism can serve the Soviet bureaucracy only for a certain time.

The elimination of Guevara is part of an elevated process of the development of the revolution which has need of proletarian democracy. The facts of Indonesia and Cuba demonstrate it. The revolution arrives at a limit in which the action of the leaders is no longer sufficient (who for a certain time can be supported by the revolution.) But there arrives a certain point where there is need of the intervention of the masses or otherwise the revolution retreats.

The facts of Cuba represent an enormous retreat. Cuba has retreated twenty years in relation to the revolution. A blow has been delivered against socialist democracy more powerful than any defeat. The masses will ask "why does Guevara go without speaking with us, Why? The same Guevara who went to the unions to discuss, to make pro-

(Continued page 6)

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ADDRESS

THE REMOVAL OF GUEVARA

(Continued from page 5)

posals, who made the journey through Asia and Africa, why does he not discuss? Why does he fear to discuss? ...

The discourse of Fidel Castro in which he presented the supposed letter of Guevara shows that he was an upstanding revolutionary who will continue to struggle. As a man who maintains all his dignity, his revolutionary decision, he yet does not have the courage to speak to his people to say that he is not going. Why? And because Fidel Castro has not said "We asked Guevara to say that he would stay", this is the result of a struggle and the masses see that it is the question of a struggle and besides a struggle conducted in an unworthy manner because Guevara was eliminated without discussion, without the masses knowing anything of what has been discussed.

Why did they not discuss the political line before the masses? Even if this had carried with it economic difficulty, because the soviet bureaucracy would have exerted pressure, and would have diminished its support, commercial exchange or its credit; in compensation it would then have gained in increase in the world support of the masses and in the impulse to the revolution.

If Fidel Castro is consistent with his speech of the 26 July, in which, notwithstanding his political indecision he said that in every case the war would occur and that "even if they flatten us" the revolution will continue and Cuba will be reconstructed anew; Cuba is only a part of the world struggle of the revolution, if Fidel Castro is consistent with this policy he must understand that the liquidation of Guevara is a handshake with imperialism and the soviet bureaucracy and is not the position which he claims to hold because this weakens the socialist positions of the revolution and on the contrary favours the bureaucracy which paralyses the activity of the masses.

While Castro does this, the Chinese have applied a series of norms which are Trotskyist: the elimination of grades, of the military salute, the democratisation of the army. Fidel Castro must see what is happening in the world and the revolution. He must not only see Moscow: this is transitory. The crisis of the bureaucracy, in the next months will continue in a much more serious way than now.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY IN THE POLITICAL BUREAU

In "Peking Information" the Chinese have analysed the necessity to develop proletarian democracy in the Chinese army: the right of the soldiers, to speak, to discuss. This is the organisation of the armed militia in China. The leadership of the Chinese workers state draws upon the base to defend itself from the conservative sectors of the leadership. The leadership of the Cuban revolution must take note of this.

In Cuba on the other hand they are doing the opposite. This does not favour the workers state but on the contrary makes it retreat. The revolution advances despite the conservative, vacillating, contradictory policy of the leadership which in the last period within the framework of this contradictory policy, has gone each time closer to the conservative, parasitic soviet bureaucracy.

There is no doubt that with this measure of the liquidation of Guevara, Fidel Castro seeks to maintain a certain independence of Moscow. Hence the composition of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. But inevitably there is not this mobilisation and activity of the masses the conservative tendencies will find the way to regroup supporting themselves in every way in the army and beyond that make use of the soviet bureaucracy.

This protectionist measure of putting fifty soldiers in the Central Committee is not a political measure. It is a measure in reality directed against the Guevarist tendency. Two months ago Castro asked for the return of the arms of the militia. Against who was this intended? It stemmed from fear that the Guevara tendency which is strong but not unified, not organised, might organise itself. This is not a measure of protection against the conservative tendency and the bureaucratisation. Apart from this Castro will not be able with his centrism to impede bureaucratisation because this depends on the function exercised, not on the post occupied in the Central Committee. These are parasitic positions.

For this reason the elimination of Guevara will have its consequences in later phases. The revolution advances and is not controlled. The crisis in Latin America demonstrates this. The example of Guatemala is already known. In Peru the guerillas have the programme of the socialist revolution which is almost identical with that in Guatemala, as in Colombia. The next guerillas which will form themselves in

Latin America, the struggles of the Latin American masses will pass rapidly to the programme of the socialist revolution. And it is on this basis that it is necessary to see the perspective of this crisis in Cuba.

The elimination of Guevara represents a crisis which the new party recently formed and the new central committee cannot conceal. It is a crisis because it is concerned with the elimination of one of the tendencies, because between the centrism of Fidel Castro and the right who are the communists, Guevara pursued the role of the representative of the socialist tendency conscious of the revolution.

The elimination of Guevara leaves the leadership in the hands of the centre and the right. It is a crisis. The right will seek to take a position because notwithstanding that it may be a minority, it feels that the liquidation of the left leaves it with the field clear so that it can find a more favourable terrain to exert pressure on the centre. And this crisis will not last a long time. The conditions do not exist for a policy of the centre to be maintained.

We appeal to the Chinese to demand from Cuba where Guevara is and that there is a discussion of the case of Guevara. This is not a secret of the Cuban revolution. Neither Lenin, nor the Bolsheviks, nor the Trotskyists have concealed or concealed what they do. There is not a single case in which the Bolsheviks would have said that a leader can disappear to go to fight elsewhere while the most important thing is to fight in Cuba.

It is necessary that the Chinese intervene and open a world discussion just as they propose and are carrying forward even if timidly, the democratisation in the army, the right to discuss democratically all the problems—even if they are slow in applying this completely—thus they must demand certainly that the question of Guevara is discussed.

We appeal to the Chinese and to all the revolutionary tendencies to demand a discussion above all on the positions of Guevara on the line of Guevara and the line of Fidel Castro and the line of the communists. Guevara has a position in favour of the united world proletarian front as the Chinese put forward now. The Chinese appeal to a world united front to smash capitalism, timidly confused, but they are making an appeal for this.

What does Fidel Castro say to this? This Congress which they are convoking in Cuba for next January of the colonial peoples, Asia, Africa and Latin America does not eliminate this. The revolution does not proceed from the top the revolution is made by the masses and if they are not able to participate or direct, there will only be the recurrence of what has happened in the Congo, Algeria and Indonesia and imperialism gains historic stages and this means more destruction of humanity. The longer imperialism lives the more damage will be done to humanity. From the reactionary and counter revolutionary policy of peaceful co-existence the more time imperialism gains, the more it arms itself and the more destruction it will cause before being eliminated from history. This is what the leaders of Cuba must feel.

It is necessary that all the Guevara case is discussed in Cuba, that the Cuban masses ask where Guevara is, that he returns, that the Guevarist tendency discusses publicly the programme of the socialist revolution. This is democracy. The rest is a usurpation of the masses and a bureaucratic dictatorship against the masses.

We launch an appeal to the base of the communist parties, to the base of all the nationalist movements to demand public discussion on Guevara, on the positions of Guevara and that the Cuban government pronounces on the positions of Guevara and further that it permits the Guevarists to defend themselves and to discuss publicly. The elimination of Guevara is a blow against the revolution much more powerful than a military defeat and favours capitalism enormously.

For this reason capitalism has said nothing, has been silent, while the masses see that Guevara who until a few days ago appeared as an animator of the socialist revolution disappears without any reason, is eliminated without any cause, and not him alone, but his positions, his ideas. The masses will see it as a blow against the revolutionary democratic rights of the masses.

We appeal to the masses of the communist, nationalist, socialist parties, the workers states, of the countries of Asia Africa, Latin America and Europe for a public and open discussion and for a condemnation of the elimination of Guevara in Cuba, because it is a blow directed against the world revolution which is of advantage exclusively to capitalism.

11.10.65—J. POSADAS

WORKERS STATES MUST GIVE ALL POSSIBLE AID TO RHODESIAN MASSES

(continued from page 1)

perialism and it would like to use UNO (if that body would consent) to maintain Capitalism, but the U.S.S.R. can intervene with all the power and prestige of the Workers State, to support and encourage the revolution with Soviet armed forces. And this would quickly mean the end of Capitalism in the whole of Africa. At the time when the Congo became independent from Belgium, Lumumba too appealed for economic and technical aid, both to the U.S. and then to the U.S.S.R., and one reason for his elimination by imperialism was his moving towards the Workers States.

Despite the lack of help from the Workers States or the African nationalist states, and against the full force of Smith's police, the Rhodesian masses have shown their opposition to the white Capitalist state. The working class of Bulawayo showed by strikes and demonstrations after U.D.I. that they were prepared to struggle; but without outside help, without trade unions or parties their actions have had only a limited success. And this is due to the failures of the leaderships of the Workers States who must intervene militarily with the programme for the overthrow of Capitalism and Imperialism in Africa and for the formation of the United Socialist States of Africa. The Rhodesian crisis, is not just a Rhodesian affair, but poses the necessity for the revolution to sweep away what remains of Capitalism throughout the whole of Africa.

Nevertheless in spite of all the limitations of the leaderships the African masses have forced certain African governments to break diplomatic relations with Britain, and so far the U.A.R. Mali, Mauritania, Guinea, Ghana, Tanzania Algeria and Sudan have taken this step. Although this does not of course entirely remove them from the influence and pressure of Imperialism, it will act as a stimulus to the revolution in those countries and accelerate their progress towards becoming Workers States. The African leaderships hesitated to take this step but they were forced to by the masses. This was brought out clearly at a meeting where Nyerere warned the people of Tanzania that a break with Britain would mean hardships and the possible closing of schools and hospitals. Nyerere used this as a pressure against the masses but nevertheless they called for breaking off relations with Britain and Nyerere had to accept.

The seizure of independence by Smith has been received without any enthusiasm by the Union of South Africa and Portugal even though when it comes to an armed struggle these will certainly go to the aid of the white ruling class of Rhodesia. The Verwoerd government has reacted coolly to the Smith regime because despite the powerful military apparatus of South Africa

Verwoerd is afraid of the consequences of Smith's action. It is the same in relation to Portugal also.

The Wilson government has been forced by African pressure to harden up against the Smith Regime. Certainly Smith never envisaged that the British government would be so hard on him, but now the oil embargo, the cutting of Rhodesian imports and the impounding of her bank reserves have already had and will have a great effect on the Rhodesian economy. Wilson was reluctant to impose an oil embargo because it will hit Smith's repressive machinery, his aircraft, armoured cars, etc., and therefore reduce his ability to counter an African uprising. The Tories, the representatives of the British ruling class, show all the bourgeois confusion and fear and lack of perspective in this crisis. It is unlikely that Heath could have done very much differently from Wilson but nevertheless the right wing of the Tory party the elements most linked with the big landowners and Capitalists of Rhodesia, are more and more protesting against the "severity" of the measures against Smith, and the latest measure (the oil embargo) caused a three way split in the Tory party, a reflection of the insecurity of imperialism. There is no solution for Imperialism, all it can do is play for time. Imperialism's area of agreement with the Soviet Bureaucracy is constantly being narrowed, and the bureaucracy is being forced, in words only at present, to attack the Imperialists over Rhodesia as over Viet-nam; peaceful co-existence is finished.

The Rhodesian crisis has brought home to this country the force of the Colonial Revolution, and it will undoubtedly affect the consciousness of the British masses who have been to a certain extent isolated from the effects of the struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The best way to aid the masses of Rhodesia is to intensify the struggle against Capitalism in this country, raising the level of organisation of the unofficial committees and adopting the revolutionary programme for the elimination of Capitalism and Imperialism throughout the world. Trade Unions, Unofficial Committees, Labour and Communist branches and student groups must demonstrate in support of the Rhodesian masses, collecting money in order to arm the African masses, and seeking by every means the way to reach with this aid, the masses of Rhodesia.

Unite the struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism in Rhodesia and Britain.

No British troops for Rhodesia or Zambia.

Any attempt to send troops must be countered with strikes, demonstrations and sabotage.

GUATEMALA

In response to the appeal which we published in last month's issue of Red Flag, from the MR-13 of Guatemala, the following organisations passed resolutions demanding the release of Roberto Duarte Diaz and Lucindo Ramirez Munoz, and sent these resolutions to the Guatemalan dictator Peralta Azurdia.

Battersea Young Socialists.
Nottingham Young Communist League.

A group of students from Westminster Technical College.

As a result of the campaign the two peasants were not executed, but were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. This is a victory for those who mobilised in Britain, and throughout the world, to exert pressure on the Guatemalan dictatorship who have repeatedly threatened to kill anyone convicted of associating with the Revolutionary Movement November 13th.

We now learn that a Trotskyist student from Mexico, David Aguilar has been arrested by the Guatemalan police. The life of this comrade is in danger and we appeal to all student groups, Y.S. branches, Communist militants, Trade Unionists, all anti-imperialists and anti-capitalist forces to mobilise to demand the immediate release of this comrade with telegrams and resolutions to the Dictator, Peralta Azurdia The Presidency, Guatemala City, Guatemala.

**SUPPORT THE
STRIKE OF THE
NEW YORK
TRANSPORT
WORKERS**

**DEMAND THE
RELEASE OF
QUILL AND THE
OTHER T.U.
LEADERS**

*Workers of the World, Unite!***RED FLAG***Organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist),
British Section, IVth International*

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

— Trotsky

No. 29

FEBRUARY, 1966

SIXPENCE

The Vanguard Workers must Unite all the Factory Committees to Centralise the Anti-Capitalist Struggle

WORLD capitalism and imperialism have no perspectives for humanity save that of war and the preparation of war. All the cynical chatter about the great new society of social justice in the United States, about aid to the underdeveloped nations, about everyone reaching "affluence" in Western Europe is so much rubbish. Monopoly capitalism, constantly centralising itself at the expense of the small fry capitalists finds the crux of its activity in preparation for war. The monopoly capitalists whose social and political support is weak compared with the period of the first world war, are all desperately competing on a limited world market and in order to force down costs are attempting to hold down wage increases. This is in addition to the fact that the nature of the system — the vast waste in military expenditures — is a perpetual block to any gain in social amenities and services by the masses—decent housing, effective transport, planned cities, proper medical services. The French, German and Italian capitalists all speak of the need for an "incomes" policy. At the same time speed up in industry, the introduction of automation, the denial of a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost in living all show that the capitalist class intends to intensify exploitation and is preparing to intimidate the working class. In Italy they are thinking perpetually of a military coup — the whole European ruling class is preparing in some way or another for authoritarian regimes.

In Great Britain the preachers of the hard capitalist line are also coming in to their own. The Labour party apparatus intends legislation to intimidate unofficial strikers and the Tory party fumbling and lost in an historical process it cannot control, openly comes out with its anti-working class programme for "industrial courts" to "deal with" strikes.

The industrial struggle continuously extends itself, the trial of strength between the masses and the capitalist class has shown up the lack of authority of capitalism and its total inability to provide any reformist concessions as in the past. The threat of the NUR to launch a national rail strike testifies to the combativity of the worker faced with the government's refusal to grant wage increases outside the ridiculous 3½% limit. The trade union bureaucrats of the railway union are a most bureaucratic crowd intent on class collaboration but the fact that they have been forced to threaten a strike shows the enormous pressure coming from below. In practice the amount of strike action on industrial issues allied to the pressure against the Vietnam war, demands the general strike on the programme for workers power. To unify the workers effectively demands the national organisation of the factory committees, not simply as a defence of workers rights against anti-strike legislation but as a vehicle whereby—with the workers defence committees—the programme for workers power, the dictatorship of the proletariat can

be realised. The formation of the recent committee in London for the defence of shop stewards shows that empirically the need for the unification of the factory committees is expressing itself.

Imperialism all the time shows its utter parasitism and inability to meet the needs of a reasonable standard of life. It cannot even see that sufficient gas supplies are available for industry.

Next to the problem of feeding the population there is no more basic need than that of housing. But as British Capitalism grinds to a halt this most fundamental need of the people is pushed further back on the list of priorities. The inability of capitalism to house people in London was recently highlighted by the militant defiance of the authorities by the families at the West Malling hostel for the homeless. After giving the housing Minister a drubbing in a public meeting on the occasion of the Erith bye-election, the West Malling workers defied the ruling of the 'Welfare' authorities and joined their wives and families at the hostel. For this 'crime' two men were jailed.

The contradictions between private ownership of housing and of the housing situation under capitalism in general

The capitalists pretend its all the fault of the Gas Board but the latter functions as part of capitalist industry with capitalist objectives and the failures lies in characteristic lack of foresight in planning and investment.

The Hull election reflected very clearly the united front of workers and many middle class elements (usually voting Liberal) against the capitalist class. The Tory vote was the same as at the General Election. The high voting reflects the sharp polarisation of forces in the country. The vote was an anti-capitalist vote. The masses centralised their effort around the LP apparatus, but this in no way means support for that apparatus. The intervention of the Radical Alliance was confined to the issue of Vietnam and made no attempt at organising the anti-capitalist programme. But the intervention means, in however distorted a form, that student sectors, etc., of the petit bourgeoisie are becoming more and more radicalised and gaining in confidence against the apparatus.

But only in the factory committees can the British workers express themselves because the Labour party apparatus and the trade union bureaucrats effectively stifle any independent

and effective workers action. As for the communist party it is appropriately trying to disassociate itself from anything remotely connected with the struggle for socialism, i.e. it wants a new title for the "Daily Worker," the "Genteel Gazette" we respectfully advise.

In every sphere of life the demands that the Revolutionary Workers party has put forward become more and more obvious and necessary. To solve the problems of producing enough houses, machines, etc., for a civilised planned Britain, demands that all capitalist industry is nationalised, that the workers have access to all accounts, take all the decisions about running the factories. Tenants committees must take over all unused properties to meet the needs of the masses. All transport problems must be met by the intervention of the masses. Finally, to meet the capitalist attack on strikes, the workers must organise their defence committees and lay the basis for the workers militia.

Reply to Capitalism's inability to house the Workers with the Struggle for the Nationalisation of Land, Banks, Building Societies

was best shown by the 1957 Rent Act and by the Labour Government's measures to counter it. The Rent Act gave the landlords a free hand to throw tenants onto the street and swelled the profits of the building Societies.

The result of this Act was the appearance of Rachmanism, i.e. the hiring of gangs of thugs by landlords for evictions from properties which were then offered for sale. The growing resistance of the private tenants to the vicious attacks of the landlords has forced the Labour Government to introduce its new Rent Bill which ironically seems as though it will have the same effect as the notorious Rent Act, that is it will put more property on the market because the landlords with most dilapidated property (who could not sell to owner occupiers) don't have the same

idea of a "fair" rent as that which the Government has been forced to propose and so they will sell their slums to the local councils which are already groaning under the weight of Finance Capital and will be only too pleased to buy because they cannot afford to build new houses. So, the Government's reform serves to finish the job of the 1957 Rent Act. The latter served to line the pockets of the property speculators, shackled more of the better off workers to the Building Societies and increased the number of homeless. And the new Bill serves to put the local councils deeper in the red to the same building Societies and money lenders in general and to provide more spacious slums for those on the housing list. And the

(Continued Page 4)

**Save the Life of the Mexican Trotskyist Student
David Aguilar Mora. Send Resolutions, Telegrams
Demanding his release to the Guatemalan Dictator**

SPEECH OF CDE. POSADAS ON THE ITALIAN SITUATION AT THE III NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE ITALIAN SECTION. (Extracts)

In this meeting the unquenchable struggle of the Italian masses to take power has been felt as the vital centre of the revolutionary and class struggle. And they are going to take power. We do not fix time tables, we cannot determine times now, but at a later stage we will determine the time. It is not possible to give a time for the concrete stage to overthrow capitalism, without having instruments which can effect this.

It is on the basis of the instruments which we dominate, control, or influence that we can decide dates. In the next stages, the fundamental aim of the activity of the party is precisely this: to impell, to organise to direct, the groups, the tendencies, the currents that in an empirical form or with diverse political levels wish to work as the leadership of the class.

The Congress of the communist party, the thesis which Longo has presented, is an alliance of the whole leadership, a reply against those tendencies, those currents which are seeking to take power. Against! It is an appeal to capitalism to make an alliance against these tendencies. It is warning capitalism that it is running a serious danger of collapsing and offers a way out. And by this appeal to tendencies of the bourgeoisie for a united front, the revolutionary reply which they deny to the masses — they betray the masses, deny revolutionary organisation to the masses, sabotage the united front in the streets which the masses act upon every day. But the leadership centralise, organise this front, a programme of the struggle of the masses so that they can resolve all the problems of misery, of unemployment, of lack of electricity, houses, etc., in Italy. is lacking.

In this meeting with the intervention of the comrades all this situation in Italy (was present). It was present in an uneven form. The intervention of comrade Guernica was able to emphasise one of the essential problems and one of the important omissions of this meeting, the agrarian problem. It is not because the party has not discussed it; we have discussed the agrarian problem we have written on this. But it is necessary to have a document on the agrarian problem. Not because it has peculiarities, but because it is impossible to launch the struggle, organise the struggle for all the problems which preoccupy the working class or the problems of proletarian power in Italy, without posing the problem of agriculture.

But nevertheless in an indirect form through the lack of a document it has been necessary to raise in this meeting, the problem of the students and the petit bourgeoisie.

Different comrades have posed the problem of the students, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry. It is for this reason that in this meeting there has been present the acute situation of the class and revolutionary struggle in Italy which has revealed not only the dynamism, the fervour, the will of the struggle of the masses but also the problems which it is necessary to pose. The problem which Comrade Roberto has posed is the situation of the peasants who confront the uncultivated lands not in the South, but in areas close to the centres of the population. A document is necessary on this. The peasants are the allies of the proletariat now at this moment. And now it is necessary to consider in our documents that a proportionately large part of the proletariat which in this stage impels the anti-capitalist struggle is a proletariat of peasant origin which during the last six, seven, eight years has been incorporated in industry. These are impelling

the struggle. They are not the only ones but they are among those impelling the struggle.

This gives a formidable harmony to our vision of the problems of Italy to day. If the problem of the students is not fundamental because they are not the sectors which determine, they are nevertheless profound symptoms. When the student petit bourgeoisie of Italy mobilises, when the soldiers mobilise, when the professional petit bourgeoisie as in the electricity industry mobilise, it is because all the exploited sectors of the population in industry are influenced to impel the revolution.

At the basis of this influence lies the loss of authority by capitalism over these layers. They see no perspective in capitalism. For this reason it is necessary to emphasise the reaction of the distinct layers and sectors of the petit bourgeoisie.

The document of Longo ignores the students, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants. It ignores them. It only mentions them and says that it is necessary to give the land to the poor peasants. It is paternalist, protectionist, but it ignores these mobilisations which signify that all Italy is unified in a united front, the Italy which is interested in the progress of Italy, the exploited masses.

All Italy is unified. The bourgeoisie states, as we do, that there exists a pre-revolutionary situation in Italy. And in spite of its desires for a united front with the Communist Party of, an open and clear alliance with the PCI they cannot do it, because there exist neither the social or economic conditions for such an alliance. And because politically, although it could do it, it runs the danger that although the leadership of the PCI promises, to control, to prevent the Italian masses advancing beyond the reformist programme, it will be bypassed.

Every day the Italian bourgeoisie are discussing. When Colombo, Moro, Rumor and the rest make the speeches that they are making at these times, it is because there is no other way out.

To speak of the stupidity of Longo and of all the other leaders of the PCI who speak of a programme of reforms, of a democratic progressive solution for Italy—is not an insult but a political qualification because they have reality under their noses and close their eyes so as not to see it, to deceive themselves and the masses.

It is not a question of abstract but concrete analysis; the bourgeoisie spoke through Colombo the other day, when he said that to maintain Italian capitalism it is necessary to increase the return on capital. There is no other way than to increase exploitation. To increase exploitation they have two means; directly by the rationalisation of work, to secure greater production from the workers and an increase in technological investment. The two things

Colombo proposes are credits to heavy and light industry to reform and technologically improve production. And at the same time an opposition, a hard line with the workers movement to lower wages in an indirect form.

This is the programme of the bourgeoisie with which it has replied to the P.C.I. The bourgeoisie has no other way out. They cannot make a coup now, but they are thinking of it, they are seeking it, they are preparing it. Nuclei exist. The high command of the army with industry, are ready to provide a way out by military dictatorship.

WHEN ITALIAN CAPITALISM CAN NO LONGER CONTAIN THE MASSES ELECTORALLY, IT WILL LAUNCH A MILITARY COUP

It is totally false, completely false that the electoral power of the PSI, PSIUP, PCI was a counterweight to the coups and military dictatorships. One has to be as stupid as Longo to argue this. Look at Indonesia! We declare it is not a personal insult to call him stupid, Longo in himself does not concern us, he interests us as a political leader. And he is a stupid politician.

And in Indonesia the power of the communist party is much greater than in Italy. The capitalist regime and the bourgeoisie are conservative from the social point of view from their thinking but economically and militarily, they are active, very active. They are not going to quit, realising that the communist party is advancing. If soon they have not found means to contain the proletarian struggle, they are going to decide with an attempt at military dictatorship. This does not mean that it is going to triumph, but there is going to be an attempt. There is no other way out; this is the concrete plan of the Confederation of Industry, this is the plan of NATO, the plan of Yankee imperialism.

They do not expect to continue in this form, four or five years more. It is stupid to think this. The Italian bourgeoisie lacks the opportunity of de Gaulle. And even if it had the economic power there is no place for the two great capitalist states making such alliances with the workers states. There is no place. If capitalism could find such a means it would do it with China, and why does it not do it? Because it has neither the strength, economically, socially, financially. But above all politically. This is the objective perspective which exists in Italy. And the Italian bourgeoisie has arrived at this conclusion, after having tried to contain, to block, to conciliate with the Communist party because it is conciliating. But in spite of conciliation, in spite of the right wing of the PCI, in spite of the conciliatory policy with capitalism in the PCI, in the PSIUP, at the worker base of the PSI, revolutionary and class tendencies are developing which cannot be contained, which escape the control of the leaderships. And the bourgeoisie sees this, not the leadership of Longo. Longo does not give guarantees to the bourgeoisie. He said clearly in his report that they are not proposing to overthrow capitalism but to "develop industry" not "big monopoly." It is stupid to say this. It goes against the objective laws visible to common sense. Monopoly alone can be destroyed only in two forms; by another monopoly or by the revolution!

If monopoly disappears it leaves a vacuum in the capitalist structure and

what will replace it? Workers power; "democratic industry" which Longo talks about, is an industry which respects the population." He wishes to educate capitalism to invest capital and exploit to the benefit of the proletariat, the masses. This is the idea of Longo.

And this idea of Longo exists because he has no class answer to the crisis of Italian capitalism and tries to give a conciliatory answer which takes into account the politics of peaceful co-existence, opposes itself to the proletarian revolution and conciliates in consequence with sectors of capitalism.

For this reason Longo in his report, attacks the big monopolies, the Confederation but not Italian industry. And through this attack on the Confederation and great monopoly it appears before the masses that he is attacking capitalism. There is an alliance in the PCI. This discussion in the Central Committee is an obstacle to the Italian masses. This deception must be denounced. The people who have spoken in the Central Committee like Natoli, etc. do not oppose a programme to the programme of Longo, they do not criticise this programme nor reject it, because it is a programme of alliance with capitalism. They do not oppose an anti-capitalist programme. They oppose nothing. This shows that all the leadership of the PCI is insensible as such to the revolutionary pressure of the masses. It is not blind, it hears, feels the weight of this pressure but it is insensible to it. Only a part of the leadership of the PCI replies with small complaints. All these people who have spoken in the Central Committee criticising the report of Longo, do nothing more than complain but they offer neither programme nor policy nor base themselves on the struggle of the masses nor analyse the crisis of capitalism.

On this path they do not analyse the crisis of capitalism, they analyse the big monopoly, "bad capital" seeking for an honourable respectable capital. Capitalism is careful and responsible for its own interests, it has not developed capitalism for the soviet bureaucracy nor for Longo; it works for itself. At the summits of Italian capitalism there is an enormous contradiction which is the contradiction of capitalism throughout Europe including France; the great citadels of capitalism, the monopolies the great financial houses lack their own social base. It has always been so.

Formerly thirty or forty years ago for the financial societies, the monopolies, the relations with society, permitted them a greater social weight. The bourgeoisie have a greater social weight. The petit bourgeoisie have a great social weight. Today these monopolies and financial societies have infinitely less social weight, less social importance. They are small groups but in their hands is concentrated the control of the economic apparatus.

To wish to extract from them the control of the economic apparatus is absurd and impossible. The only way to do it is to give them over to the hands of the state or to see that another monopoly replaces it. To place it under the control of the state can only be done with the revolutionary struggle, with force, that is to say by mobilising the masses, mobilising them with organisations, occupation of factories, demonstrations and taking arms in hand to

take it by force, because at a certain stage which can arrive very quickly in Italy, when monopoly, the financial societies feel that they can no longer politically contain the process, they will resort to military dictatorship whatever the situation might be, although the PCI has fourteen million votes. Capitalism is not going to give up, it is necessary to overthrow it. And this is the perspective in Italy.

Finance capital in Italy has its support in the petit bourgeoisie. But important bases of the petit bourgeoisie are influenced by the revolution. The constant electoral decline of the Christian Democratic party does not indicate sufficiently clearly the loss of social and political authority of the Christian democracy, that is to say of capitalism. The greater number of this electoral loss goes to Saragat, the immense majority. Part goes to Nenni and a little group concentrates itself among the Liberals, who propose a reorganisation of Italian capitalism, but there is no time for this and capitalism knows it.

THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT MASSES ARE FEELING THE REVOLUTION

The Christian democracy is a little nucleus of leadership which cannot permit internal democracy, because if it permitted it, the petit bourgeoisie sectors bound to the proletariat and workers sectors would be able to exert a pressure towards a more liberal economic policy.

This is what the Communist party is seeking. The basis of their thesis, the conclusion of the policy of the Communist party having excluded revolutionary means. What is the path by which to secure more authority, more weight? To influence the Christian democracy. And they are trying to exert an influence over the Christian democratic masses, guaranteeing respect for capitalism which will oppose the revolution.

The Italian communist party believes it is going to gain the support of this Christian democratic base. The reverse will be the case. The Christian democratic masses whether in Italy, in France, in Belgium, as in Germany can only be gained and influenced by the proletariat when they see the proletariat decided to overthrow the capitalist system. Only thus can they find security. When they see the CP involved in parliamentary negotiations, they content themselves with the party which is in power, which gives them more guarantees and security to be able to influence, to be able to obtain improvements and foster careerism. The immense majority of the Christian democratic masses feel the revolution. This organisation called "New Forces" within the Christian Democracy demonstrates that it feels the revolution, and then it comes to a halt and in a certain measure retreats, but not because this is inevitable, but because it has not seen the leadership of the communist party, the trade union leaderships continue to struggle. They see the masses mobilise, see that they occupy factories, strike, fight the employers and the police, but they see the masses not the leadership. And these Christian democrat tendencies have no revolutionary ideology, move through the apparatuses, measure and conclude through the apparatuses.

It is logical in consequence that these sectors oscillate, vacillate and retreat because they are not able to receive the influence of the proletarian class because this has not the instrument, the organism whereby to exert an influence over them. This sector is not going to be gained electorally.

From the electoral point of view—despite Longo, Amendola and Co.—the maximum of electoral possibilities has been reached. The process of the electoral gains of the PCI and of the PSIUP has reached its peak. If electorally the socialists and communists succeed in reaching a percentage superior to capitalism, it would respond with a military dictatorship. The bourgeoisie is going to reply with an attempt at military dictatorship.

The illusions which the PCI and the PSIUP are sowing in the working class,

ITALIAN SITUATION

of a democratic way out, is a direct service to capitalism and capitalism prepares for this. All these meetings of the Christian democracy, all these discussions, the preparation of the next congress are to discuss this situation. For this reason they are terrified and for this reason they are at the very top level, i.e. the sectors which represent directly the ruling circles.

And the PCI stimulated the democratic illusions, the parliamentary illusions of the petit bourgeoisie which votes Christian Democratic. But the worker base and poor petit bourgeoisie of the Christian democracy feels the influence of the masses. For this reason in the electricity strike, where there is a great proportion of the Christian democrats, all came out on strike. At the base in direct contact with the class, they feel themselves capable of responding to the solution of economic problems, salaries, etc., with strike action. On the parliamentary level, on the electoral level no, because they do not see the way out and they remain attached to the Christian Democracy because they hope to gain more advantages politically than via the communist party.

In the declarations and promises of the PCI to eliminate the great monopolies, they see and feel that they cannot eliminate them, because they are in their own party, dominate, hold the power of the state in their hands. And the power means judges, laws, police, army. To eliminate the monopolies it is necessary to eliminate all these. And these are not going to be eliminated electorally.

Before the PCI, PSIUP, and PSI obtain a majority and proceed to change the juridical capitalist relation, capitalism will reply with a military dictatorship. The socialists and communists stimulate the idea that they are going to take power peacefully as for example in Czechoslovakia. In Czechoslovakia say the bureaucrats "we took power in an alliance with Masaryk and at a determined moment we forced the bourgeoisie out." But even in Czechoslovakia this is a lie. Previous to this stage of an apparently parliamentary solution, in the resistance, as throughout Europe, as in the installation of the workers states of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, etc., during the resistance against fascism, the masses shattered and overthrew the judicial apparatus of capitalism. Already they had destroyed everything, the masses held power in their hands. This was the revolution! No change in structure, no change of structure, no overthrow of structure without revolution. The forms of the revolution can vary like this.

For example Yugoslavia. When Tito took power with the communist party, the bourgeoisie had been destroyed. In the war against fascism the guerillas destroyed capitalism, the masses destroyed capitalism and the few sectors which remained, took flight. The small forces of capitalism surviving as in Czechoslovakia, had to lean on the socialist party. It is necessary to take into account that Czechoslovakia was one of the most advanced sectors of proletarian concentration with the most powerful communist party, with the most powerful socialist power in Western Europe. But even so to overthrow Masaryk, there was a necessity for a general strike when a hundred per cent of the country was in the hands of the masses.

In Italy this process cannot be repeated. There was a process after the war in which the masses were dominant or at least influential through their organs in the state apparatus, through the fight against fascism. In Italy it was the same in this epoch as in France.

If the bourgeoisie remains in Italy, it is because the communist party fought against the fascists but against the revolution also and left power to the capitalists. . . .

This process in Czechoslovakia cannot be repeated now. Capitalism has its own power, its army. What army could capitalism oppose to the masses in 1948? It had nothing. In exchange today

in Italy, capitalism has its army and imperialism.

In 1945 asserted Longo—above all this is for the Italian masses, the communist masses of the left who wished to struggle in the communist party—Churchill proposed the war against the USSR before signing peace with Germany. Roosevelt opposed. Stalin praised Roosevelt as a democrat who respected compromises. Roosevelt argued with Churchill; I, as you, wish to prevent the soviets expanding, developing but if we now make war against the Soviet Union, all will turn against us; but nevertheless to retain what we have, we must yield somewhat because we have no strength for anything else. Roosevelt made an assessment that all Europe was in the hands of the guerillas. That to attack the USSR meant the guerillas would throw out capitalism from Europe.

To preserve capitalism in Europe, we leave this to the communist parties. This was the judgment of Roosevelt. They have not published it like this, but this was expressed through the judgement and thought of the diplomats and representatives of Roosevelt.

For this reason Roosevelt was opposed to war with the USSR. Part of this opposition was based, but in a secondary form, on the economic competition between European capitalism and Yankee imperialism. Roosevelt felt that the elimination of the soviet union at the hands of British capitalism would strengthen British capitalism and capitalism in Europe, which was going to become competitive. Roosevelt, who Stalin said was very intelligent and honourable, hoped that he was going to contain communism through the soviet bureaucracy. Before, the Yanks had decided when Hitler offered them a united front against the Soviet Union, that it was not convenient. Germany was the worst danger at this moment because it was the capitalism which dominated all of Europe and if it triumphed over the Soviet Union, would oppose its economic and military power, infinitely superior to Yankee imperialism. And they did not see a danger in the Soviet Union, as the soviet bureaucracy had liquidated the revolution, the communist parties had liquidated all the revolutionary opposition, did not propose to take power in the countries but called upon them to defend the country, it was a guarantee for capitalism that the defeat of Germany was not going to mean the triumph of the revolution. And even accepting the triumph of the revolution, they hoped to contain it because it was the lesser evil. Capitalism cannot elect what is necessary for its interest. If it was so, if it could decide with its full force, why is France pursuing the politics which it is? One of the fundamental obstacles which impedes their world centralisation is capitalist competition, inter imperialist contradictions, which in this stage increase and extend in an uncontrollable form through the ascendency and development of the revolution, which increases inter-capitalist contradictions

The PCI hoped to replace Italian capitalism and in its militants and their discussions, in one way or the other encouraged the hope, that the PCI is against capitalism and that it is necessary to have patience because it is a question of perhaps a few years more, but also argues with capitalism, we overthrow you without danger, without revolution, we impede the nuclear war.

If the Yankees, for Vietnam which economically has no weight, no importance, risk nuclear war, it is not for the geographical importance of Vietnam but through the social importance of Vietnam. The defeat of imperialism in Vietnam is the influence of the revolution throughout Asia and this is China. It is the development of the proletarian revolution in Asia. And in consequence not only Asia but the world. It is for this reason that the Yanks are there. They are spending 15-20 million dollars a day. They say eight, but it is more like 15-20 million.

If the Yanks could be contained through electoral progress, the parliamentary progress of the masses or through the economic progress of the worker states, they would not dedicate this money to the war in Vietnam but to economic aid in Latin America, Asia, Africa and to develop their own economy. When they maintain themselves in Vietnam and Santo Domingo it is because they feel that there is no economic or political way out. There is a way out—revolution or counter revolutionary war.

If the PCI could take power, reach power, enter the government in an alliance with the PSTUP and with a sector of the CD and the PSI, even admitting this—which is impossible—this would be a stimulus to the masses of all Europe and capitalism would have no political force to respond to this. The reply of capitalism would be simply military dictatorship and war. No other.

ITALIAN CAPITALISM HAS NO MILITARY FORCE TO OPPOSE THE REVOLUTION

Yankee imperialism dedicates 40 per cent of its forces to Europe (Nato, etc.) and everything is dedicated and concentrated on the military plane, not only for the war which is coming against the Soviet union and the workers states but against the masses. They are preparing to reply immediately. Italian capitalism is all the time more and more allied and submitted to the Yankees, financially and militarily. Italian capitalism by its own military strength has no force to oppose to the revolution. The revolution in Italy is easy. Capitalism has no military strength. Of the military, naval air and land power of Italian capitalism, half will pass to the revolution before this begins; Italian capitalism knows this. The crisis which exists in the army is revealed in the direct and indirect rebellion of the soldiers, the habit of disobeying orders, discussing orders.

When soldiers, corporals and sergeants discuss that they do not wish to

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NIGERIA

NEW CRISIS FOR IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

The events in Nigeria reflect the crisis of imperialism and capitalism in Africa and the speed of the African revolution.

The assassinations of the Nigerian leaders carried out by the middle ranks of the army, following so rapidly the useless Lagos conference provide another example of the invincible tide of the permanent revolution throughout Africa. The rash of military coups—Dahomey, Central African Rep., Indonesia, Brazil, Algeria are all part of attempts by imperialism or conservative tendencies to stop the advance of the socialist revolution. Nevertheless the armies in many colonial countries lack the professional traditions of imperialist armies and the Nigerian army, shown by recent events, is very open to revolutionary influence. The various parliamentary parties in Nigeria in no way reflect the needs of the Nigerian masses. But even the "parliamentary" system was not applied—the last elec-

tions were totally fraudulent and provoked persistent violent opposition from the masses, Western Nigeria was it appears on the verge of governmental collapse. The attempt is made to analyse the conflicts in Nigeria as "tribal." No doubt the very federal constitution foisted on the Nigerian masses was an attempt to bloc the advance of the masses but it has failed. The pressures behind the attempted putsch are much more than some "tribal" dispute but reflect in however distorted or unsatisfactory a form the process of the colonial revolution which goes forward to the socialist revolution.

The Nigerian proletariat has already shown its strength in the General strike; the present situation has arisen because the masses gain in confidence as part of the process of the African and world revolution and threaten to topple the capitalist and feudal social order and advance towards a workers and peasants government.

THE ITALIAN SITUATION

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fulfill such and such an order, from where do they get this resolution? It is because they receive the influence of the masses fighting everywhere, they see capitalism retreating, they see military power destroyed confronted and overcome by the masses. If there was not this influence, the soldier and the non-commissioned officer and many officers subject to the rigid structure and discipline of the army would not express the influence of the world revolution in the very ranks of the army.

The PCI ignores all this, completely. The peasants of Italy have no political support from the communist party, the declarations which Longo makes and the editorials of "Unita" over the peasants are no political support, are simply a comment on what is happening, register what happens. The parliamentary proposals of the PCI are of no political help to the masses of the south of Italy nor of the proletariat because the proposals are of complaint, of protest and of asking that they pass laws but no more. Twenty years ago they asked for laws but they have succeeded in nothing and less in this stage, in that capitalism is in a worse position to yield.

Meanwhile the peasants occupy the lands, and work them. The action of the peasants who work, supporting themselves, stimulating themselves, give a partial solution to the problem of the earth and the communists ignore this solution and await parliament. While in the street the workers occupy factories, organise production and show that they can make society function without any difficulty, the communists in parliament moan that there should be more employment and a better distribution of wages.

In the report of Longo there is not a single programme of struggle. There is no line opposed to capitalism, which is the proletarian programme.

What is the programme to meet unemployment? None. In front of the cost of living? Increase of wages. But the bourgeoisie also asks for an increase of wages. How to succeed in an increase of wages? How to do it? In front of the resistance and the negation of the bourgeoisie how to impose the increases in wages. How to achieve it? In front of the resistance and the refusal of the bourgeoisie, how to impose the increases in salary? Not a word. In front of the right to strike of the masses, it is a shameful contempt, an insult to the exploited masses of Italy.

The PCI laments that there are not sufficient democratic laws. The masses are occupying every day, factories and lands and they, the masses, are imposing democracy. The PCI in Parliament asks the bourgeoisie for more democracy for the masses, although it does not bring out what is happening because democracy is not only the right to speak, it is the right to work. The right to speak without working has no meaning. If they give us the right to write a book which says "down with capitalism" or a document on these lines and we cannot organise the struggle against capitalism, where is democracy?

This democracy does not come from capitalism as Lenin has said, it is necessary to impose it, gun in hand. Today the peasants have no guns, the workers also do not use guns. But in occupying the factories and making them function and preparing to defend them, already they have it in their mind to use the gun.

For this reason the proposal of comrade Roberto is very important as for the other part is the report of comrade Giuseppe, in articles and in the programme of the party, to organise committees of self defence of the occupied factories.

But it is necessary to extend it in the form of militias; committees of self defence as part of the militias in the factories and in the field. Italian capitalism is preparing to reply to the masses with a military dictatorship as is all capitalism in Europe. The discussion in the high peaks of Italian capitalism, has already arrived at this conclusion. The fascist groups are not sufficiently useful. They have neither weight

nor historic conditions to agitate. The petit bourgeoisie which was attracted by Mussolini, today cannot be attracted by any fascist movement. That period was the stage of the retreat of the revolution and after the socialist revolution had been betrayed and in conditions of economic crisis and the world retreat of the revolution.

THE DANGER OF FASCISM IS GONE FOREVER

Mussolini delivered his coup after the revolution in Germany had collapsed. Today the process is totally in reverse. There is no possibility of development either of fascism or of fascist groups. This is no danger for the proletariat. The petit bourgeoisie demonstrated their combativity. There are strikes of judges, of police.

The danger in Italy is for the masses to be immobilised. The strength which the masses have in occupying one or another factory has a limit. If an occupation of a factory followed by one or another more does not end in the struggle for power, capitalism is going to reply with means and forces which is possesses, which is a military coup, a military dictatorship. It is going to fail, the masses will throw them out, but capitalism is preparing for this. Java is an expression of this. The policy of co-existence, of the block of four classes eliminating the independence of class action, revolutionary class action, by the communist party, permitted the military coup. The PCI keeps quiet, even now, nor is there a single appeal. They

are hoping to negotiate with Soekarno. Tomorrow they will say no, under the noose they will stimulate action. The party must mobilise the masses and to mobilise them it is necessary to make agitation to appeal. For Vietnam for Indonesia the same; it is necessary to rise against the soldiers, to take the land, to distribute the land to the peasants, to make the worker and peasant united front, to call upon the soldiers to desert. The communist party has made none of these appeals. Nevertheless the youth of Java have risen and the insurrection is extending, dominating part of the island.

The military resistance of the masses is not the product of the politics of the communist party. It is the product of the resistance, of the spontaneous reaction of the communist masses. In Italy also. The communist masses are one thing, the communist leadership another. The communist masses wish to work in Italy, as in Indonesia, against their leadership, to take arms and confront the power of the military. It is not excluded that a sector, that a group of the CP of Indonesia has measured this, we believe that this is possible.

In Italy also among the cadres, the leaders in part of the apparatus of the CP in this stage, there are sectors who do not despise the masses, sectors conscious ideologically who feel the necessity to overthrow capitalism but they lack the will to overthrow it, they are afraid, lacking in confidence have no faith in the masses. With the mobili-

sation of the masses, they are going to feel stimulated to advance. For this reason, the discussion in the central committee of the PCI, is a serious important warning of transcendent value. When in a monolithic apparatus like the CP, closed completely to the influences of the revolution, in which there is no stimulus to the base to discuss, they discuss obstacles to the objective reality of Italy, which are the occupations of factories, workers control, etc.

When at the demonstration for Vietnam there were two thousand persons of which ten per cent were workers and 90 per cent of the composition was leaders, permanent officials of the CP, it is because the CP attracts no one. Nevertheless the same people who were not at the demonstration, occupied factories and in the factories discuss the defence of Vietnam and of Dominica. The PCI gained eight million votes. But the number of cadres elected in the factories and the number of young militants in the CPI declines.

One of the laments which a leader of the PCI made in the last CC meeting—not reported in Italy but published in Le Monde of Paris, made was that joined with the advance electorally there is a diminishing in the number of youth affiliated to the PCI. The electoral increase is the direct expression of the sentiment of centralisation of the Italian masses of the proletarian vanguard which wishes to be united to the rest of the class. At the same time the diminution of the young and the delegate cadres in the factories shows at the same time, the reaction against the policy of the CP, the lack of confidence in the CP.

The struggle to overthrow Italian

The crisis of Housing and the working class solution

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Labour Government present this Bill along with the news that they have no chance of achieving their miserable 1965 housing target. This Bill contains some minor concessions, but is no answer to the housing problem. The L.P. apparatus has no real solution to the housing question. Thus the Kent County Council proposes to evict 18 families from King Hill hostel for the homeless at West Malling. These families have overstayed their 3 months agreement because of the impossibility of finding accommodation and will be faced with eviction if the High Court finds for the Council. It is a great enough scandal that people should have to live for three months in wooden huts in 20th Century Britain and in the most prosperous part of Britain at that, but that these families should be broken up and the children put 'into care' which means herded into institutions really shows the ruthlessness of the bureaucracy in its determination to make capitalism work.

In Wandsworth, the homeless families are being moved from a 19th Century slum called Durham Buildings to a brand new set of 'temporary' flats. These flats will stand as a monument to the stupidity and inefficiency of bureaucratic planning. They have been built as 2 room flats with all doors leading onto a central corridor, so that couples with young children, who unless they are prepared to ditch half their furniture, need more than 2 rooms, have to take another room leading off the corridor which means that one parent has to sleep with the children and the other sleeps elsewhere. Even when capitalism can afford to build new homeless accommodation they are incapable of building practically and with any comfort. The planning and building of flats and temporary homes must be taken out of the hands of these fools with the workhouse mentality and placed under the direction of the tenants committees in conjunction with the building workers who alone know or care about the needs of the tenants, and the architects and other building technicians.

The housing situation in the rest of the big cities is little better than in the South East. In Birmingham which has

a relatively large immigrant population a survey showed that more than 40% were living at 1.5 persons per room compared with the average of .69. The coloured immigrant workers are among the most exploited sections of the population from all angles and because of the housing crisis these people are forced to pool their resources to buy a house and as mortgages are so high and the wages are low, a house is often bought jointly by several families. This is the main reason for the overcrowding among immigrant workers and some of the owner occupiers who find themselves with coloured immigrants moving into their neighbourhood instead of protesting about this capitalist oppression and aiming their blows against the capitalist system which creates this overcrowding, moan about the colour of the immigrants! and try to deny them a place to live at all. But the real basis of their colour prejudice is the fear that 'their' property will lose some of its market value. Owner-occupation by workers is in many ways a drag on the workers movement and a constant source of petit-bourgeois conservative pessimism and narrow mindedness. But under the enormous pressures of the world revolution and the constant weakening of capitalism such preoccupation diminishes. This is why racialism is so weak in Britain despite the BBC and the bourgeois press.

In Glasgow too, the housing situation remains grim despite the large emigration to the South East of England and elsewhere. The Glasgow housing authorities have not removed the notorious and crumbling Gorbals where 18,000 people live in houses of the lowest category—one category lower and they would collapse. In the whole of Glasgow 50% of households are without a fixed bath, 38% share a toilet. The average number of persons per room in the Gorbals is 1.42 and among sublet families, the average is 2.73.

As Capitalism rots, the only real expansion lies in the Royal commissions, public arbiters, trouble shooters, boards of enquiry and all manner of bureaucracy with which the Government tries to hide the inability of capitalism to raise the standard of living, and at-

tempts to get the workers to accept all in the National (i.e. Capitalist) interest. But housing, like education, hospitals, etc., is a social service and it is precisely these social services and basic industries, such as the railways that the bourgeoisie have least interest in, obsessed as they are with quick returns for investment. A gold mine or an oil search can attract millions of pounds but a council housing estate means a cap-in-hand approach to the Treasury. Skyscraper blocks of offices and luxury flats are built and stand empty for months or years, boarding houses and cheap hotels are often closed down for the whole winter months and Buckingham Palace is permanently half empty, though it is ideal for temporary accommodation for homeless families. All this waste, while large sections of the proletariat live in conditions fit only for the vermin which abound in them. We appeal to all workers and socialist militants to wage their struggle for better housing around this programme.

1 FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE LAND.

2 NATIONALISATION OF THE BUILDING AND BUILDING SUPPLY INDUSTRY WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

3 NATIONALISATION OF ALL BANKS AND BUILDING SOCIETIES WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL. CANCEL ALL OUTSTANDING DEBTS. RENTS TO BE NO MORE THAN 10% OF A WORKERS WAGE.

4 FOR THE FORMATION OF TENANTS COMMITTEES EVERYWHERE WITH A TENANTS MILITIA FOR PROTECTION FROM BAILIFFS, LANDLORDS, THUGS AND POLICE VIOLENCE.

5 TENANTS COMMITTEES TO DECIDE RENTS, BE RESPONSIBLE TO THE TENANTS FOR MAINTENANCE AND THE HIRING AND FIRING OF MAINTENANCE STAFF INCLUDING BOOKKEEPERS AND ALL OFFICE WORKERS.

NATIONAL SUPPORT FOR EVERY TENANTS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE LANDLORDS!

OPEN THE WAY FOR RENT STRIKES! FINISH WITH LANDLORDISM!

THE ITALIAN SITUATION

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capitalism is not an adventure, is not an idealisation; it is a concrete possibility in a short space of time. It is not the impelling of radicalised groups or groups "who have no mass influence like the Trotskyists," as they say.

Half the militants of the PCI or of those who vote for the PCI and are not party members, are indicating this; they want power. Because of this the PCI has few young militants. In a situation as in Italy the PCI and the PSIUP should be able to count on thousands and thousands of young party activists. They don't have them. They themselves say so. On the other hand these young people are activists in the union field, because there they don't obey the directives of the PCI, and they feel that they are the ones who can take initiatives and dominate. It is upon these that the cadres, leaders and militants of the PCI and PSIUP who want to struggle for the class and revolutionary interests of the working class, must base themselves.

This is the only way for progress in Italy. The other way is to allow the bourgeoisie to prepare themselves to solve by an attempt at a military dictatorship, the social, political and economic crisis of Italy. There is no possibility of a further development of left tendencies in the Christian Democrats, than has already taken place. All this is excluded.

To every attempt to form a left which will go further than that which the Christian Democrats already has, the leadership of the CD is going to respond with expulsions and splits. They cannot allow a new left. They feel that all the time they are becoming weaker. The CD still bases itself, bases its policy on the peaceful co-existence offered by the PCI. Peaceful co-existence means for them, a guarantee that their capitalist power is not going to be attacked under the leadership or organisation of the PCI. Because of this they do not break relations with the PCI. There is no break between the CD and the PCI. In one way or another, parliament is the centre of the relations, agreements, discussions and alliances. Because of this the CD strengthens and for a period is still going to strengthen, the possibility of maintaining its control and political domination over its own base. But its own base is submitted to two pressures; the pressure of the crisis, the political pressure of the leadership of the CD and the objective pressure of the struggle of the masses. They are in a pincer.

This pressure which they receive from one side or the other, can still be resisted for a further period. The perspectives of capitalism are of retreat, of less possibility of yielding to wage increases. And in consequence there are perspectives for agitation in all these sectors. The PCI hopes to gain electorally. It is not excluded that in the first electoral contest, part of these Christian democrat sectors will seek, with the electoral support of the PCI, or PSI, to push them towards some sort of solution, but there are no longer any possibilities for this.

Capitalism cannot risk an important political contest because it will lose the cohesive structure of its own political power. This situation is not immediate but is in a short perspective. In Italy, as in the rest of all Europe, including in an indirect way Germany, capitalist governments support themselves on the socialist and communist parties. This is the guarantee of its power. For itself capitalism has neither political nor social force.

The communists encourage the hope that it is possible to gradually increase power electorally and replace capitalism. We reiterate; De Gaulle in France is preparing for the Atomic war, for the counter-revolution in France. So is Italian capitalism. In Belgium the bourgeoisie is preparing itself for the same thing, the greater part of the revenue of capitalism is directed to military preparations. For what? Against the Soviet Union; agreed, but it is against the revolution. It is against socialism. The socialist forces already existing in Italy, the struggle of the Italian masses

against capitalism is the same as the Soviet Union. This is the response which Italian capitalism is preparing.

THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY AT THIS STAGE

The fundamental task of our party in this stage is to have a clear understanding that there are no national problems except in their form, in Italy for example. There are problems in Italy, unemployment, high cost of living, high rents, the peasant problem, the problem of the repression of democratic freedoms. But they are problems which exist in a world in which the revolution advances constantly, held up here and there. Capitalism does not manage to regain positions and even if they do regain in one part, it corresponds with higher progress of the revolution in another. For example in Algeria; the coup of Boumedienne. Four months after he coup he has to go along swearing that he is going to construct socialism, that he is taking measures which partly strengthen the need for nationalisation and partly attack nationalisation. This contradiction shows that the intentions of Boumedienne cannot be accomplished, because the masses will prevent it. Apart from the worker and peasant masses there is no one who opposes Boumedienne. The army does not have any other opposition, all the team of Ben Bella, Pablo and La Manguet included have fled; only the masses are opposing the army. And when the Boumedienne team, in which there is the right wing of Bouteflika, tries to bring about a retreat in the extent of the revolution, but holds back it is because the masses oppose it, they make them feel that there is going to be an uprising. And Boumedienne feels weak, not because of the action of the organised masses, for they are small—the Algerian proletariat is small—but because they feel that the proletariat represents the sentiments of the masses and that they are going to attract them, and they are going to disorganise the army itself. Because of this there is a halt.

Because of this, in Indonesia, the reactionary and counter-revolutionary military, holding the power of the army in their hands, one and a half months after the coup, have to confront the uprising, rebellion, and insurrection of the young communists, who are going to attract the rest of the Indonesian population.

In Italy it is exactly the same. Capitalism has no social or political strength in order to oppose the progress of the masses, and cannot oppose, does not have the strength, because besides the constant struggles of the masses in Italy, they are receiving the influence of the world revolution. If things were determined by the policy of the CP, the masses would stay at home, would be fragmented and disorganised, because the PCI has for seven, eight or ten years, opposed, fought and permanently repressed, the general strike, factory occupations, workers control, occupation of the land. It represses, represses, represses; it is against all this. All the activity of the CP is against these actions of the masses. It constantly expels people from the party who put forward class positions.

The conclusion must be that the masses, do not find approval, stimulus or support in the PCI. They are disorganised by it. The formation of the PSIUP is an expression of this process. The PSIUP was formed not solely by the base of the PSI (the Italian Socialist Party), but by an important base of the PCI, because they saw in it, the possibility of a centre of influence to organise themselves and attract the discontented, dissenting, communist masses in opposition to the reactionary policy of its leadership. If this influence and the influx of the PSIUP has stopped, it is because the Communist masses, who reject its leadership as capitulators, for being conciliatory towards capitalism, cannot have any interest in going to the

PSIUP, which has the same policy. Nevertheless the masses maintain their lively and constant struggle occupying factories, occupying the land, making the general strike, attracting and influencing other sectors of the population. This is the world revolution. The masses feel themselves united to the world revolution.

It is because of this that it is necessary to correct an expression, of which comrade Giulio reminded me yesterday, which is perhaps a mistake in 'Lotta Operaia,' where it says; the masses live preoccupied by the struggle against capitalism and by the defence of the colonial revolution. If this was said it was a mistake. The phrase should be thus; the Italian masses live and are preoccupied by the struggle against Italian capitalism and the struggle and defense of the colonial revolution is expressed in this way.

One must draw the conclusion that this congress of the Communist Party and the PSIUP takes place in the most acute crisis of Italian capitalism since the war. The other great crisis of Italian capitalism was in 1945; it got over it. And in 1948 there was the attempt on Togliatti's life. This is the greatest crisis from 48 up till now, which combines the economic crisis, the political crisis, the social crisis, and the development of the world revolution.

Even in the epoch of Togliatti, the colonial revolution was not so spread out, so extended as it is today. The Sino-Soviet crisis did not exist, nor did the formation of new workers states without the participation of the communist party, as Cuba.

Today the Italian masses have learnt seen, felt, judged. If they were guided by the policy of the Communist party, they would be disorganised. When they keep themselves organised, above all in the trade unions, it is because they feel sure of themselves, they feel secure. The influence of the revolution can never operate on the masses unless they feel themselves sure and capable. The influence of the world revolution in itself, does not determine the action of the masses, but it influences and can organise, push forward and decide when it encounters an appropriate and favourable soil.

If the Italian masses did not have a spirit of permanent struggle, it would not receive the influence of the world revolution. And we reiterate that it is necessary to discuss, it is necessary to raise this discussion within the PCI and the PSIUP: the communist masses and those of the PSIUP express this influence of the world revolution. In that electorally they support these parties, but in the trade union struggle, they do not. They are not the same proportion of members, shop stewards, and youth, but nevertheless they struggle in a united way.

THE CONGRESSES OF THE PCI AND PSIUP ARE NOT TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE MASSES

This is not merely because of the crisis of Italian capitalism, but because joined with this crisis, the influence of the world revolution combines with the confidence of the Italian workers as a class and because of this the process advances in this way. It is on this basis that Libertini and the tendencies which are in the PSIUP and the PCI, must base themselves trying to oppose the capitulatory, treacherous actions, or alliance with capitalism, of the leadership of the communist party.

One must see that these two congresses that are going to be held; that of the PSIUP and the PCI, have a relative not decisive importance. They are congresses to resolve the internal differences of the Party, not to solve the problems of Italy. The congress of the PSIUP, and even more the PCI, tends to solve internal problems not those of the masses. Its programme does not re-

spond either to the needs of the masses or to the level of struggle which the masses already have.

The duty of every congress, of every preparation for a congress, is the fixing of the objectives of the struggle, fixing the objectives and perspectives for the pursuit of, demand for, the objectives to be followed, starting from the level of struggle, the level of conquests that the masses already have attained. The PCI and the PSIUP ignore this. It is absurd as comrade Giuseppe said, and with whose report I agree completely, it is absurd that the PSIUP ignores the Soviet Bureaucracy, the Sino-Soviet conflict, ignores the rebellion of the communist masses against its leadership, ignores the expulsion of Guevara. It is absurd, it is stupid in a document of a socialist party which calls itself revolutionary as do the PSIUP or the PCI, to ignore the expulsion of Guevara. It is absurd not to discuss it as a crisis of the workers leadership at this stage. Absurd.

When they ignore it, it is because they feel the sense of this expulsion. If it had been a struggle between cliques, they would have written 20 pages on it, but they would have written in abstraction. But as the expulsion of Guevara is the expression of a wing which advanced and advances the revolution—and we stimulated Guevara so that he followed this line, without preventing our criticism of Guevara, because they were directed at correcting and making Guevara advance it is because they feel that the expulsion of Guevara is part of the world crisis of the capitulating, conciliatory, protectionist and paternalistic leaderships of the proletariat and the Socialist revolution, and they are frightened of mentioning or discussing it, giving an opinion and stimulating the struggle and the discussion; because of this they ignore it. It is necessary to discuss it. In the congress of the communist party, in the congress of the PSIUP, it is necessary to discuss the expulsion of Guevara. It is not the expulsion of Guevara in itself which is important but the significance which the crisis of the leadership of the Workers States and the colonial revolution has in this stage.

It is necessary to stimulate the formation of groups and currents at this stage; we live a short space of time away from the final settlement of accounts. This rebellion of the communist and PSIUP base, expressed in these forty papers, must be the basis of our action.

It is undeniable that it is necessary to go softly, softly, but what does softly mean? One always advances softly, softly, with caution but at the same time with audacity. It is always like this. Also the revolution is made softly, softly. But with what rhythm? This is a phase which demands an audacious response at a dynamic and growing rhythm.

The rhythm in this phase of advancing gradually, is quicker, and more audacious. What does gradual mean? From one stage to another the pauses were long, now they are short.

From two years ago until now 40 papers have appeared in the PCI and the PSIUP, whereas before it needed tens of years to bring out papers in the PCI. An opposition has emerged in the leadership of the communist party, timid, shamefaced, fearful, and politically cowardly, which tries to restrain the capitulation of the leadership. This is the sense of the intervention of Ochetto and the others. They try to temper the CP leadership or at least to raise issues.

When within the monolithic Central Committee of the PCI, such an opposition emerges, when they prepare themselves so as not to discuss politically, but it comes out publicly, it is because the force which impels is immense. If not, from where would this Ochetto get the will to discuss with Longo? This is the basis of the plan of going gently, gently and gradually. This is what de-

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WE DENOUNCE THE STALINIST SLANDERS OF FIDELCASTRO AGAINST THE IV INTERNATIONAL

WE DEMAND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FATE OF CHE GUEVARA

World Trotskyist Press

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

ARGENTINA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pôlet.
Die Arbeiderrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30 Nieuw bruckaai Gand.

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

BRAZIL: *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.

CHILE: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL: *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International.
Revista Marxista Latino Americana, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

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1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
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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 control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.

11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.

12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.

13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.

14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.

15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.

16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.

18. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.

19. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.

20. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of

21. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.

22. For a workers government.

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termines our rhythm. It is not the same on all sides, but is certainly how the problem appears. And thus where we encounter a basis on which we can support ourselves, we can go quickly. Because of this the factory committees are openly discussed today, and also Longo mentioned them in his report. He did not say what he proposed, but he spoke of them, referred to them. He has to take account that they are discussed and there is a pressure on account of this, and to show that he is not unaware leaving the masses to assess them he refers to them to say to the communist masses; Yes, we know that there are factory committees. This is the object, because of this he refers to them in order to block the process.

It is necessary to be bold in this stage. Not everyone, it does not mean that Ercole, Giovanni, are going to carry on an open struggle. It means that it is necessary to see that this is the situation, to seek points of support in order to advance, so that in a determined stage it is possible to give battle. Not now. For example, now there is the task of preparation to win bases in order to make a jump later, because the crisis is going to go on and on.

The conclusion of this stage, in which we base ourselves in our struggle, is the influence of the world revolution and the constant crisis of capitalism and the leadership of the communist party. This discussion in the Central Committee is solely a demonstration of an internal crisis. It does not have any relation, either in force, in degree, in volume, with the 40 papers which exist, with the declaration of Ochetto, no relation; it is the faintest echo of this force. It is the distant echo of a stampede which breaks out far away. But the echo doesn't determine the force, the echo can have one significance for one person, for another, another significance. It has the significance for Ochetto of being a basis to try to restrain and to respond timidly, to the capitulation of the leadership.

We are going to look for where the explosion is going to come. The linking up with the explosion is going to determine the rhythm of our action. Our task is to seek contact with these 40 periodicals, because they are the basis from which the new leadership will emerge, the leadership which is going to lead the struggle of the masses, which is going to advance a sector which in the PCI and the PSIUP is going to be receptive to this, not because they are the prime movers who took the initiative, but because they still have a certain strength, a certain domination and control, and are bound up with the structure of command of the Party. And for the moment they are indispensable.

In the same way we make an agreement in definite circumstances with reformists and afterwards hang them. In this stage all these people are necessary, even Ochetto. Even these capitulators are necessary—we do not refer to Ochetto in particular, but to people like him—because there is no other way of being able to propel, to make felt, what the masses want.

This is not the stage of continuing to bring out "Ritorniamo a Lenin" it is necessary to be clear and definite. "Rai", "Viva el Leninismo," these publications no longer have any justification. These were periodicals of a type in which, not more than two years ago, they played a role of stimulating, propelling to encourage and organise currents. Now there are already currents, already they have their own life, their own periodicals. And we still do not have strength, it is they who have the strength.

These periodicals today represent movements, groups and tendencies. A paper such as our "Rai", which is not supported by a new group, which is not part of an existence, of a real group, with weight, falls into a void. On the other hand it is possible that we could organise a group, could bring out a paper which has a real base of influence, of weight, starting from this we could make an appeal, a front with the rest of all the papers, for a discussion in a group, a tendency and an opposition, for formulation of a common pro-

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gramme. The programme is simple.

Inevitably in the PCI, in a short time, the problems of fractions and tendencies are going to be discussed. If it does not emerge from this Congress, it will emerge in a short time. When this monolithic apparatus, which is more monolithic than capitalism, must permit its resolutions to be opposed, and when Amendola denounces the fact that they have reached an agreement not to discuss and they do discuss, already the fractional life is present and powerful. Already the fractional life exists: Amendola and Pajetta and all the others have a fractional life. But what they want to prevent is the fraction of those they represent, or of the left, or of the tendencies who timidly reflect indirectly the opposition of the masses to the conciliatory policy, or the timid opposition of the intellectuals to the policy of complete capitulation. Not to a reformist policy, but to a policy of complete capitulation; because Ochetto does not oppose a reformist policy but only the grosser, stupid forms of capitulation.

It is this which indicates that the fractional life in the PCI is necessary and that nothing is going to prevent it. For what is shown here with all its force is what we said a little time ago; even if Togliatti had not died, politically Togliatti was dead, because already the role of centre which he exerted was finished. The crisis of Italian capitalism sweeps away Togliatti's balance of power. Because of this, there is for this congress an alliance which has expressed itself in the Central Committee; Longo-Amendola, the centre right with the right.

Inevitably, in the congress—we do not believe it will be expressed there very openly, but outside the Congress, later, the need for a fraction will inevitably express itself, in one or another manner. The 15 or 20 periodicals which are published, opposing the leadership, are going to seek the way to make themselves felt.

But at the same time it is going to be the same in the PSIUP. The situation in the PSIUP is identical to that in the PCI. Not in the same volume, nor with the same vigour, but there are tendencies who wish to push forward the revolution. This last crisis in the leadership, with Libertini in the leadership, all of this crisis which there has been, is an expression that it is necessary that the pressure of the masses which is looking for the left, finds a response.

But these are simply partial arrangements. It is not possible to make a lasting arrangement, a lasting situation cannot be stabilised, when it is not stabilised by means of a policy, programme and action of the party. And, as much in the PSIUP as in the PCI, they resolve this problem by trying to smash the opposition. This is absurd, because outside them, the struggle is going on in the streets, in the factories, in the trade unions, is going to make itself felt in every way. We must base ourselves on this, not on this Congress which is going to be held. Little will come of this. Afterwards the crisis is going to continue, the crisis of capitalism continues, the world crisis of the workers states with capitalism, continues with the pressure from the base of the PSIUP and PCI to find a road of common agreement to struggle against capitalism.

As one comrade said well, as Fabio said, every important struggle for wage claims, even the rent struggle, is a fight against capitalism, because capitalism cannot yield to his demands.

For example rents. There is no struggle against high rents. The solution is the overthrow of capitalism; But also a programme of immediate demands is necessary, for example, as we have proposed an infinite number of times, 10% of ones salary should be the maximum paid in rent. Capitalism cannot stand this. While also this requires

a programme of building, and planning and the money would come from the nationalisation of the banks. The building union, with the technicians, architects, engineers, friends of the working class would prepare plans for the construction of houses, and real houses, not these square prisons, but homes with every convenience. Capitalism says: we have refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners. Workers want these as well, they should not only be for Amendola. These are a necessity of life. There are certain things which it is necessary to combat and denounce, such as the bourgeois life of the leaders of the PCI and of certain leaders of the PSIUP. The bureaucrats of the PCI arrive at meetings in chauffeur driven cars. We are not against workers leaders having cars, and are for all the workers having cars, but not at the cost of an alliance with capitalism.

Previously they said of us: "these Trotskyists are sectarian, they don't want the workers to have cars." It is a lie, we say to each comrade: "let us see if you can have a car." What we are opposed to, is the betraying of the working class in order to have a car. We oppose those who for this serve capitalism, are agents of capitalism. The leader needs a car, agreed. But, what leader? For what? And a luxury car? A car is imply an instrument, as a typewriter, as a printing press, the same. Also we agree that a leader can live with certain conveniences. But this is not luxury, either. Must it be at the cost of the workers? Nor should the leader have a salary above the average level of the workers wages.

It is necessary to demand that the leaders of the PCI and the PSIUP get the same wages as the average workers wage. And anything more that they need for their activity, the party should decide how much, and they should submit accounts and there should be workers control of the expenses of the leaders of the PCI, the PSIUP, the PSI and the CGIL (trade union federation). This is communism. In this way communism is prepared. Any other way is to prepare a bureaucratic career. ...

If the leader needs to earn three times as much as a worker, this is another thing, the workers movement will give it, without any problem. Anything else is the way to prepare careerism and this is the way for union with capitalism.

What the workers oppose is that the leaders get a salary higher than the average level of the proletariat. If for his function as a leader he needs a greater salary for one or another reason, we agree with this. We are not against the workers having a good flat and living comfortably. Would that everything was like this. What we want is not to prevent the worker living in a good flat, but to give this to everyone. And we pose a plan of building houses for everyone.

We insist that rent control does not have any importance. Capitalism has a thousand ways of getting round it. But on the other hand it is certainly possible to fight for a maximum rent of 10% of ones salary and for a house building plan. But a housing plan now. It is possible to construct a million houses a year in Italy now and it is a way of solving the problem of unemployment. It is necessary to discuss this.

We are not referring to the demands of the party, which will be thought about afterwards, but it is necessary to have, in the demands, workers control as a centre, for the control of everything; the books of the enterprises, the cost of production, wages, quality of production. In Italy as in the rest of the capitalist world, the swindling in food products is enormous.

And it is like this with the majority of products. Therefore Workers Control over the quality of the foodstuffs, milk, meat, butter, cheese, everything. In

order to make good pastry, it is necessary that the flour be of good quality.

A programme of demands is necessary then, in which workers control and the factory committees are the two pillars. But it is necessary to write particular articles, explaining what factory committees are, what workers control is, what the sliding scale of wages is, what the sliding scale of hours of work is. Special specific articles. Also bulletins. And to make meetings and discussions and little courses in the party, in order to explain to militants what the factory committee is.

Small schools to explain this. Not in order to attain them now, tomorrow, but because the objective of the struggle leads to this, while at the same time, without waiting for the factory committees, to seek forms and agreements of struggle, which elevate the understanding of the workers of the factories, to the possibility of factory committees.

And among the explanations one must give, is that the factory committee does not divide, does not go against trade union unity, against the unity of the communist party and the PSIUP. On the contrary, it allows the communist and socialist base, which has no means of unifying itself to unite. It is necessary to explain this. Because an immense number of workers at the base are frightened to join, to do this because it would injure class unity.

We see that in the report of Longo in the Central committee he dedicates an important part to unity, unity, everything that is against unity is bad. They are talking of unity from above with the bourgeoisie, not unity at the base. Because at the base unity is a fact. In the factories, in the strikes, in the occupations, unity is a fact. The population is united. This is the unity which interests us, not unity with capitalism.

It is necessary to bring about the unification of these groups in a common programme, in a short time. One must make little courses in the party, preparing the party for this task that is, how to unify the papers of the tendencies which exist in the PCI and the PSIUP, the divergencies, the differences, the present level of these tendencies, how to unify them, to find a point of support in order to be able to launch into this task, in order to prepare the new leadership of the Italian revolution. It is not possible to pose great tasks if there are not the organisations on which to base oneself, organisations that lead. In this task the progress of the International in Italy, must be accompanied by winning recruits, many recruits. It is necessary to gain friends but this does not solve the question. It is necessary to gain militants who have contact and influence in the class, but not to scorn anyone. The more force the party has, the greater basis for action in a short time.

What must be done, is to increase effort and militant spirit. If we work orderly and conscientiously, our effort will be 100 times superior. Outside the party there is no one who explains, who orientates, organises, from the point of view of revolutionary and class interests. There is no one who does this. All the rest conceal things. One must expect in a short time in the PSIUP and the PCI, crises and attempts from the base at fusion. One must expect this in a short time. We don't want the division of the PCI and the PSIUP. It does not interest us. We want them to unite. Not a single party. Certainly if a single party could express the class will of all the masses, Go forward! We would call all the proletariat to come to the party, because it would extend the security, the confidence, the decision to struggle for the programme of the revolution. But the class matures at an unequal rate.

But in spite of the fact that the class matures in an unequal way, the level of the maturity of the Italian working class is elevated, enormously elevated.

Consequently, the bases are very mature, very ready for the vanguard to influence the rest of the class. It is necessary to base oneself on the fact that the time is short and that it is possible to develop and gain entire groups. For this a weekly paper is necessary. It is necessary to maintain

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INDONESIA NEW EXPRESSION OF THE FAILURE OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

J. Posadas (Short extracts)

The Trotskyists in Indonesia have been assassinated, imprisoned and deprived of democratic rights. Four months ago Aidit, secretary of the communist party, thanked Soekarno for having suppressed the right of the Trotskyists to operate as a party and made an attack on the Trotskyists. The Trotskyists have important forces in Indonesia, have had a strong movement which has been persecuted, repressed and have had their members assassinated by the government of Soekarno and the communists who supported him. We do not know what is the situation of the Trotskyists, but we assume that the Trotskyists have been at the head of the struggle to seek to carry forward the revolution and now to contain the repression of the military and to pass to the offensive. The programme of the Trotskyists in Indonesia is what we have expounded in this article.

The army will seek to extract all the possible advantages from its transitory power, by securing the illegality of the communist party; and then leaning on this base to repress the masses and the unions, to weaken the power of the unions, to break with China or keep China at a distance; to allow a greater influence to the national bourgeoisie in alliance with the landowners and imperialism.

This present struggle shows that the process of the revolution in Indonesia, an ex semi colony, which is advancing towards socialism in determined phases will cause violent convulsions between the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat, that is the landowners and the national bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

The statifications have enlarged the economic power of the national bourgeoisie not from the social point of view no, but from the economic point of view, yes. There is a determined social weight from economic interests for this reason the national bourgeoisie are united to the landowners and to the army and this is the basis with which they confront the proletariat.

After having reached the present level of the Indonesian revolution, nationalisations, a certain monopoly of foreign trade, the nationalisation of the banks, after having weakened the power of the bourgeoisie, logically the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat enter into conflict.

For this reason Soekarno forms an equilibrium between the national bourgeoisie, the army, the landowners and the masses. He represents a petit bourgeois movement towards equilibrium and this equilibrium continually tends to collapse. In increasing the power of the state and when the proletariat has not increased its organic social power, it is logical that the bourgeoisie will seek to eliminate in its own favour, all the conquests joined to the revolution, to dispute with the proletariat the results of the conquests. This is the present phase. There is a certain similarity with the phase of Peron in the Argentine which was much less accentuated and with the phase in Algeria.

The nationalisations fracture the power of imperialism, weaken in general the power of capitalism but in particular increase the economic possibilities, the economic and in part social weight of the national bourgeoisie. For that reason the Indonesian communist party in the last phase has sought to carry forward an indirect policy against neo capitalism in alliance with Soekarno, leaving him with the power because he conducts a campaign against national capitalist sectors. The Indonesian communist party is preoccupied more with combating the Trotskyists than the bourgeoisie and the landowners. And the national capitalist sectors feel that to be able to advance and secure the exclusive benefit of the development of nationalisations, they must dispute power with the proletariat and in consequence eliminate proletarian power.

Still there does not exist in Indonesia an established proletarian power but it is on the way to be established. The strikes, the last occupations, all the recent activity of nationalisations have been determined from the mobilisations of the proletariat who have occupied factories, mines, petroleum enterprises, banks and have gone on strike. The national bourgeoisie has seen that the proletariat disputes power and the benefits of nationalisations. Therefore it was prepared to deliver a blow to replace Soekarno with a military dictatorship in case of his disappearance by his death. This is the heart of the question.

The attitude of the communists and of the Chinese is incorrect. Thus it can and must maintain an agreement with Soekarno and other sectors of the national bourgeoisie, but always when this agreement gives as a result the mobilisations of the masses, nationalisations, never at the expense of the independence of the proletarian class. The Russian revolution and the other revolutions teach that even the united front against imperialism, with the well-to-do bourgeoisie, petit bourgeois sectors, sectors of the army must be accompanied by the independent class action of the proletariat; in the contrary case, the army profits and delivers blows, representing the interests of the national bourgeoisie and of capitalism in its entirety and in this sense even of imperialism; the army will seek the aid of imperialism to sustain itself. If the proletariat is not accompanied by an increase in its social power, through workers control, factory occupations, key posts in society, that is the elimination of the power of the army through militia, through popular tribunals, the elimination of the economic power of the bourgeoisie through workers control using commissions for the planning of the economy, even without arriving at a workers state, if the proletariat does not accompany the measures of nationalisation with these measures it allows the army and the bourgeoisie the opportunity to organise, to centralise and make a United Front.

This united front realised between the Muslims, the national bourgeoisie, the landowners, the army, the communist

party and the Chinese cannot last. It must break up because the social development of the struggle of the masses, the advance of nationalisations, will polarise bourgeoisie versus proletariat and the bourgeoisie is allied with the landed proprietors with the army and this with imperialism. Already voices are raised after the failure of the coup to call upon foreign capital.

All this situation shows that the proletariat must sustain with its political power, with its social power (every measure of economic progress) which means to eliminate the army, to constitute workers militias; even without having obtained the elimination of the army to constitute its own militias; to mobilise with strikes and with occupations of factories; to offer to the peasant masses a united front through the expropriation of the land, making appeals for the seizure of the land; making appeals for the constitution of economic

councils which can plan the economy.

In this way the social and economic power of the bourgeoisie will be eliminated and it will be prevented from profiting for its own interests from the advance of the revolution.

Indonesia shows clearly as with Algeria that if the proletariat does not operate in this way, it will allow the class enemies, the landed proprietors and the bourgeoisie to regroup and to contest power with the proletariat.

The revolution in the sense of the nationalisation measures as in Algeria, arrives at such a level that conciliation with the bourgeoisie comes to an end. Not that this was possible, but the ascent of a real proletarian power genuinely based on a revolutionary programme allows a united front to function. But it was particular measures which allowed this front and this conciliation sustained by the petit bourgeois leadership of the revolution.

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the weekly paper, at whatever the cost. And moreover, in eight pages in order to be able to publish articles on the International situation and articles about Italy, which is the way of raising, and uniting the proletarian vanguard in the sureness of revolutionary action, in the confidence to attract the rest of the class.

One must expect greater crises in the PCI and the PSIUP. The PSIUP cannot progress if it does not develop a revolutionary line and programme. The programme of the PSIUP, I agree with what the comrades reported, is an attempt to do it, but it is a conciliatory attempt; conciliatory so as not to clash with the leadership of the PCI and at the same time so as not to stimulate the action of their own base. Because if they raise a criticism of the PCI, they raise a criticism of the Soviet Bureaucracy, and the consequences are not a greater electoral support, but the consequences will be to stimulate their own base to launch themselves into the fight to overthrow capitalism and attract the base of the PCI. And as between the leadership of the PSIUP and the PCI there is electoral competition, but they are united in a reformist programme; they mutually respect their respective electoral clientele. Because of this neither the PCI nor the PSIUP attack each other, although the duty of both including electorally, is to criticise political positions, etc. Nevertheless, as much in the PSIUP as in the PCI, silence does not mean that there is silence at the base. The criticisms which there are at the base, the opposition papers which have appeared, are public

and open criticisms. They take no notice of this in the PSIUP and the PCI, the leadership wants to ignore it, and does ignore it, but the revolutionary class opposition works and advances and is constantly fed by the crisis of capitalism, by the fighting will of the masses, by the pressure of the world revolution, and by the development of the IV International.

We must be fully sure and convinced that the action of the party is an important factor in the growth, the maturing of the revolutionary current from which will emerge the next leadership of the Italian revolution. Because of this 'Lotta Operaia' has had a great echo, not because it is published weekly, but because a sector of the proletariat finds a weekly response to what they want to nourish themselves politically. Because of this our preoccupation must be to make a thousand efforts to bring out a weekly eight page paper. Because there is a vanguard which wants to orientate itself, orientate, and orientate. And the eight page paper responds to this. But the paper is a limited factor. It does not succeed in influencing, in reaching all those areas that it has to reach. The paper is no substitute for the action of making contact with the opposition publications in the PCI and the PSIUP. It is necessary to get in touch with them. It is necessary to plan action in order to have contact with them, with militants, with groups of weight and importance in the PCI, the PSIUP and the PSI, whether they have publications now or not. But the purpose is an organ to organise the experience, the action and the needs of the struggle, in order to succeed in responding to problems of jobs, wages, rents, etc.

These are the most important tasks that must be carried forward.

The other aspect, is that the expulsions which the PCI and the PSIUP will carry on will not have the terrible consequences that the bureaucrats expect. We see and foresee that there are going to be expulsions. But the opposition in the Central Committee of the PCI is not merely an opposition of one two or three. These one, two or three, are linked with hundreds and hundreds.

The leadership of the PCI is going to try to make a united front with them to expel the Trotskyists or the lefts, but they are going to counter great resistance, because of the base on which these people support themselves (which has been the criticisms in the Central Committee of the PCI, is going to feel that the elimination of the Trotskyist or the lefts, prepares the road for the expulsion of them as well. There is no room, there is no possibility, this is not the stage for a lasting alliance of the right with the centre, because the objective conditions, of revolutionary ascent are going against them; because of this such an opposition has come out in the central committee of the PCI, timid, respectful to the legality of the leadership but in every way an opposition which expresses an enormous force in the party.

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THE SUCCESS OF THE NEW YORK TRANSPORT STRIKE SHOWS THAT THE ADVANCE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION INCREASES THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS

The 13 day strike of the New York transport workers marks the beginning of the development of big working class struggles in the U.S.A. The strike was an enormous success for the transport workers, who, in spite of a trade union bureaucracy which is the most rotten and degenerated of any workers bureaucracy outside the Soviet Union, and in spite of all the hostile pressure of petit-bourgeois "public opinion" whipped up by the capitalist press, and the imprisonment of the Union officials, have won a new two year contract which will give them a 15% increase over that time, as well as other benefits. The fact that the award was considerably less than the original demand is not the criterion by which the strike can be judged as a success or failure; it was a success because of its solidity and its affect on other sectors of the working class, and because it has won considerably more than US capitalism can afford to pay.

The strike has also demonstrated the crisis of the conciliatory workers leaderships at this stage. In the past, Quill, the Transport Workers leader has always blustered and then in the last minute, given in; this time his refusal to

capitulate, his insults to the Mayor, and his final going to gaol were an indication, not of his own personal courage or dedication to the workers movement, but of the terrific pressure he was under from the union rank and file. Quill was caught between the pressures of a militant confident working class, which is receiving the influence of Cuba, the defeats of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and all the world revolution, and the capitalists who can no longer afford any reforms. With an honest union leadership there is no doubt that the strike could easily have been spread to include other sectors of transport workers, but nevertheless a real victory has been gained even with the existing rotten leadership.

The level of the award made by the New York Transit Authority has come in for some sharp criticisms from President Johnson who laid down a 3.2% annual norm for wage increases. Johnson is beginning to find himself in the same farcical position as George Brown whose 3 1/2% norm has been exceeded in many industries in the past year. An indication of the fear of the American ruling class in the face of such militant actions as this one, is that Johnson has pro-

posed that Congress enact legislation to "enable us to effectively deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interest." They no longer have the economic strength to meet the demands, no longer have the social authority to prevent the demands being made, and so they can only counter with repression. It is the same in this country where the Labour government is going to bring in some form of legislation against the trade unions, and it is a stage in the whittling away of democratic liberties which imperialism could once allow, but which now in its period of decay it can no longer.

This strike will have a profound effect on the consciousness of workers in Western Europe. In this country, a hint of this effect has already been shown by the message of support sent by Harrow Weald and Hendon, London Transport Bus Garage to the strikers.

In this country rail and road transport workers must link up their struggles and co-ordinate their actions. The union bureaucrats are opposed to this and do their best to sabotage any move towards unity in action, so the transport workers must link together unofficially by means of shop stewards committees.

RED FLAG

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



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

— Trotsky

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MARCH, 1966

SIXPENCE

Use The Election To Promote The Anti - Capitalist Programme

DISCUSS THE PROGRAMME FOR WORKERS POWER IN
THE UNOFFICIAL COMMITTEES, TRADE UNIONS, L.P. & C.P.

CAPITALISM seeks everywhere for stronger government. This of course has always been the case, but it becomes of overriding importance when the social system is in serious unresolved crisis and the working class will not take no for an answer. The crises of government in Belgium and Italy particularly reflect the weakness of the parliamentary facade of capitalism. In Great Britain although there is no force which can restrain the will to struggle of the masses, the capitalist class desire for at least a semblance of strong government to be attained and hope that a new election will resolve this. They would prefer the Tory party to be returned but failing that, they rely on the LP apparatus to defend capitalist interests.

In its preparations for the elections the Tory party leadership is trying to strengthen its support among the privileged sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who fear the consequences of the persistent struggle of the workers.

In its preparations for the elections the Tory party leadership is trying to strengthen its support among the privileged sector of the petit bourgeoisie who fear the consequences of the persistent struggle of the workers. Thus they stress the need for private "self help" as against state support for the social services—a typical capitalist attitude. They want a tough line with the unions. But in practice also the LP boasts of "controlling state expenditure and imposing fines on the unions. Apart from Rhodesia, the LP, and the Tories will go into the elections with only minor differences. They have nothing to offer the masses save war.

Completely integrated with capitalism, the LP apparatus struggles with the Tories purely as a competitor for office. Under enormous mass pressure it may indeed further interfere with the operation of the capitalist system, but it will oppose the advance of the masses as much as it can.

Wilson will go into this election hoping to benefit electorally from the centralisation of the proletariat around the Labour party and from those Liberals who vote with the workers against the party of monopoly capitalism.

It is possible if the Hull election is anything to go by nationally that the LP apparatus will be returned to power with a bigger majority, and there could be a sharp fall in the liberal vote. On the other hand it is very likely that vanguard elements among the workers will abstain and this could effect the over all numerical vote of the LP.

In any case even supposing the Parliamentary balance of power shifts in favour of the LP apparatus, the class struggle takes no account of parliament at this stage. But the election will provide a means of measuring the balance of class forces at present.

The depth of the social crisis in this country can be measured by the anxiety caused by the proposed Railway strike.

The calling off of this strike is interesting from a number of aspects. It shows the continuous social stalemate which prevails in the country at the moment. Clearly the leadership of the union was treacherous and openly conciliatory. And the workers realised this. With a leadership as rotten as this, it is hardly surprising that some workers were against the strike and there was no means for the most advanced workers to exert a counter pressure, to go forward. It is true that the result of all the strike threat gained the workers little. On the other hand as the capitalist papers have not failed to point out, Wilson has simply bought time and in the long run the postponement of solutions will only provoke a worse crisis for capitalism later.

TRAYAL BY LEADERS STIMULATES UNOFFICIAL ACTIVITY

Nevertheless what has happened in the rail strike has forcibly illustrated the fact that the workers of this country need to find the organisational means to present an alternative leadership to the present reactionary union bureaucracy. They need their own democratic factory committees with specific minimum and advanced demands having as their object to link up with all the other strikers in this country whose struggle is sabotaged by the refusal of the union leaderships to unite the workers struggle and give it a clear anti capitalist perspective.

However there is no doubt that the vanguard workers will take to heart the significance of the sabotaged strike. For a long time workers have been forced to go on strike in spite of their leaders and the criticism of the bureaucracy must grow continuously, even if unobserved. It is liable to burst out in the most unsuspected places as at Vauxhalls some time ago when the union officials were reviled as traitors. Similarly the East London garages have strongly criticised the lethargy of the union officials who are against the ban on overtime and try to sabotage the struggle.

The elections are going to take place in an atmosphere of capitalist instability and doubt, with a continuous lack of authority on the part of the capitalist

class. They only retain power because of the lack of an international centre to stimulate their revolutionary overthrow by the British proletariat and because the latter has no workers centre in this country whereby it can co-ordinate its actions. All this is primarily due to the counter revolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy which is now engaged on the impossible task of trying to return to capitalism. But despite the great difficulties facing the proletariat in this country in co-ordinating its struggle, the strenuous battle with the capitalist class inevitably will generate a new leadership. The new government investment corporation which encourages the rationalisation of industry and hence monopoly, is symptomatic of the centralisation of the capitalist system constantly generating the centralisation of the Proletariat.

Wilson, whom sectors of the capitalist press have tried to build up as a great success has achieved nothing. Before the last elections he spoke of attaining a four per cent increase in the rate of growth—it is down to 2%. Stagnation and credit squeeze exists as under the Tories. The deterioration in all public services continues and we can predict will inevitably get worse. The attack on the miners is characteristic of the capitalist rationalisation carried on at the expense of the workers in that industry. But as with other sectors of the workers the miners are beginning to show a serious resistance to the policies of the government despite leaders

like the rotten Paynter, a typical CP boss who offers only token resistance to the Coal Board. As regards foreign policy Wilson has failed to solve the Rhodesian crisis in a smooth conciliatory manner and is in no position to help stabilise the Vietnam situation. The excursion to Moscow is a pre-election visit simply to allay domestic criticism over the inevitable integration of British foreign policy with the interests of the NATO war alliance. The crisis over military expenditure (the Mayhew resignation) expresses in essence the total inability of British imperialism to find the resources to block the colonial revolution.

In the absence of worker candidates on an anti-capitalist programme in the elections, we call upon the vanguard to use the elections to stimulate discussions in factories and worker areas around the anti-capitalist programme and to place this programme in the ballot boxes. We reiterate the principal demands; expropriation of all key industries under workers control, basic minimum wage to rise with the rise in the cost of living, no trade union official to have more than the average workers wage and to be open to immediate recall, all the profits of automation to the workers, tenants committees to fix rents and rates, full support including strikes and sabotage for the colonial revolution, alliance with the workers states against imperialism, for a workers government based on workers councils, for the United socialist states of Europe. ...

THE HEALY APPARATUS (SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE) SERVES THE INTERESTS OF IMPERIALISM BY ATTACKING THE IV INTERNATIONAL AND CDE. POSADAS

THE article by Michael Banda in the Newsletter of the 5th of February entitled "Castro slanders Trotskyism" is the most vicious and dishonest attack the SLL has yet made on the IV International. Its intention was to confuse and divert attention from the growing influence and authority of the IV International, an influence which Castro has been forced to attack just as two years ago the Soviet Communist party "theoretician" Suslov attacked the Trotskyist influence over the Chinese leadership and quoted from the documents of the Secretary of the International, J. Posadas. Banda's article, showed by its lies, distortions, sheer ignorance and stupidity, a degeneration in the author to a level even lower than that to which

Castro himself has sunk, Banda to use his own phrase has joined "Stalin and Vyshinsky in the technique of Byzantine distortion and vilifying". No doubt it must pain him that he cannot use their methods to physically destroy the IV International.

Banda asks why did Castro not study the documents of the so-called Unified Secretariat or International Committee, and did not quote from them as examples of Trotskyism today. The answer to these questions is very simple; Castro can distinguish between Trotskyists and the boneless ex-Trotskyists of the above "organisation" who he knows as do the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism, that they have long

(continued Page 4)

The Solution to the Social and Economic Crisis in Spain is the Workers and Peasants Government

J. POSADAS (Extracts)

IF a sector of Spanish capitalism had been able to eliminate Franco and install a "democratic" bourgeois power, it would have already done so. It has tried; for years they have been trying. This Fascism no longer exists in Spain. There exists a power which came out of fascism; but the characteristics, the conditions, the fascist structure have already vanished, not because Franco has himself abandoned them, but because the development of the struggle of the masses, the social economic crisis of the government has made Spanish capitalism lose its strength. Thus losing its fascist character. This does not mean that it has abandoned the intention to be fascist and to use force, because before collapsing Franco will repress, will make a repression as severe as that of the civil war. Franco will not go by means of good wishes. He will not abandon power.

If the Spanish bourgeoisie which does not stand with Franco, which conflicts with him for different interests, for reason of commercial and financial competition, if this sector of the bourgeoisie was able to stabilise the situation, to eliminate Franco and to install a democratic bourgeois government, it would already have done so. The reason for all this present struggle substantially is this. The slow changes, the progressive elimination of repressive juridical forms, of Fascist police repressions are aspects, phases, of the disintegration of Fascist power.

WHY HAS FRANCO NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN FASCISM

Disintegration does not mean disappearance. All the time the Fascist Spanish power—Fascist in form but not able to apply Fascism—tries to continue and to repress. Thus there are many condemned to death, condemned to forty years imprisonment for a leaflet. The regime seeks to maintain in being the Fascist structure, security, equilibrium, Fascist stability; but it disintegrates. What is the reason why Franco has not been able to maintain Fascism. It is not because the Spanish bourgeoisie had fought against Franco, they have not waged any struggle. It is essentially because the masses have not submitted, have not capitulated to the regime. This is the generation which has seen the civil war and which has not received the support of the communist and socialist parties of the world.

The proletariat wished to help it but has not been able to and the proof is that the world proletariat rallied to the defence of Spain with the International Brigade. It was one of the most moving phases of human history; in full retreat before the world revolution, after defeats in the full process of Thermidor and of counter revolution in the USSR with the counter revolutionary policy of Stalin, the proletarian vanguard of the world presented itself and came to the defence of Spain, showing itself to be alive, resolute; and Spain was a centre which concentrated its attention as today with the colonial revolution. Spain showed itself to be the centre of the revolution and it was there that the proletariat went to impel the revolution, tried to push it forward; but the policy of the communist party impeded it. ...

All this generation received blow after blow. In historic situations as in Spain, the proletariat has need of certain conditions to recover itself, to reorganise itself through the economy, union activity, etc. And this phase existed in Spain; through economic life the proletariat found a point of support, but a very limited one. It is not Spanish economic activity—which has been very limited—which has united the proletariat but the fact that again as in 1936 the world revolution is a stimulus in Spain; again today the world revolution runs to the help of Spain. This is the weakness of Franco. It is not only due to the economic crisis of the Spanish bourgeoisie, this is a limited factor

which was paramount, but to the fact that the world revolution which advances is more powerful than the capitalist system on a world scale.

Franco was able to rule because on a world scale there was a retreat of the revolution and the communist parties objectively supported it. The strength of Franco consists in the fact that in his time he was able to take power because capitalism was preparing for war. The proletariat was defeated. The soviet bureaucracy and the communist parties of the whole world contributed to the defeat of the proletariat. The war showed that the proletariat was alive, was not defeated: it took power in 12 countries; there are 14 new workers states after the USSR. ...

From that moment fascist power began to disintegrate, because the force of the world revolution did not give Franco a point of support to maintain himself. Fascism did not stabilise itself and this stimulated the proletariat; and what encouraged it to recover was the renewal of the world revolution from the beginning of the war itself; from 1943 in particular which was the moment in which the world proletariat united itself. And it conquered in China, in Czechoslovakia, in Jugoslavia and in Cuba thanks to certain conditions which allowed it to escape the sabotage of the communist party. In Spain the proletariat was not able to do this, but it is not the fault of the Spanish proletariat.

The policy of Franco has served to repress the masses, to crush them, and the bourgeoisie which has seen the danger of the revolution, its revival, has seen the necessity to submit to Franco; but Franco has not developed the economy, he finds himself in constant danger of inflation, or stagnation; Per capita production in iron and agricultural products is one of the lowest in Europe. Only in part in the metallurgical industry can some sectors be compared to other countries of Europe. Spanish capitalism feels that in competition with the other capitalisms, it is losing. It feels that there is a deterioration in the situation and desires a reorganisation and for this Franco is no use to them. From this stems their resistance. It is not that they feel the need for democracy; they do not feel it, because it carries the danger of the revolution. Today they are not able to support the situation in which they find themselves, the crisis is tightening around them. And in front of the danger of the crisis, in front of the existence of types like Franco and in front of the revolution, they seek to eject Franco without which can realise development. But it is already too late because the monopolies allied to American imperialism will not leave the Spanish bourgeoisie any way out other than that of allying with them. From here the dispute between Barcelona, Bilbao, Asturias on one side and high finance on the other. And from here also the role of Opus Dei (a right wing reform organisation), which seeks

to obtain a reorganisation of the economy, dominating via high finance, to increase production and productivity. But there is no more possibility of rationalisation. The Spanish economy is too backward to confront the production of the European common market.

The present attempt of the fascist government to trade with the workers states, to which it sells, above all, agricultural products, has the object of seeking to find a point of economic support to escape the economic crisis. For a certain time it can do this, but for a very little time. Now the workers states cannot compensate for capitalist commerce. There is very little that they can buy or exchange. The fact that the Fascist state is obliged to trade with the workers states shows that it is afraid to compete with capitalism in Europe. In every case trade with the workers states shows weakness in front of the masses, stimulates sectors of the bourgeoisie to eliminate Franco, to give a certain freedom to be able to develop the economy.

Spanish society is again very close to a new civil war. All these present struggles are the symptoms of a new civil war. When under a fascist regime the proletariat has the strength to imprison police officers to liberate the arrested, to demonstrate for trade union democracy, to organise clandestine unions and the state can kill them it is because we are again at the gates of civil war.

What bourgeois sector has accepted a united front with the masses? None. No sector has accepted. The students have demonstrated and when the workers came to give their support, as did the engineering workers in Madrid, the leaders of the students did not wish to know anything about them.

Without a party, free unions, without centralised organisation, it is the proletarian vanguard which is observing and reflecting, is influencing the intellectuals and these are representing the centre of union with the workers. There are dozens of intellectuals in the service of the workers cause, whose security is the security which the proletariat shows in its struggles.

THE SPANISH MASSES FEEL THE APPROACHING CIVIL WAR

When in a situation like that in Spain, of repression, of the possibility of condemnation to death through a simple demonstration, of shooting for some ordinary meeting, the workers decided to intervene with the students it is because in spirit they already feel civil war. Already there is united front. The demonstrations have been attended by sectors far from their place of work, from their daily life, who run the danger of being killed, of being arrested; when they intervene it is because they feel the necessity for the united front and they feel capable of intervening to direct it, otherwise they would not intervene. The workers do not come as spectators, they come to make the weight of the proletariat felt and make it felt among the students; this is the situation.

Where are the bourgeois sectors who seek to struggle for democracy? The university professors are demonstrating the decomposition of the Franco regime; and this decomposition means that sectors who until now have been supporters of fascism feel that this has no longer any historic support. It is necessary to prepare the general strike in Spain, beginning with the united front for democratic liberties for independent trade unions, for independent democracy but at the same time the independent mobilisation of the workers, peasants,

students, regardless of the alliance with the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie. Thus the proletariat can develop the role of influencing, directing, of demonstrating that it is capable of influencing, of directing and organising mobilisations of the building workers, of the engineering proletariat which will be on the agenda in the next few months; new mobilisations; are preparing with the wave of tourists gone, the struggle will begin. The consequences of tourism will be the increase of prices of a whole series of products. The masses will launch themselves against the increase in the cost of living and with this will be joined the fall of Franco. This is the programme which it is necessary to have. And the pro-Chinese must understand that this is reality, that it is necessary to discuss this not in the clouds saying "as Lenin said." It is necessary to apply what Lenin said, today. Where is the democratic bourgeoisie with which to make an alliance? Who can find it? Put an advertisement in the papers. The proletariat did not expect this alliance; all the conquests of the proletariat have been obtained through struggle. And on this it is necessary to base oneself.

To compete with the Common Market, capitalism has need of increasing production and productivity. Tourism which this year has allowed 1,000 million dollars to come into the country improves the trade balance but for the Spanish proletariat, this does not mean any advantage, because it means that a part of production is consumed by the tourists and subtracted from internal consumption. It is not a cycle which begins and finishes. There is an immense quantity of money which enters the country but does not enter the hands of the proletariat but which intensifies very limited production, productivity, accumulation; hotel trade develops, certain transport and food sectors also but it is a food production which does not serve internal consumption. And this produces then an adverse effect on the interests of the working class. The benefits are very limited.

The cost of agricultural production is very high. If nevertheless the Spanish government does not find great difficulty in the Common Market, it is because the whole of agricultural production is consumed by the tourists—18 million of them—but this is over.

But to be able to develop the economy to meet the demands of the Spanish people and of tourism, capitalism is forced to increase production and productivity and will be forced to eliminate small peasant property, the small producers, small tenant farmers, small proprietors and to concentrate property to allow capitalist production. And this will mean the emigration of hundreds and thousands of peasants who then would not be able to work abroad.

Today even the petit bourgeoisie feels that it cannot hope for anything from capitalism and feels itself drawn by the revolution. It is a question of the same petit bourgeoisie who had formerly given their support to fascism and hoped for a solution through fascism. But the world revolution influenced the Spanish masses, the petit bourgeoisie.

It is necessary to reply to this situation with a programme which takes account of the fact that there are in Spain acts of civil war. Fascism which has assassinated millions of the proletariat, which destroyed a quarter of Spain, today does not fire on demonstrations, is afraid to fire; this is not because it is not disposed to do so, it will do so. It is seeking to gain time, but in every way it will act as it did in the

SPAIN continued

civil war of 1936-39. But when capitalism has not decided to intervene with arms and seeks to conciliate, it is because the centre of the force of fascism has already lost its security. If today it maintains itself, it is because the communist party, the socialist party, the CGT the UGT, the CNT impede the taking of power; above all it is due to the behaviour of the workers states who sabotage, deny help to the Spanish proletariat.

The Spanish masses are alone, alone from the point of view that they do not receive any direct social support. In exchange they receive the influence of the world colonial revolution and this means the defeat of Franco. In this sense Spain is not alone, is part of the world revolution and it is the world revolution which has impeded the consolidation of Franco.

At the present time the struggles developed by the masses through the secret unions, their functioning and in part their public appearance demonstrates that it is the Spanish working class which feels itself resolved and impelled to struggle against fascism to gain the upper hand over fascism. There is not a single committee, a single organism, a single political organisation of the bourgeoisie which opposes fascism. These simply discuss in the ministries, in the banks, in the chambers of commerce, in the stock exchange.

THE PROLETARIAT HURLS ITSELF INTO STRUGGLE

On the other hand the proletariat is throwing itself into struggle. And when it is a question of political action, it is necessary to consider what is the class which is in the front line, which shows itself capable of struggling and in consequence of attracting the other sectors: this class is the proletariat. It is the only class which does this.

The students have a limited capacity for struggle. Certainly with greater possibility, with more means, the students can almost immediately succeed in attracting a small group of the population, but their struggle does not extend itself throughout the country. It tends to be limited.

The Spanish proletariat from 1962 uninterrupted every year has engaged in struggles which are extensive; and in three years the proletariat has already organised their clandestine unions and they are recognised by the government sui generis. It is necessary to pay attention to this. All, who seek to help and incorporate themselves in the struggle in Spain must consider this and see how to develop the instruments, the organisation of the struggle which is already in process.

The proletariat has demonstrated that already there are clandestine unions which function throughout the country, that there is an alliance with a sector of the intellectuals gained by the proletariat, gained by the force, by the coherence of the uninterrupted struggle of the proletariat. It is necessary to understand this.

It is necessary to prepare for the next stage. The unions must appear publicly but it is necessary to consider that fascism will not abandon power, will not permit public activity in the workers unions. In the moment in which the unions can appear publicly with a certain force, the new civil war will begin which will be a very short process. Franco will throw in all the strength which he has, also with that of all the European bourgeoisie, to seek to crush the Spanish proletariat.

The American bases which exist in Spain are not against the soviets but some time ago the communists eliminated the slogan of "out with the American bases in Spain" in order not to enter into conflict with the Americans. This is peaceful co-existence.

The politics of peaceful co-existence of the communist party, determine this policy. Even the pro-Chinese do not discuss this problem. There is not a single line against peaceful co-existence. Even a bourgeois can say, as do the pro-Chinese, "down with peaceful co-existence", but there is no policy against peaceful co-existence; they have no definite policy. In their programme, in

their declarations, they are simply more favourable to the proletariat, nothing more. In fact they conduct the same policy. The class relations are not changed by declarations.

A plan of mobilisation is necessary which leads to the united front of the workers unions with the student and peasant unions. These must unify themselves and mobilise themselves for the conquest of democratic liberty; freedom of the press, of speech, of assembly. It is necessary to appeal to the unions to function openly; so that the unions appear publicly, attracting the sectors of the petit bourgeoisie.

It is not possible to separate the struggle of the Spanish proletariat from the struggle of the European and world proletariat. They are united. The Spanish proletariat has need of this support, now at this moment. A general strike is necessary in Europe at this moment so that the unions in Spain appear publicly. From here can begin a new phase in Spain. In a short time there will be civil war, that is to say, the defeat of Franco. It is necessary to act immediately. For this there is necessary a programme of demands, of economic development, of the nationalisation of the bank, of credits to the peasants, land to the peasants, no factory to be closed, occupation of factories with workers control. If they want to renovate the industrial plant, let the state do it, through state credits but the factory then becomes the property of the state. Sliding scale of wages, minimum basic wage, sliding scale of hours. All must work for this, all the factories which cannot pay wages must be nationalised. It is necessary to secure employment for the Spanish workers, the European proletariat must help them.

The fall of Franco is the fall of Salazar in Portugal. The struggle of the Spanish proletariat even before the fall of Franco, can determine the fall of the scarecrow called Salazar. ...

At the same time, a plan of demands for the agricultural workers: minimum basic wage, raising of their condition of life, elimination of all the debts of the small and medium peasants, peasants unions, independent unions of agricultural workers, independent unions of tenant farmers, unions of small proprietors and at the same time united front against the state, the landowners and the Church.

But every union must be independent; the workers must have their own union.

Already the new leadership is forming. If the proletariat has been able to make these struggles to co-ordinate, to intervene, if groups of workers have been present and have participated in demonstrations of students, if the workers have reproduced leaflets of the Spanish section of the IV International, have had strikes in different jobs at the same time, it is because already there is a centralised leadership which has found the means of functioning.

But this leadership must appear and function regularly with a political programme and make appeals for the discussion in all the factories, in the form of little groups who conduct a political life. Thus as in Brazil there are organised "groups of five"—through the initiative of the Trotskyists, not of Brizolla—in Spain, it is necessary to launch the slogan for the organisation of small factory groups, of the workers quarters, of the cell life; not only preparing themselves for strikes but constantly operating with an intense political life, with the programme of democratic demands, with the objective of a workers and peasant government.

The object of the cell organisation is to organise the force to smash Franco. These are the tasks which it is necessary to complete in Spain. At the same time it is necessary to appeal to the European proletariat to intervene with a 24 hour general strike in Europe in support of the Spanish proletariat which will stimulate all the Spanish masses. At present a centre is lacking, a stimulus

which unites the action of the Spanish masses in a single moment throughout Spain. There has been a very important attempt to do this, progress has been made but a centre is still lacking. This centre can be, must be a General Strike of the European proletariat. Even if this does not happen, the proletariat will find the way to find a centre and unite with the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants. But a general strike in Europe now, would be an enormous support to the Spanish proletariat. This is the task which it is necessary to confront today.

The new leadership is in process of construction and it is not communist or socialist. Nevertheless the communist party and the socialist party have a certain weight. This force depends on the fact that they are the only organised centres. The proletariat feels that it has no other strength and seeks to profit from it; it is on this base that the communists speculate and seek to draw advantage. But they have no authority over the masses.

The politics of "La Passionaria" are to make no mobilisation, to recommend calm, to do nothing which can provoke a new civil war, against strikes. The occupations of the mines, the strikes which the workers have made already in the mines, the occupation of the police commissariat in Mieres, with hostages are against the policy of the communist party, because this leads to civil war.

There is no contradiction still in the fact that the workers seek to profit from the communist and socialist parties; they see them as allied passengers who may help them economically and legally. But the policies pursued by the workers and peasant movement is not that of the socialist and communist parties, the latter only profit from them limitedly because the masses equally realise that their own actions go beyond these parties.

This means that in the next great struggles, in the next mass movements, the crisis of the Spanish communist party will deepen and it will be forced to defend itself from the actions and the struggle of the masses. Nonetheless, sectors at the base of the socialist and communist parties who are already influenced, will be won by the masses.

The corruption of the communist party can be seen in the declarations of La Passionaria; "to prevent the horrors of civil war, to prevent all disorders." The struggle of the masses to overthrow fascism, cannot be done without disorders and civil war. All the strikes pose this demand. On the other hand this declaration allows Franco to assassinate workers, imprison them, and this is a disorder!

The new leadership of the Spanish revolution is already developing in Spain.

This leadership has organised, formed, developed as an influence, as a direct echo, as a direct result of the influence of the world revolution, the Trotskyist process, because the class and independent struggle of the masses is the struggle for proletarian power, for worker and peasant government, the revolutionary struggle arms in hand. The masses of Spain are acting as a direct echo of the influence of the world revolution. In a short time at the next stage, such influence will have immense importance. The student petit bourgeoisie in a less systematic form, more limited than the workers, shows in its actions that it has no perspective.

The student movement appears at certain moments with a vigour superior to what it has in reality the students do not lose their vigour but they have no perspective; the student movement for this reason exhausts itself. The students ask for democratic liberty. Why? To speak and to decide, but to decide and speak what? To obtain what? This poses the problem of power. This is what limits the student movement.

The struggle of the students receives a determining impulse from the struggle of the workers. The students limit their movement and will fall back from the level which they have attained which is already at its maximum; but they are

very little able to advance because the workers cannot then influence them any more. In the moment in which the proletariat will have centralised and unified their movement in the country, the students will feel more decisive.

In the next phase the revolutionary leadership which is developing, will play a great role and have an immense weight because they are acquiring security and faith in themselves; in spite of the opposition and the attack of the socialists and communists, the Spanish proletarian masses are united to a very important sector of intellectuals, to a sector of the petit bourgeoisie with whom they are joined and with whom they conduct a clandestine life together. The ideological security of the proletariat is determined not only by the influence of the world revolution but also by the fact that it has an interior political and ideological life; the proletariat and their leadership will appear publicly in the next phase and will eliminate socialist and communist party influences. It is necessary to prepare and intervene for this phase.

The next phase of the crisis of capitalism in Europe, the social and economic crisis will allow the proletariat an enormous advance to lead and attract the petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry. It is necessary to make a programme of struggle in common, of workers and peasants so that the proletariat supports the struggle of the peasants in Spain; it is necessary to consider at the same time that all the crises in Spain have their background in the final settlement of accounts. The proletariat feels this and comprehends. The decision of the Spanish proletariat is part of this decision. These are the prospects for the intensification of the struggles, for their elevation, for the generalisation of the next struggles in a united front, but a united front with the independent action of the proletariat, not fettered by the petit bourgeoisie or the peasantry, which is not embarrassed or subordinated to the actions which defend and sustain the interests of the capitalist petit bourgeoisie or of the sector of the bourgeoisie in competition with high finance geared to Yankee imperialism.

For the proletariat to maintain its independent action, it is necessary to have at the same time an intense activity and political life. A clandestine publication is necessary, amply diffused, of the clandestine leadership of the unions, which struggles for a socialist programme and makes an appeal at the same time for democratic demands; freedom of the press, of speech, of assembly, etc., to fight for socialist demands. This leadership begins to appear before the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants, as a centre of political leadership. Already this exists. Thus as the leadership of Mali is not socialist or communist or pro-Chinese even if it now seeks their support, the same is the case in Spain. And it is necessary to rely on this perspective within which our party in a short period will develop.

The unions must play the role of the Political Party. The unions must act as a political party, as political organisers and through this action will arise the organisation of a new political revolutionary party with the Marxist revolutionary programme in the struggle for the socialist republic. There is no possibility of a democratic bourgeois republic as a substitute for Franco, because the slogan of the bourgeoisie democratic republic is deprived of all content. ...

Whatever characterises a republic is not the slogan supporting the republic, but the juridical structure capable of resolving the problem of the masses in Spain and also which supports itself on the masses who are already prepared to take power.

The phase of the democratic republic has gone; as with the Russian revolution, as in the rest of the revolutions in Africa and Asia, the present phase allows the workers and peasant government to be joined directly to the socialist republic. The unions must play this role in Spain and already they are playing it. They are political centres of attraction for the masses.

J. POSADAS, 17.9.65

The S.L.L. Attack On The IV International

(Continued from page 1)

ago capitulated to "peaceful co-existence. When Castro, or the Soviet bureaucracy, or the bourgeoisie attack Trotskyism they attack what Banda is pleased to call the "Posadas ultra-left group", and he knows it. Banda knows that it was our comrades who were arrested in Spain, our comrades who have a real influence in the Bolivian miners movement and in the Argentine and Uruguayan workers movement, and our comrades who within Cuba itself were and are in the forefront of the struggle for a socialist Cuba. He must know the programme of the IV International—it is published in all the papers of the International—but he makes no attack on it, no analysis of why the "Posadas group" is ultra left. While belabouring Castro for giving no evidence for his attacks on Trotskyism, Banda goes on to slander the IV International on the basis of falsehoods and distortions.

In his attacks on Trotskyism, Castro quoted from the writings of Cde. Posadas in "Lotta Operaia" the paper of the Italian section, and Adolfo Gilly a journalist influenced and orientated by the International, who has written many articles on the revolutionary struggle in the American "Monthly Review" the Uruguayan radical weekly La Marcha (Banda even gets this wrong by calling it a publication of the International) and other publications. It is the IV International which Castro attacks.

The Healy apparatus (Socialist Labour League) serves the interests of imperialism by attacking the International, Cde. Posadas, the analyses and programme of the International as expressed in the documents of the International, the writings of Gilly and the programme of the MR 13 of November of Guatemala.

On the question of the MR 13 of

World Trotskyist Press

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

ARGENTINA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pölet. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30 Nieuw bruckaai Gand.

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

BRAZIL: *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.

CHILE: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL: *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

November of Guatemala and its leader Yon Sosa who Castro attacks as a "traitor to the revolution", Banda says no more than that Sosa is the leader of a wing of the "national revolutionary movement of Guatemala" which refuses to accept the leadership of Castro and which puts forward a "more radical programme in contradistinction to the pro-Stalinist group led by Turcios." It is a slander on the MR 13 to say merely that their policy is more radical than the CP and to explain Castro's attack on Yon Sosa in terms of a struggle between cliques. The MR 13 are fighting for the socialist revolution in Guatemala, for the expropriation of the land, of bourgeoisie and imperialist property, and for the smashing of the state machine by the armed struggle of the workers and peasants. This was made clear in the "Primera Declaracion de Das Sierra de las Minas" of the 20/7/64. This is the reason for the hysterical attack by Castro who has now shown that he has completely capitulated to the Soviet Bureaucracy and peaceful co-existence. Banda either knows nothing of this declaration or is deliberately avoiding reference to it.

A CORRECTION TO THE LIES ON THE S. PADDINGTON L.P. INCIDENT

A lie about the British section of the IV International, that we supported the expulsion of militants from the Labour Party must be corrected. Banda writes "In Britain its most prominent leader when the group was founded has openly supported the right wing witch-hunt against Young Socialists and councilors, while calling for World Revolution". The facts of this case are as follows. When the British section of the IV International was founded in June 1963 there were present a few people who on realising later what membership of a revolutionary party demanded of them quickly left. Such a person was John Fairhead (who Banda is probably referring to) who left the party early in February 1964. The expulsions from South Paddington Labour Party did not come until February 1965 i.e. one year later. We commented on this expulsion in the editorial of March 1965, saying that it was an indication of the fear of the L.P. bureaucracy of the development of oppositional currents in the Labour Party and Young Socialists. It goes without saying that we oppose the expulsion of militants by the bureaucracy and we have never taken part in any witch-hunts or expulsions. When the S.L.L. has to use this sort of "argument" to prove their case they only show their own mendacity and charlatanism.

In a further attempt to discredit the "Posadas group" Banda mentions that the Cuban Trotskyists have been released from jail after signing a loyalty oath. These comrades who have always been in the forefront of the struggle against bureaucratic privileges, for trade union liberties and for a Soviet Socialist Cuba, are in fact the same comrades who Banda refers to later in his article when he says "In Cuba the Trotskyists were the first to raise the demand for nationalisation of foreign owned enterprises...". This is Banda's method; if he can denounce the International on however flimsy a basis he refers to the "Posadas group", while if he has to admit that our comrades are in the forefront of the struggle he calls them "Trotskyists" and hopes his readers will believe they are connected with the S.L.L.

This mistake of the Cuban comrades, made after a long period of Stalinist pressure and terrorism, does nothing to "reveal the true nature" of the IV International, as Banda would have his readers believe. If the International had excused or tried to conceal this mistake from the masses, it would have shown a weakness, but the International leadership did neither of these two things. All the papers of the International carried the letter to the Cuban comrades, which Posadas wrote on learning the content of the document signed. It cri-

tised in a comradely way the actions of the Cuban Trotskyists and called for a public renunciation of the agreement. It is a demonstration of the strength of the International, of its enormous confidence, its complete certainty in its historic mission.

Banda tries to explain this attack on Trotskyism by Castro, by referring to Castro as the head of capitalist state machine. He uses these attacks, in fact, to try to prove the capitalist nature of the Cuban state. There is no justification for such an argument; Stalin murdered thousands of Bolsheviks but to therefore qualify the Soviet Union as 'state capitalist', is as Trotsky said in the polemic with Burnham and Shachtmann an emotional and non-Marxist approach. Also to refer to the existence of a rich peasantry, or to the fact that the Cuban revolution was not and is not led by a Marxist Party, as evidence of the capitalist nature of the Cuban state, is not valid. In the USSR during N.E.P. there were millionaire farmers and there are still today extremely wealthy collective farmers in the Soviet Union; also the workers states of Eastern Europe were not established under the leadership of Marxist parties, but Stalinist counter-revolutionary CPs under the pressure of the masses, as a consequence of the second world war. Castro's hostility to Trotskyism stems from the fact that he represents the conservative interests of the Soviet Bureaucracy, the Cuban CP and T.U. bureaucracy, and the privileged administrators in Cuba. This too is the basis of his later violent attacks on the Chinese leadership. The classification of Cuba as a deformed workers state is in no way weakened by this latest outburst of Castro but on the contrary, strengthened.

As the influence of the IV International advances and becomes an organic part of the world revolution, the Soviet Bureaucracy will be forced, despite its disinclination to give publicity to the IV International, to attack Trotskyism more and more. As the British section of the IV International advances the S.L.L. will be forced to launch more attacks, rivaling the Stalinists in lies, distortions and misquotations against us. We expect this, there is nothing we would not expect from this organisation which usurps the name of Trotskyism and links it to their own particular brand of brainless, sectarian, social democracy. While the British Working class fights against the pro-capitalist policies of Wilson, demolishing the incomes policy, the "revolutionary" S.L.L. leads its militants to the House of Commons where after a lobby of MPs the militants come away "... believing more than ever that the Labour Leaders have betrayed them" (Newsletter 5th Feb.) and so the S.L.L. decides to carry forward this magnificent offensive against the capitalist class by ... organising another "monster lobby during the next three months". Capitalism trembles all over again.

THE S.L.L. IS ACTING AS A WEAPON FOR IMPERIALISM

With the obvious "Bourgeoisification" of the British Communist party, the S.L.L. would like to take its place i.e. to wear a left face and advance to the right; They pretend all manner of nonsense about being the IV International and chatter about international support. But we all know that contacts apart, they have nothing. When the Soviet bureaucracy attacks the IV International, they refer to Posadas. The Healy apparatus is merely an excrescence peculiar to the English scene; the direct result of submitting to imperialism at an earlier stage and breaking from the IV International. With their political blindness the SWP also capitulated in America, has come complete degeneration (Barra's article being a case in point). Their organisation is inevitably an open field for penetration by imperialist agents (as happened notoriously in the Greek communist party). The line of the S.L.L. its internal regime and organisational

methods are leading nowhere,—that is simply from one demonstration to another. (great feats of "organisation"!)

In practice by destroying militants and alienating working class support, it simply acts as a weapon for imperialism trying to block the building of a revolutionary current in this country. Naturally they will fail. History cannot be taken for a ride by puny political renegades.

We appeal to all vanguard militants to study the documents of the IV International, to take note of the role of the S.L.L. and to help build the revolutionary current on the basis of the programme of the IV International and its British section, the Revolutionary Workers party.

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 control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CIENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polarix and rocket bases and their means of
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

THE ACTION OF THE GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS. NEW DEFEAT OF THE ARMY IN ISABEL.

THE GUERRILLAS OF THE M.R. 13 PUT A MILITARY UNIT TO FLIGHT.

...This article that we are printing is taken from "Voz Campesina" (Peasants Voice) the organ of the guerilla front "Alexandre de Leon" of the MR 13th November.

In October, the guerilla patrols of the Alexandre de Leon front of the revolutionary movement of the 13th November made 45 meetings in order to extend and strengthen the authority of guerillas over several thousand peasants. The guerillas had held a cadre school to prepare peasant organisers and have extended their work of basic education of the population.

This organisational objective has been attained in spite of the armed supervision and the terror which the military commissars and also the spies of the United Fruit Company are trying to install in all the region. The partisans have been continually on the move crossing the enemy lines more than once, eliminating sentries, organising and fighting.

...On the evening of the 13th October a partisan patrol on an organisation mission had been warned by the militia that a squadron of 15 soldiers was heading towards Seminola with the intention of frightening the inhabitants of the village (as had already been done the previous week), as part of a campaign of terror unleashed on the orders of the United Fruit Company. The Guerilla patrol decided with the militiamen to make an ambush; in the course of the fight the government had three casualties and three or four dead. The survivors fled leaving some war material on the ground, among other things a gun, a "star" mine calibre No. 3 B618.479 (evidently the weapon of the officer who commanded the group), three machine gun ammunition belts and some packets of cartridges. The guerillas had one slight casualty hit by a splinter of a hand grenade, which was immediately bandaged by the militiamen and is now completely better...

...This blow has been enormously felt by the army, for it was inflicted in a zone which it believed totally controlled and held in terror following its early operation. These terrorist attacks had started in September, after the execution, by a guerilla patrol, of Eugenio Aritas, a police agent who had the reputation of spying. In this peasant zone, as in all the Montagua

valley from Gualan to the Atlantic the efforts made by the Yankess of the United Fruit Co., by its agents and lackeys of the dictatorship are enormous in order to suppress the agricultural proletariat and the poor peasants. They have launched against them a punitive expedition in the month of September, an operation led by the army with nearly a thousand men, with helicopters and reconnaissance aircraft. Many people have been arrested, who have never reappeared and who have certainly been murdered; others who had refused to collaborate with the invading army in the service of the Americans, have been tortured. The invaders threatened to burn the inhabitants and the farms if the government troops were forced to return to that zone. At the end of September, some army units had been removed but the detachments of Bananera, Gran Canon, Mariscos, and Amates have been reinforced and some new garrisons have been installed, as at Trincheras, in order to continue the intimidation on the people of the zone.

The high command of the army knows as all the exploited population know very well that this operation, as the preceding ones and the next ones are not going to put an end to the guerillas. The army never meets the partisans, in the first place because it does not know where to find them, and in the second place because it does not have the courage to look for them. The truth is that this brutal repression is directed at the peasants to force them to abandon their villages, and in consequence their lands in such a way that the United Fruit Co. can extend its property and increase its rents. All the manoeuvres of the United Fruit Co. and its agents will be crushed.

We call the peasants of the whole country to support the fight of the peasants of the north west to throw the Yankee Imperialists out of Guatemala! We call upon them to organise secret peasant committees for the fight for the land, for the expropriation without compensation of the land which is in the hands of the big land owners, and of the Yankees, so that it can be distributed to the poor peasants. We appeal to them to organise armed militias which put themselves in contact with the partisans of the MR 13 in the fight for the

agrarian revolution and Socialism! We appeal to the agricultural workers of the United Front, and the other Imperialist enterprises—the cultivators of coffee, of cotton, of sugar cane—to be united with the struggles of the peasants of the north west, to fight for the land and a minimum salary, for the improvement of their conditions of life and of work: which means to organise themselves and fight, arms in hand, to expel the Imperialists and to overthrow Capitalist power in the country! ...

...Out with Imperialism and its serf, Peralta Azurdia! Out with United Fruit! Expropriate all their property! Freely distribute the land to the poor peasants! Out of Guatemala with the accursed United Fruit Co! The guerillas of the MR 13 are fighting for a workers' and peasants' government which distributes the land and which, arms in hand, finishes with the Yankees and the rich of the country! ...

...We appeal to the students and the rest of the exploited masses to mobilise themselves to prevent the crimes of the Dictatorship in the north west. We call the workers of the I.R.C.A. to have no dealings with the Imperialist enterprise, an accomplice and associate of United Fruit, to mobilise themselves in support of the fight of the peasants and of the partisans, also to ally themselves with the armed fight of the peasants of the north west to put forward claims against the I.R.C.A., to demand the expropriation without compensation of the I.R.C.A. and of all its goods and to demand that it functions under workers control.

We call the young officers, the non-commissioned officers, and the troops to draw the conclusions of these criminal actions which the dictatorship of Peralta Azurdia has obliged them to do in order to defend Yankee property. Nothing will stop the peasant insurrection, not even the Imperialist army itself! In spite of all the material means which they possess: American helicopters, modern planes and armaments, they will be crushed by the people in arms, as the Yankees are crushed in Santo Domingo, and in Vietnam. They will pay with their life each time that they go to repress in the mountains, each time that they beat up defenceless peasants!

We call the soldiers to desert before

dying on the land which their class brothers are working. We invite them to come over to the guerillas, to bring out from the barracks, cartridges and arms and send them to their village to their parents, so that they reach the guerillas. And let them form militias and prepare themselves to enlarge the peasants war. We call to them to organise soldiers committees, secretly in the barracks and in the detachments to reject the criminal orders, to liquidate from the inside the criminal officers, to put pressures on the officers sensitive to the fight of the people, so that they rebel and do not fight against the partisans.

Comrade soldiers, liquidate the military commissars in the service of the Yankees! Liquidate them the first time that you go into the mountains with them, without fear because it will be easy to say that they fell in an ambush and that it was the partisans who shot them! The commissars are paid by the United Fruit Co., by the Imperialist gringos, 90 quetzales a month to harass the Guatemalans, to steal, to murder and to violate the peasants. Liquidate them, comrade soldiers or hand them over to the guerillas so that they will do justice to them.

...The non-Spanish speaking peasants who understand Spanish must translate these communications into their language and make them reach their compatriots who are under arms. The struggle for the land sees the Indians as good as the whites, united against the land owners and the rich of the country. It is necessary to follow the example of the Indians of Coban who are fighting in the militias, in the peasants committees of Isabel and Coban against landowners and the exploiters who have stolen their land.

...Forward with the Agrarian and Socialist Revolution! Out with Imperialists and the accursed United Fruit Company from Guatemala! Down with Peralta Azurdia and his murdering colonels! Long live the peasant committees and the armed militias of the north west! Long live the guerillas of the MR 13! Long live the workers and peasant government! Workers, Peasants, Students arm yourselves!
"Alexandre Front de Leon"
MR-13—Sierra de las Minas
31 October 1965

The Shooting of the Belgian Miners

Part of leaflet distributed by the Belgian Sec. of the IV International

We publish below a leaflet issued by our Belgian comrades, in response to the murder of two miners by the bourgeoisie after riots against the closing of Pits in North East Belgium. The police acted with great brutality two miners being killed, one badly wounded and the wife of a miner shot in the back. 350 paratroops were also called in to help the police and to guard mines, bridges and canals. Students staged a sit down outside the police barracks at Hasselt in protest against the deaths of the miners and they were dispersed with tear gas and batons.

The bourgeois press has attempted to give these demonstrations a nationalist instead of a class basis, but this is obviously incorrect, and this leaflet brings out the fact that a United Front of Flemish and Walloon workers exists in practice. The bourgeoisie resorted to developing Flemish-Walloon separatism after the Belgian general strike of 1961. It is a desperate search. For a means to block the Belgian masses and it has failed as the leaflet shows.

**THE WORKING CLASS WILL
AVENGE THE MURDER OF THE
MINERS.**

**ORGANISE FACTORY COMMITTEES IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE
MINERS.**

**STOPPAGES OF WORK, DEMONSTRATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE
MINERS, AND FOR ALL ANTI-CAPITALIST DEMANDS.**

The bourgeois forces of repression have murdered two miners of Zwartberg. This is a new crime of the bourgeoisie against the masses, executed on the orders of the government, the coalition of P.S.B. and P.S.C. The provocateurs exist; they

are the bourgeois, the capitalists, who send the gendarmes and the army to repress the strike of the miners, to close the collieries and throw the miners out of work. They wish to block wages and increase taxation on the masses.

With this brutal repression against the miners strike, capitalism tries to terrorise the masses, it wishes to show that it is quite determined to impose its reactionary policy and that it cannot yield to any fundamental claims of the working class.

But the miners show on their side a formidable force and decision, that the working class is also disposed to confront the bourgeoisie and determined to secure the triumph of their demands. The Parti Ouvrier Révolutionnaire (Trotskyist) Belgian section of the IV International salutes with emotion and pride the courage and firmness of the miners, and we solidarise ourselves entirely with their struggle and with all their revolutionary methods of struggle.

The miners of Zwartberg have succeeded in sweeping away the fetters and the sabotage of their trade union leaders. They have constituted a strike committee, and their objective is correct—no closing of Zwartberg;—an extension of the strike to all the Campine basin. They have firmly rejected all the shackles which the F.G.T.B. and the C.S.C. have wanted to put on their struggle, they have rejected the negotiations, and the scandalous conciliations which their leaderships have made behind their back, around a table with the bosses and the government! They show the road for all of the working class to follow; the need to organise the struggle at the base in order to advance!

The miners of Zwartberg are in the process of making a formidable demon-

stration that there is no barrier between the Flemish and the Walloon workers, that the anti-capitalist struggle and will be the same in the whole of the working class! It is the Proletarian United Front which is on the march, and all the obstacles which the trade union bureaucracy and the workers parties wish to put forward in order to divide the workers, are in process of being smashed into pieces!

All the trade union leaders are accomplices of the policy of the crimes of capitalism, because they do not quickly organise the anti-capitalist struggle of the exploited masses, they do not react before the murder of the miners and in every region they try to perform the same sabotage against the working class in leaving the initiative to the bosses and more often than not collaborating with them to sack workers and close the factories.

It is necessary to draw some conclusions from the violent attack of the forces of repression against the miners, in order to be prepared for the next struggle: **THE WORKING CLASS MUST ARM ITSELF** workers militias, armed strike pickets will be a necessity for the legitimate defence of the working class against the gendarmerie and the armed forces of the bourgeoisie!

It is necessary to discuss this and to be prepared immediately.

The struggle of the miners of Zwartberg is the struggle of all the working class. The miners show the only road to follow in order to confront the crisis of capitalism, the super exploitation, and the attacks against the wages and the standard of living of the masses. In all the factories the same problems are posed. And the road is that of the or-

ganisation of the struggle at the base, the formation of strike committees, of factory committees, of the violent intervention of the working class with the occupation of the mines, factories, the taking of hostages from among the members of the management, and the arming of the workers.

We appeal for the launching, at the same time, of the fight for all our claims, to discuss and prepare for the general strike to make our demands triumph! It is necessary to demand and realise general assemblies in the factories in order to force the Trade Union leaders, to intervene, but to organise this fight at the base in order to overcome the faults and the obstacles of these leaders!

No closings at Zwartberg, nor at Gosson, neither at L'Esperance nor in any other mine!

For the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of the coal mines.

No sackings, no unemployment, for a 40 hour week, paid as 48, with the work for 40 hours, immediately! Sliding scale of hours of work, workers control over production.

For the nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of all the factories in crisis.

No blocking of salaries, sliding scale of salaries to defend our standard of living.

The working class will avenge the miners assassinated at Zwartberg by organising at the base the struggle for this anti-capitalist programme and by developing the united front of Flemish and Walloon workers.

1st February 1966.

Political Bureau of the Parti Ouvrier Révolutionnaire (trotskyist).

Communication to All the Sections

For the International Secretariat Of the IV International

J. POSADAS

On the 15th of January, Fidel Castro in a speech after the closing of the Tricontinental Conference (one must bear in mind that it was not the closing speech of the conference, but one which came after the closing. This is to say, that it means that the Chinese were opposed to his closing speech) made a direct attack on the Trotskyists. He dedicated a considerable part of his speech to attacking the IV International. ...This speech reflects that the Soviet bureaucracy, the Communist Party, powerless to restrain the development of the M.R.13 of November, have had to resort to the authority of Fidel Castro, the authority of the leadership of the Cuban Revolution, and in an indirect form, the authority of the Cuban Workers State, in order to try to support and sustain the policy of the Communist Party. The Communist Party is powerless to dominate the revolution, to organise the masses, to prevent the masses organising themselves within the MR 13 of November. Fidel Castro comes out as an assistant of the conciliatory tendencies with capitalism; the soviet bureaucracy, Turcios and the Guatemalan CP, now unified and organised under another name "The Guatemalan Revolutionary Movement," which has the same programme of conciliation with capitalism. Fidel Castro comes out in defence of the conciliation with capitalism, insulting, denigrating the MR 13 of November and the IV International.

In his accusations, Fidel Castro accuses the IV International and the MR 13 of November of being agents of capitalism. He accuses them of being sold to and serving imperialism. There is not any political analysis, any conclusion, any political judgment; simply accusations. This is the method of the CP, this is the method of Stalin; the method for which Stalin was liquidated and the communist parties of Latin America liquidated. The sections of the IV International must immediately start a campaign in all the sections, make special meetings, to discuss with members, to prepare themselves politically with the full knowledge of this event, to discuss the document the continuation of which will be sent, in which the significance of these declarations of Fidel Castro is discussed and bring it to all the workers movements, to the trade unions, meetings of the party, press communications, special meetings, conferences in the factories; individually worker by worker, it is necessary to make a discussion in depth, showing that the leadership of the Cuban Revolution is taking the road in an open and pronounced way, of decomposition and degeneration. This accusation against the IV International is the road of decomposition and degeneration of the leadership of the Cuban revolution; the leadership of the Cuban revolution, not only Fidel Castro; the whole team. It is necessary that all the workers' leaderships and the workers' movement send letters to the Cuban embassies, to the Cuban Workers State, demanding respect and freedom for the Trotskyists, the correction of the lies and calumnies of Fidel Castro, and an appeal for a

correction from Fidel Castro; but also an appeal to the Cuban masses so that they force a correction on the leadership. The basis to impose this correction is Socialist Democracy in Cuba, the right to speak, meet, discuss, to resolve all the problems of Cuba. If the Cuban masses do not intervene, the bureaucratic conservative tendency and the communist party will dominate the leadership of the Cuban revolution will try to imprint on the leadership of the Cuban revolution, a more accentuated inclination towards degeneration and perversion. The Chinese came to make the accusation that the Tricontinental Conference was used by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to defend and generalise its policy of alliance with imperialism, of peaceful co-existence. One must denounce such an intention on the part of the Soviet and Cuban communist parties, and on the contrary demand that a programme of the World United Anti-Imperialist front is put forward, to overthrow world imperialism which is only possible with the revolution.

...We appeal to the Soviet, Chinese, Czechoslovak, Polish, Cuban masses; that the masses of all the Workers States demand a discussion of the policy of the IV International, of the disappearance of Guevara, of the Sino Soviet differences, that they discuss the World United Front for unconditional support of the revolution, of unconditional support and maintenance of the revolution, a World United front of the Workers States with the colonial and semi-colonial countries, for a WORLD CONFERENCE TO ORGANISE A PROGRAMME TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM, A SINGLE WORLD FRONT OF THE COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES, WITH AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST POLICY. But the appeal must be a call to action, not a simple declaration like that formulated by the Tricontinental Conference, which is an abstract declaration. A programme and an appeal to fight for it is necessary. The conclusion of any preparation for action, is the programme which leads to action. This is what must be done.

...We call for a public discussion of all this with Fidel Castro, with the Chinese; we appeal to the Soviets, to all the workers states for the opening of a public world discussion by the Cuban government. But above all to the masses. We appeal to the masses to discuss openly in each Workers State. ...

...We appeal also to "Monthly Review" so that it makes a statement and launches a campaign. Part of the origin of the campaign of Fidel Castro is that "Monthly Review" "Epoca" and "La Marcha" are advancing; similarly the M.I.R. of Venezuela. And the Chinese do not attack us; they have not said a word.

...It is necessary to have meetings in all our cells in order to reach a clear political understanding of this process which means that the IV International and the MR13 of November have gained

an enormous authority in Guatemala, and in Cuba as well. Fidel Castro would not come out with such groundless statements if there did not exist within Cuba and within Guatemala a great development of Trotskyism. Fidel Castro wants to replace it, as did Stalin, with support from above, with the support of the apparatus of the Communist party of Cuba and of the Cuban Workers State. He wants to support a movement which has no social support a movement against the Socialist Revolution of the 13th of November, a movement which is to support peaceful co-existence. This is the policy of conciliation with world capitalism. Through lack of strength, through lack of its own means, peaceful co-existence has to resort to these anomalies and slanders. Never in history has there been a triumph through lies and calumnies. The revolution demands purity, and when it cannot find it, it imposes it by force. The Trotskyists do not actually have the material means to make known their thinking in Cuba, but we will make it known shortly. It is necessary to send appeals and send letters to our Cuban comrades, to support them, to defend them and to show solidarity. It is necessary to reach the Cuban comrades in every way, so that they know that in all the world we are in alliance in defence and in fraternity with them. And it is necessary in all the sections of the International and other organisations, be it the PSIUP, the Socialist Parties, to draw up resolutions of solidarity and respect for socialist democracy, not asking for respect and solidarity or defence of the Trotskyists, but of Socialist democracy, in which is included the defence of the political right of the Trotskyists to function. ...

It is necessary at the same time to draw conclusions for the new currents, among them the Peronistas, and the nationalists of Brazil. This attitude of Fidel Castro indicates that they are going to make a world campaign. Already he tries to do this and fails. They will try this with the nationalists in Brazil, in Peronism everywhere. It is not excluded that Cooke will turn out to be an agent of the communist party. Cooke was incapable of understanding revolutionary policies, was incapable of sensing the Peronista masses and believed and believes himself to be a protector of the masses. Already he has found a better paymaster. According to the reports, he has been paid by the Communist party. And by agreeing with this conclusion of Fidel Castro, he will become like an agent of the communist party. It is necessary to see how to carry out a campaign to crush all these people, who are the paid agents of peaceful co-existence, this is to say they are the hold which imperialism possesses, within the world working class movement, which bases itself on the bureaucracy, on paternalism, in order to try to sustain themselves, and in order to try to strangle the revolution. It is necessary to carry out a campaign of denunciations, and also an activity of our own movement. And in each number of the paper, in each activity, it is necessary to carry articles

constantly referring to this process. The conclusions which our sections must draw, and consequently to educate the militants and to develop their consciousness, is that the process of the Political Revolution in Cuba is following the same course as that of the other Workers States under the leadership of the communist parties. That is to say this leadership. Although still not having reached the level of the Soviet Union it is taking this road. The recent attitude of Fidel Castro shows that, be it in alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy, be it on his own initiative, be it through fear of losing the support of the Soviet Bureaucracy, he has abandoned looking for the revolution, and bases himself solely on the support of the Soviet Bureaucracy. This justifies all our calls, all our conclusions that the declaration of Fidel Castro, which said it is necessary to take to arms, that it is necessary to defend oneself arms in hand, was directed to call the Guevara tendency and the pressure of the Cuban masses within Cuba who want to push forward the revolution. ...It is necessary to defend the Cuban Workers State intrinsigently, unconditionally. We change absolutely nothing of our unconditional defence of the Cuban Workers State; we carry on defending it unconditionally. We carry on defending it from every point of view: economic, social, revolutionary, everything. We are against the policy of the leadership. Our militants must reaffirm this conclusion, support it and defend it, no matter what the cost. Our militants outside and inside Cuba must do this. And they must be the best fighters in the economy, in the military field and in the scientific social, and economic fields and must be at the head of all the social life in Cuba, but at the same time at the head of the defence of the democratic, revolutionary socialist rights of the masses, soviets, communes, rights of revolutionary tendency to exist in Cuba, the right to organise independently as a party under the programme of the unconditional defence of the Cuban revolution, of the Cuban Workers States, of the extension of the revolution; but at the same time, everything to be based on socialist democracy.

...The IV International salutes the Cuban comrades, manifests its complete solidarity and support of the MR13 of November, and calls upon the MR 13th of November to indignantly reject the propositions of bureaucratisation, of decomposition of the leadership of the Cuban revolution, rejects its lies and its calumnies and continues its fight for the socialist revolution remaining indifferent to all the shouts of the bureaucrats, of those paternalist and protectionist people and so develops the Socialist Revolution and extends its influence through the rest of Latin America.

For the International Secretariat of the IV International

J. Posadas 17.1.66

Life Of The International

The Role Of The Party In Argentina

The masses of the Argentine prepare for decisive battles. The most recent victories of the Peronista party in the Argentine (Jujuy province) and at the same time the new shift in the balance of power within the Peronista movement confirms the analysis of the IV International that the polarisation of class forces in the Argentine is gradually approaching its climax and the way is being prepared for major conflicts decisive for the struggle for power by the proletariat. The shift in the balance of power in the Peronista movement has shown itself in the removal from the post of General Secretary of the Confederation of Labour of Jose Alonso regarded as a Peron nominee and his replacement by Vandor, boss of the powerful engineering union, a "left" bureaucratic leader. We present simply a few extracts of a very long exposition by Posadas on the situation in the Argentine, dealing with the vital role of the party. "It is necessary to prepare for

clandestine activity if they repress legality. That is to say the party must be prepared in three months for this activity ready, the whole class must see that the party is preparing and it is necessary to make the class intervene, in the factory, in the union, in the Peronista movement. ... it is necessary to make of the union where we have influence a centre of activity, of propaganda for the workers party based on the trade unions. Undoubtedly on this road we run a very great danger; that of being sectarian on the one hand and on the other of accommodating ourselves to situations. We do not abandon either organic independence or criticism of our allies ... the best solution is to intervene, even making mistakes rather than intervening with no effect ... Political explanation is very important; it is necessary to be instructive, very instructive. It is not easy to do this. The comrades are not very accustomed to this, but with the greater political life of the

party, and greater attention, this pre-occupation can be dealt with. It is necessary to be quite clear that Trotskyism has broken its isolation on a world scale. Not only nationally, nor only in a small country. The basis on which this is stated, confirming this breaking of isolation, is that the masses of the world-capitalist countries, backward nations, less backward and most advanced—the mass movements and even the leaderships attain methods of struggle, forms of organisation, a programme that is Trotskyist; sliding scale of wages, of hours of work, factory committees, workers control, General Strike, United Front etc. ...

...We are in a concrete stage of the revolution, not of general propaganda, nor of publicity in general but of preparation of major actions which are going to determine the solution of the worker and peasant government in a short stage.

NEXT MONTH WE WILL BE PUBLISHING AN ARTICLE BY ODE. POSADAS, REPUDIATING THE ATTACKS ON THE IV INTERNATIONAL AND ANALYSING THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

WE have been informed by its secretary, that in response to our appeal to all working class and student organisations, the Aberdeen Young Socialists have passed a resolution protesting against the arrest and imprisonment of the Mexican Trotskyist student David Aguilar by the Guatemalan dictatorship. This resolution which also calls for the release of all political prisoners in Guatemala, has been sent to Peralta Azurdia, the military dictator.

We congratulate these comrades and appeal once more to all the organisations of the working class and of the students to follow the lead set by the Aberdeen Young Socialists, and to send resolutions to Peralta Azurdia, Palacio do Gobierno, Guatemala City, Guatemala, C.A.

ACT NOW!

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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

— Trotsky

No. 31

APRIL, 1966

SIXPENCE

The Results Of The Elections Emphasise The Need For An Anti-Capitalist Programme to Elevate The Struggle Of The Masses

The powerful electoral victory of the Labour Party is a blow at capitalist authority and an expression of the objective united front of the world masses against imperialism. Capitalism is now more dependant than ever on the Labour Party apparatus to sustain it. In other words capitalism has to lean not on its own Tory organisation with the support of the reactionary sectors of the petit bourgeoisie but on the organisation of the LP apparatus, based on the electoral support of the workers and the petit bourgeoisie under their influence. The worker masses who have voted for the Labour Party have not voted for the capitalist policy of Wilson. They have voted to express their centralisation, as a class to express their class unity against the exploiters. They are going to bury capitalism and inevitably they will bury in this process all the props of capitalism including the Labour Party apparatus. The latter is only superficially strong i.e. in Parliament. Outside Parliament the masses will defy all measures to smash unofficial strikes. They will not allow wages to be held down in the course of the inevitable struggle with the apparatus, the revolutionary current will develop and the struggle will spill over from the industrial field into the direct fully conscious struggle for workers power.

The results of the elections confirmed the tendency which was shown in the Hull election. A large number of Liberal voters switched to the Labour Party. The overall Tory vote fell but the Tory party was incapable of attracting the indecisive petit bourgeois votes. In practice despite gaining a few seats the Liberals have been the victim of the polarisation of the classes. It is true they did not contest as many seats as before but that in itself displays their lack of perspective. Compared with 1964 they are down by not far off a million votes. Thus the proletariat has succeeded in attracting sectors of the middle class on however an empirical basis against capitalist authority. Such an outcome undermines capitalist stability and any attempted offensive against the working class. The facts on working class abstentionism in the elections are not clear at the moment but the fall in popular turn out for elections continued. This election had the lowest turnout since 1945. Sectors of the masses have enough confidence in themselves to ignore elections.

The election itself was fought on the basis of avoiding all serious discussion of the issues facing capitalism. Heath did raise the issue of entering the Common Market but it is a purely speculative proposition considering the military crisis now prevailing in NATO and the economic crisis in the world capitalist economy. It is a problem which has no capitalist solution and it is raised to divert attention from basic realities of war expenditure and stagnant economy. The Tories attempted to rally support by attacking the "workers courts" in attacking traditional working class solidarity against scabs but this failed to gain decisive middle class support apart

from the incorrigible reactionary elements anyway. To gain worker support at the beginning of the election Wilson made promises about steel nationalisation but soon dropped it and the Tories made little of this issue. Both parties were careful to say little on the delicate subject of nationalisation from fear of stimulating debate on serious issues (the Geddes report on shipbuilding carefully proposes a reduction of the number of firms rather than direct nationalisation).

RACIALISM PLAYED NO ROLE IN THE ELECTIONS

Racialism as an issue was dead. Capitalism has completely failed to make this a weapon to disintegrate the working class. The immigrant workers solidified themselves with the British masses and centralised themselves around the LP apparatus. Some of the immigrant leaders called for abstentions because as they observed correctly there was no difference basically between the parties on controlling immigration. But it must be clear that there is no contradiction between those white or coloured workers who vote for the LP and those who abstain. In the absence of a workers party with a programme for workers power rooted in the class the masses can only express themselves by a straight class vote centralised around the Labour party. And those workers who abstain simply express their confidence that the class can defend its interests irrespective of electoral decision.

The past period has seen a constant mobilisation of the working class who despite the lack of a class and political centre have successfully defeated the capitalist attempts to solve the problems of capitalism at the expense of the

masses. Teachers, trawlermen, bakers and now pottery workers have put in wage claims, in other words not only have the main sectors of the working class been involved in struggle — dockers, railmen — but middle class and hitherto isolated sectors of the masses have also become involved in the anti capitalist defensive.

The recent demonstrations of students of the West Ham Technical College shows the possibilities for uniting the demands of the workers with the basic demands of students for improvements in conditions etc. The conditions for the United Front constantly mature. Recently at the Barbican site where there were clashes with the police, one of the latter commented that there were as many sympathisers as strikers.

Nevertheless the last period has also shown that masses although constantly striking and reinforcing their class confidence and solidarity in this way, still reveal uncertainty in the organisation of the struggle. Thus there is a hopeless lack of co-ordination of strikes. Each sector of the workers over a considerable period has tended to wage a struggle independently of the others. Conspicuously there has been no co-ordination of strikes of the various categories of workers in the transport industry. The dockers at Hull have been left almost alone to conduct their struggle. The miners act in isolation. It is true that the union leadership — which in the TUC is more integrated with capitalism than in the rest of Europe — is ultimately responsible for this, but the weakness also lies in the insufficient organisation of the workers own independent factory or shopstewards committees. It will become more and more important in the coming period that such committees function democratically, that shop stewards are constantly under the democratic control of the workers and do not remain mere adjuncts of the local union bureaucrats or alternatively cultivate "good relations" with the management. A national organisation of these committees will be necessary in the coming period.

The problems facing the British working class and the development of the united front are of course analogous with those facing the world masses. The objective world united front of the masses constantly advances but unevenly and without a centre. Nevertheless despite the confused nature of the process it demands an appropriate

programme which can only be Trotskyist however empirically this is arrived at.

The electoral victory of the Labour Party will encourage the masses and speed the process for the development of the revolutionary current. The masses have acquired further confidence not in the LP apparatus but in themselves. All the problems facing the masses imperiously demand a programme which meets the basic needs of the masses and corresponds to the most elevated perspectives of this period.

The constant rise in prices — steel prices have just rocketed — demands that all wages must rise automatically with the rise in the cost of living. All the main industries must be nationalised. On nationalisation the steel industry must be placed under workers control and workers control must be imposed on all other industries. As regards housing all properties that are unused and can be converted into dwellings for workers must be taken over by tenants committees. Luxury hotels must similarly be taken over to meet the housing needs of the masses. Equal pay for equal work must be established. We call for a genuine democracy in the trade unions with the principle of immediate recall of all elected officials firmly established. With this a genuine workers centre could be formed instead of the TUC which is nothing but a bureaucrats tea party, incapable of offering a workers response to the imposition of incomes policy and fining of strikers.

The masses will not put up with any capitalist nonsense from the Wilson apparatus. The latter can boast of its electoral victory but the masses will push it into the abyss of oblivion. They will be helped and encouraged by the scope and extent of the world revolution. The world revolution suffers to some degree from the inertia imposed by the lack of a world leadership thus allowing as in Indonesia, Algeria, Iraq etc certain right wing tendencies to assert themselves but such tendencies have not been able to put the clock back and inevitably the pressure of the world masses continues to push the process forward elsewhere — as in Italy, Latin America India etc.

We call upon the vanguard workers to redouble their efforts in Great Britain to organise the revolutionary current on the programme for workers power with the confidence that the united front of the most advanced worker and petit bourgeois sectors however empirically based, prepares the ground for the total liquidation of capitalism in this country.

The Slanders Hurlled Against Trotskyism By Fidel Castro Will Not Stop The Progress Of The Socialist Revolution In Guatemala And The World

J. POSADAS (Extracts)

The declaration of Fidel Castro is a far greater significance than can be gathered from its actual content. It expresses the immense pre-occupation which exists within the leadership of the Cuban revolution, within the team of Fidel Castro with the role of Trotskyism. There are thousands of Trotskyists, of leaders, of Trotskyists who are developing, claiming their participation in the IV International. Not five, ten or hundred but millions. We cannot count them, point them out nor say where they are. It is our political adversaries who tell us that there are thousands of Trotskyists. It is the resolution of the past year taken by the Central Committee of the communist party when it denounces in three articles and two discussions-Posadas before the Chinese and says to them "Look you are in process of following the line of Posadas. At the moment they denounce in the USSR in judging in condemning 250 students for having wished to return to Marxism Leninism. There they are in process of denouncing the fact of Leninist political life There lies Trotskyism. The politics of Lenin are those of Trotsky; it is the policy of the proletarian revolution, of the soviets of socialist democracy, of proletarian internationalism, of putting the soviet workers state in the service of the world revolution and of socialism. That is Trotskyism. All the students although they do not act in the name of Trotsky, are Trotskyists, Trotskyist leaders.

THE ONLY WAY TO OVERTHROW IMPERIALISM IS TO TAKE POWER

The accusation made by Fidel Castro that the Trotskyists have divided the communist movement of Guatemala and have with imperialism conducted a campaign denouncing the assassination of Guevara, shows that the Trotskyists have an audience, an influence, are welcomed and more than that, there is in existence a sector which awaits the orientation of the Trotskyists. If the Trotskyists had no importance if they were insignificant, if they had no weight, if their ideas were not welcomed by the world proletarian avanguard, Fidel Castro would not have taken the decision to denounce them publicly. For years he has tried to conceal their role. He has insulted them and put them in prison. He has had to liberate them, because there was no reason to condemn them, because the pressure of the world revolution forced their release.

And if today, Fidel Castro accuses the Trotskyists, without giving a political explanation without making a political demonstration, he attacks Trotskyism, because it is the adversary of his politics, not the enemy of Cuba or of the Cuban workers state but the enemy of his politics. It is for that reason he does not polemicise politically with the Trotskyists; he attacks them but not politically. He attacks them utilising his prestige which is a fact but utilising ignominious terms unworthy of a revolutionary; utilising the methods of Stalin: calumny, political charlatanism.

Our teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky when they attacked their adversaries or political enemies analysed their politics and said "such is the political line, such the conclusion." What is the policy of the Trotskyists? Why does Castro not say what this policy is? When he accuses them of dividing the communist movement of Guatemala, Castro must say that the policy of the Trotskyists is the policy of the Revolutionary movement of the 13 November, which is the programme of the socialist revolution, that the policy of the Trotskyists in Guatemala is the struggle to overthrow, expel imperialism, is to take power. There is no other way of expelling imperialism from Guatemala.

The Trotskyists are those who have analysed that the communists—supported by Fidel Castro and Guevara

and afterwards by Fidel Castro only—have tried every manner of relation with the bourgeoisie whom they call the "democratic bourgeoisie." The devastating results have been Arevalo and Arbenz. They reflected the most advanced process which can represent the interests of the said bourgeoisie. With them they have made a united front and took power. We know the result.

Every serious revolutionary policy which must respond to the necessity of history and the revolutionary policy of each country and the world, must base itself on a political analysis, on political conclusions. It is political experience which determines the advance, the progress, the triumph of the masses. The masses welcome the experience, feel it, lean on it and advance. The masses of Dominica experienced more than thirty years of dictatorship and when they were able to breathe, they took not the road of North America, of the North American imperialist "democracy," but of Vietnam.

After thirty years of the dictatorship, if the masses did not base themselves on a world experience, did not support themselves on it, they would not advance, would not pay attention to Vietnam. Submitted to the dictatorship of Trujillo, the masses have elaborated their thought, their desire and their revolutionary will, thinking not of the democracy of North American imperialism, their lies, their deceptions in face of the North American masses. The masses have seen the most progressive stage. It is there that they have learnt.

The masses of Guatemala after having passed through a whole stage under the communist party, under Arevalo, Arbenz, under the policy of conciliation and alliance with capitalism, have rejected, buried the communist party which Castro wishes to revive. They have buried the movement of Arevalo and Arbenz which Castro wishes to develop and tries to develop. He has acted like a marionette, unworthily. It is unworthy of the Cuban workers state. This is not the reality of the Cuban workers state! It is the false policy of Fidel Castro. He has tried to put forward an Arbenz who only represented his own ambition and insignificance. The Guatemalan masses with the MR Nov. 13 have shown that they learn and accept history and lean on the programme of the socialist revolution. And it is not a little group which supports this movement. It is the only guerilla movement which exists in Guatemala.

THE WORLD MASSES PREVENTED THE OVERTHROW OF CASTRO

Fidel Castro must correct himself. The masses must force him to do this. The road which Castro is following is the road of Stalin. Stalin did not foresee that he would go as far as he did. Stalin took the defence of the interests of a camarilla and he aligned all his policy on the basis of this. Fidel Castro does not represent a camarilla, he is a revolutionary; he has no bureaucratic interests but he has no confidence in the masses. He leans on the apparatuses, believes in them. But it is the masses of the world who have prevented the overthrow of Fidel Castro.

The attitude of Fidel Castro in his denunciations, his attack on the Trotskyists, reveals that he is taking the road of Stalin, and not that of the socialist revolution. This is the road of political stagnation. Who is Fidel Castro to say that the power, the leadership of You Sosa is finished? It is the megalomania of Stalin who says "I lift a finger and a government collapses" Fidel Castro may lift many fingers but he will not eliminate any revolutionary leadership. With these attitudes he favours imperialism.

When one accuses a movement it is necessary to do so politically and demonstrate that it is against the interests of the revolution. What Castro must do if he wishes to continue as a revolutionary is to demonstrate that the programme of Trotskyism is against the interest of the revolution. He must show how this is the case.

Well before Fidel Castro thought of revolution, the Trotskyists had constructed the programme of the left opposition which has served as a base and bridge for the organisation of the world revolution. It is the Trotskyists who have done this! In the Soviet Union today they have just shown a film showing Trotsky as a revolutionary not as a counter revolutionary, minimising his role, diminishing his importance, caricaturing the real figure of Trotsky, but not presenting him as a counter revolutionary.

If today in the USSR they must concern themselves with Trotsky and present him before the masses, it is not because the bureaucracy is seeking for the way of truth. To maintain itself, to develop, to triumph, to maintain itself and to live until today, the bureaucracy has had to destroy and assassinate Trotsky, and thousands of Trotskyists. By this means it sought to destroy the programme of the Trotskyists, to destroy the leadership which led to the programme and constructed revolutionary organisations on a world scale. If today they must in the USSR show Trotsky and vindicate those who without being revolutionaries were limited partial revolutionaries, it is because the course of history shows that one cannot avoid the truth. They show Trotsky in order to contain the Trotskyist current which is developing in the USSR. They show Trotsky to appear as one of the leadership of the bureaucracy to gain the support of the masses against the Chinese. These are the attempts, the seeking for political support among the soviet masses, in order to contain the pressure of the Chinese. It is a subterfuge of the soviet bureaucracy: it believes that by this, it can contain the internal pressure, the historic revolutionary demands for socialist democracy. This is part of the struggle to contain the masses to gain a support, to defend themselves from attack, in the struggle against the Chinese communist party.

If Castro does not understand rapidly this fact, the masses of Cuba are going to make him understand. The masses do

not support unconditionally their leaders. They support them in so far as they reflect, express and respond to their own revolutionary sentiments. The masses are not marionettes, that one can push around. The masses are the greatest creators in history. Lenin showed that the soviets were a creation of the masses. And the Cuban masses cannot create organisms to develop the revolution in Latin America because they have no socialist democracy to allow them to express their opinion.

WELL BEFORE CASTRO THE TROTSKYISTS FIGHT FOR THE REVOLUTION

It was not Fidel Castro who began to appeal for the revolution in Latin America. It was the Trotskyists who led this struggle. It was the Trotskyists who since 1927 after the first grouping, the first Trotskyist Mariategui, until today launched the programme which stated that only with arms in hand was it possible to overthrow imperialism in Latin America; only by armed struggle. It is only the Trotskyists who have continued such a struggle against the national capitalism of each country.

It is the Trotskyists who have been assassinated in Latin America for having developed the nationalist movements towards anti imperialist anti capitalist movements. The whole history of Latin America shows this. It is the communist parties—ally and patron of Fidel Castro—who have launched the struggle of alliance with the national bourgeoisie and alliance with the bourgeoisie against the Trotskyists and against the revolutionary workers. It is the communists who are allied with Yankee imperialism. It was the communists who allied themselves with Yankee imperialism, with the bourgeoisie of Cuba against the movement of Fidel Castro. It was communists who called for intervention in the elections while Fidel Castro called for armed struggle to overthrow imperialism in Cuba. It was the Trotskyists who supported Fidel Castro. They did not support him personally. They supported the movement to smash imperialism and capitalism in Cuba.

The revolutionary 13 November movement in Guatemala has advanced historically from being a confused movement without ideology and the revolutionary programme. The Cuban masses must demand of Fidel Castro and his movement that they polemicise publicly against the programme of the socialist revolution of the MR13 November of Guatemala. Turcios his protegee has already done this. He produced an unworthy miserable document, attacking the Guatemalan and Mexican revolutionaries with their real names, accusing them of being adventurers, because they profited from the struggle to overthrow capitalism in Guatemala. The 13 November movement has changed its face passing from a hybrid movement, confused, without ideology or programme to a movement with the programme of the socialist revolution. Such is the movement today of the MR 13 November. This is the movement which is led by Yon Sosa. The MR 13 November is a revolutionary movement which has a programme. The latter is the basis of the MR 13 November. What has Castro to say of this?

He supports Turcios. What is the programme of Turcios? Six months ago he produced a document calling for the alliance in the struggle for national liberation which means—he said it in the text—"alliance with the classes of the country disposed to support democracy" and treating the 13 November movement, the Trotskyists, as adventurers. The MR November 13 has replied to him with a document;

CASTRO SLANDERS TROTSKYISM

(Continued)

a public and honest document. In this document an appeal was made to Turcios saying to him that the road that he was taking was that of imperialism, of an adventurist; that very quickly, he would find himself in the void because he has no policy.

The declaration of Turcios at the Tri Continental conference was not on Guatemala but on Vietnam. Turcios does not represent Guatemala. What movement does he represent? He has been a member of the MR 13 November and expelled by the latter as a traitor. He denounced publicly this movement. Where is the conciliatory capitalist policy of the MR13 November? Where is it? Fidel Castro is obliged to explain this. The Cuban masses must demand of the latter that he shows where the MR 13 November movement has a bourgeois and capitalist policy.

The November 13 movement has an anti capitalist policy. Its programme is that of the socialist revolution. It is the programme which calls upon the Latin American masses to overthrow capitalism by armed insurrection. It calls for the organisation of the struggle and the calling of strikes, occupations of factories or demonstrations to smash capitalism well before Fidel Castro does it.

What does Castro say to this? Such is the programme of the MR 13 and it is that he attacks; the Trotskyists say this, fight for this programme. The Trotskyists of Cuba, as those of the rest of the world struggle to overthrow capitalism. But these are not only declarations which the Trotskyists make, they organise struggles. They call for the occupation of the factories! The duty of an honest revolutionary and of an honest leadership of the workers state is to intervene unconditionally to support the revolution not with declarations only. The declaration has a value but it has little effect if it is not accompanied by real mobilisations. The Trotskyists call for the overthrowing of capitalism and support effectively and materially all the movements which do it. Its militants are at the head of movements calling for the overthrow of capitalism. The documents are there. All the papers of eight Latin American sections, of 14 sections of the International. It is the Trotskyists of Cuba who have been imprisoned, who have had their journal suppressed, whose leaders and militants have been imprisoned, terrorised to stop them functioning. Where is the socialist democracy? We struggle for the socialist democracy.

EVERY REVOLUTION WHICH SUPPRESSES SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY BECOMES CONSERVATIVE

We invite Castro and the Cuban masses to read Lenin's State and Revolution. The basis of the soviet state is democracy and the latter leans on the soviets. Where are the soviets in Cuba? There exist no soviets in Cuba. We call upon Castro and his leadership to create the soviets. Without fear. Fear of what? Of the counter revolution? The Cuban masses have demonstrated to have the necessary power to destroy whatever counter revolutionary element. In infinitely more difficult conditions in 1962, when in face of the imperialist menace, the Cuban masses showed themselves to have the capacity to organise, to control and to decide to hinder every counter revolutionary uprising. Arms to the Cuban masses! Cuban militia. That is Leninism. That is "State and Revolution."

The organisation of militia in Cuba would triple the strength, the capacity for historic action of the Cuban masses above all among the North American masses. It is absurd and criminal vis a vis the Cuban workers state that Fidel Castro attacks the Trotskyists and does not mention a word about the strike of transport workers in New York.

It is absurd and criminal. The North American masses do not see the Cuban workers state respond with its support and solidarity. We call upon the Cuban masses to make a demonstration, a meeting, demonstrations with calls for

the support to the transport strikers of the North American masses, to act publicly. That will have an effect immensely greater than all the exchanges of prisoners, than all the sending of counter revolutionaries or of people who wish to leave Cuba.

The accusation against the Trotskyists is ignoble. The Trotskyists have not gone to imperialism to denounce the assassination of Guevara. The Trotskyists do not use the bourgeois press to attack the workers states. A revolutionary leader cannot be permitted to be as simple minded as Castro. Trotsky, Lenin and Castro have used the bourgeois press far more than us. The speeches of Castro are published by all the bourgeois press and on our part there has been neither criticism nor objection. We utilise all possible means to defend and extend the revolution.

We exhort the revolutionaries of the world to utilise the press, the cinema, the capitalist radio without compromise with capitalism. The Trotskyist write in the capitalist journals and make declarations calling for the overthrow of capitalism. It is very stupid to believe that we play the capitalist game in publishing information calling for the overthrow of capitalism.

To demand that Guevara reappears is not to criticise, it is not to insult, it is not to denigrate, it is not against the workers state. And what is to be said of the criticisms which the Soviets and the Chinese make of each other openly. Why does not Castro show indignation and denounce the Chinese as agents of imperialism? All this denotes an attitude of bad faith a beginning of a very profound corruption among the Castro group. It is the road of Stalin. Fidel Castro must study the life of Stalin by Trotsky. There is no historic possibility for any centrism. But a tendency towards centrism or to become engaged on the road to Stalin is not excluded; a particular militant can go in whatever direction at whatever opportunity history offers.

ONCE MORE WE DEMAND A DISCUSSION OF GUEVARA'S DISAPPEARANCE

We demand again a discussion on the disappearance of Guevara. This is not a game of demanding to know where Guevara is. It is a logical need, a revolutionary necessity, for it is a wish to know how the Cuban workers state and the leadership resolves its interior problems.

If Fidel Castro is sincere in the policy which he wishes to pursue today, of appeal to the masses to overthrow capitalism, the formation of guerillas why does he not support the MR 13 November of Guatemala publicly as this organisation demands? As the Trotskyists demand? (But not the communists). Is there a single communist in Uruguay, Argentine, Chile or Brazil who makes such an appeal? Not one! The communist parties are against the guerillas, against the struggle for power, against the armed struggle.

The contradictions of Fidel Castro are the contradictions of centrism. But his contradictions are neither sincere or honest. These are the contradictions of a centrist who to cover himself and to defend himself at the same time from the immense Guevarist pressure, tries to maintain his political authority. The Trotskyists are not the allies of capitalism and of imperialism. Such an alliance is assessed by the policy and the programme. What is the programme of Trotskyism? It calls for the overthrow of capitalism, for the independent organisation of the masses, for the armed struggle bound to the struggle of the masses in the cities with strikes, occupation of factories, general strike, militia. It calls for the intervention of the militias in all the movements of the masses. It calls for the overthrow of

capitalism and nationalisations without compensation production and running of the factories under workers control. Such is the programme of Trotskyism. With that, we appeal to the masses of the world.

The Chinese propose the same programme; they are preparing for the nuclear war and declare this fact. In Vietnam they proclaim that imperialism is preparing for this war. The Trotskyists call upon the masses of the world not for abstract but concrete solidarity; to take power in each country. That is Lenin.

Fidel Castro still has time to correct himself. The attack which he has made on the Trotskyists as the culminating point of the Tri-Continental Conference indicates that the Trotskyists have a lot more strength, more capacity and more authority than we ourselves can measure. Trotskyism has a powerful force and this is not because the Trotskyists themselves are powerful but because Trotskyism meets an historic necessity. When Trotsky maintained that "in ten years the programme of the IV International will be the guide of millions and millions, of revolutionaries who will know how to move heaven and earth" he based himself on the objective need of history to overthrow capitalism. Neither the communist party nor the soviet bureaucracy nor Stalin nor Khrushchev nor Fidel Castro made this prediction. They were not prepared with programme or policy. This has been the action of Trotskyism.

The soviet bureaucracy, Stalin entered the last world war without any preparation. Stalin dissolved the Third International. Castro must be objective and study history. The CPSU dissolved the Communist International whilst Trotsky called for the organisation of the mass communist International.

The appeal of Castro, his declaration in the speech, after the Tri Continental Conference in which he declared that the guerillas, the armed struggle must extend to the Argentine, to Brazil, to Chile, etc., is a farce and an insult to the masses of Brazil and the Argentine and more particularly to the masses of Peru, Bolivia and the Argentine. The masses of the Argentine made in 1964 one of the outstanding class interventions, one of the most powerful in all Latin America, without the Cuban workers state, nor the Cuban communist party, that of Fidel Castro—or the CTC making any declaration. In a single day a million and a half workers occupied all the factories and took the owners hostage. That day they dominated the country demonstrating that they wished to take power. After ten years the masses of the Argentine in general unanimous strikes faced the terrorism of the bourgeois Peronist leadership despite the absence of a class and mass party, in the absence of a class leadership of the trade union movement. They have shown their formidable revolutionary conviction, they have influenced the struggles of all the rest of Latin America.

If they wish to give a sincere aid to the development of the Latin American revolution, it is necessary that the Cuban masses demonstrate, hold meetings calling the rest of the Latin American masses to the struggle for power, indicating how to do it; with strikes, the organisation of the militia, arming themselves. The declaration indicating that Fidel Castro was disposed to send arms everywhere is important and progressive. It will be a stimulus, although limited because inferior to the level already attained by the masses. The latter have developed and are in process of attaining the level of the struggle for socialism. The Peruvian guerillas from their beginning have adopted a programme similar to that of the socialist revolution of Guatemala. Why has Castro not analysed that. He

is obliged to do this to be honest. He must say that the experience of the masses who struggle is done independently of him and that it is orientated by the programme of the socialist revolution, as can be seen in the MIR of Venezuela.

The Communist Party of Fidel Castro has supported this policy of peaceful co-existence against nine countries. Why does he not accuse them equally of being traitors and agents of imperialism? Why not if they adopt the positions of Trotskyism. China, Korea, Japan, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Indonesia, Peru, Venezuela, Guatemala adopted a programme against peaceful co-existence and for the revolutionary struggle.

Fidel Castro demonstrates political carelessness, political ignorance. He must study; he must correct his political naivety. When he says "Uruguay is surrounded by two reactionary colossi," what reactionary states does he mean? The bourgeoisie of these countries is reactionary but the attempt of the rightist "gorillas" has failed in Brazil and the Argentine. They wished to destroy the masses but did not succeed in making Argentine send troops to Santo Domingo. When he speaks of reactionary colossus he should say; the small reactionary circle in power because the Peronist leadership has not otherthrown it, which the masses hoped for.

It is ignominious for the Cuban workers state that Castro launches calumnies against the Trotskyists, tries to hide from the Cuban masses and from the world that the sugar workers of Tucuman to the number of 100,000 (the-Fotia) - have produced a programme which is Trotskyist which speaks of workers control, of nationalisation. That is Trotskyism. Castro deceives the masses in concealing this which stems from Trotskyism. But it is not possible to deceive history and Castro will not be able to do it. History is not made with diplomacy or with administrative functions. It is possible to deceive the masses one, two, three, four or five days, but not forever. One may conceal the truth but the latter asserts itself and advances because it is a necessity of the class struggle.

WE SALUTE THE MR-13 AND THE CUBAN TROTSKYISTS

We salute with all our fervour and revolutionary solidarity the MR 13 November. Turcios represents nothing but pretentious ambition, petit bourgeois ambition opposed to the development of the socialist revolution. Guatemala has no need of the tutelage of Fidel Castro. It is not the MR 13 nor the Trotskyists who have divided the communist movement in Guatemala. There has been no such division. There has been a cessation in the activity, confusion, putrefaction in the communist party of Guatemala. Under the government of Arbenz and Arevala the communist party had immense powers in its hands which served as a bridge to stabilise capitalist power against the masses. They had in their hands ministers, parliamentary deputies. They had power in their hands, and with all that they prevented the masses taking arms to oppose to the threat and the imperialist center revolution. The book of Fortunay and of another Guatemalan communist analyses all that.

Fidel Castro ignores history and wishes to ignore it, but he must learn from it. Guevara has undergone the same experience and has afterwards corrected himself and for this he was liquidated. We repeat our affirmation and demand; Guevara must reappear. The political, divergences and programmatic differences with the Fidel Castro group are immense; Guevara's position was opposed to that of Fidel Castro. Guevara was advancing towards the programme in the struggle for proletarian power to overthrow capitalist power, arms in hand and rejecting indefinite endless anti imperialist declarations. He was a political adversary of the Castro group and it is for

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Castros Attack On The IV International And The MR-13 November Of Guatemala

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that he was liquidated. We are not able to say in what manner he has been liquidated but we do not exclude that he has been assassinated in the same way that Stalin eliminated his political opponents. We demand of the Cuban people that it demands the reappearance of Guevara, a public discussion on the controversy. If Castro has nothing to fear, what does he fear from this discussion which does not favour imperialism? In what way can it weaken the revolutionary camp? In no way does a discussion indicate weakness. Weakness is the policy of alliance with capitalism.

We send a salute and render homage in giving our most complete fraternal solidarity to the Trotskyists of the entire world and in particular to those in Cuba. The Trotskyists the Cuban comrades who we salute, living at their side all the struggles which they conduct, their passion in the midst of terrorism, are in course of maintaining alive their ideas and positions. A part of their strength is the Guevarist current which exists in Cuba and which is

the world current of the permanent revolution in constant development . . .

These are the currents which by one way or the other feel the need for the reanimation of the world socialist revolution making a united world front with Trotskyism. The common objective unites and will unite them; the difference resides in a lack of maturity and of a harmonious political conception.

Trotskyism has developed and develops in organising on the conception of the programme, on the perspectives and the political security of the permanent revolution: political revolution, soviets, communes, socialist democracy, revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism by armed means. Other currents mature in the world, advance towards these objectives without having an ideological, programmatic, political security as opposed to the Trotskyists. This is the reason for which the united front develops in the world in an unequal manner but the objectives are objectively identical.

It is necessary to demand of Cuba unconditional solidarity with the masses

of the world; not only the sending of militia, but demonstrations, meetings in which the Cuban masses declare their solidarity to the masses of the world. It is necessary to have meetings, gigantic demonstrations, millions of Cubans in solidarity with the strike of transport workers in New York; solidarity with the masses of Argentine, with the general strike in Uruguay on which the Cuban CTC has not spoken and has organised no demonstration.

It is necessary to see that the Cuban masses live the revolutionary struggle of the Latin American masses, in showing that they are discussing publicly, deciding, resolving all the problems, impelling the world socialist revolution, supporting it unconditionally in showing the masses of the world how they struggle, how they are constructing socialism, how they are practising socialist democracy. They must be able to show the right of tendency of public discussion bound to the unconditional economic development, social and political development of the Cuban worker state.

The MR 13 November must reject as ignoble the criminal attitude of Fidel Castro, to accuse him in front of the masses of the world and to demand that the Cuban masses demand explanations from Fidel Castro, that the latter gives account for his criminal attitude. It must reject as ignoble such threats and bureaucratic pressures launched by Fidel Castro and reaffirm its right, struggle and decision to impose the programme of the socialist revolution.

We salute the Guevarist tendency, the tendency of the 26 July who are in process of struggling for the programme of the socialist programme. We see that they maintain their position firmly as all our own comrades, because together they are going to be those who are going to reanimate the programme and the struggle for the socialist revolution and to save the team of Fidel Castro which can yet be gained for the continuity of the socialist revolution.

J. POSADAS 17/1/66

The First Addition To The Article On Castros Attack On The IV International (Extracts)

The article written above has been made on the basis of news received by radio, by letter, by agency telegrams. This text, is sufficient in general, but we believe it is necessary to include some further qualifications.

Fidel Castro's miserable attitude goes very deep. It appears now clearly and we say it with conviction that they have assassinated Guevara. How or where we cannot say. But when Fidel Castro launches such accusations against the IV International, and when for the first time, he says such monstrous things publicly, such calumnies, such lies, when he adopts such a hypocritical attitude to tell such lies, when he tries to present the IV International as allied to imperialism, this indicates that such an individual would not have had any scruples at assassinating Guevara himself, or have it done by others. It does not interest us to discuss if they have killed him, but we affirm that they are in the state of mind to do so. We believe what we say with complete confidence.

In writing a previous article, we did not know the complete declaration, we did not know the information which has come through the press and radio. The declaration which we know today is more complete, but not totally so, this does not change the nature of the article but there is a need to enlarge the analysis of Fidel Castro. We say the road taken by Castro is that of Stalin and of Stalinism. After having seen his declaration, we say that he has already gone deeply enough along this road and that it will be very difficult for him to retake the road to revolution. In the past, Stalin called often enough for the taking of power, even more often than Fidel Castro; he showed himself to have in a revolutionary epoch a revolutionary Marxist consciousness. Fidel Castro, has never been a Marxist revolutionary, but a petit bourgeois revolutionary who is not gained to Marxism for he did not base himself on the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. He did not base himself on the experience of the Russian Revolution, he does not base himself on the existence of the Workers States.

Concerning his contempt for theory, it is sufficient to say that he is not a Marxist. For he does not orientate himself with this conception of experience nor with Marxist foresight.

When he accuses the IV International of being agents of imperialism, he should show what is the policy of the IV International which plays the game of imperialism. What are the services which it renders to imperialism? What are they? The fact that it calls for the Socialist Revolution? It is necessary to denounce publicly the disappearance of Guevara, to ask why, as we believe, he has been assassinated.

This is the same thing as the Cuban people are saying, a great number of people in Cuba are saying and it is what historic truth is saying. As it is stated in our last article published in our world press under the title "The Crisis of Growth of the World Revolution" Fidel Castro and the road which he has taken of liquidating Guevara, indicates a powerful process of bureaucratisation,

and it is necessary to take measures of the political revolution against this. We have the confirmation of all this.

If Guevara is living, if he has left Cuba on his own initiative as a revolutionary why have his activities not appeared? Revolutionaries have nothing to hide. The Communist Manifesto says "COMMUNISTS CONSIDER IT UN-DIGNIFIED TO HIDE THEIR OPINIONS THEIR OBJECTIVES, PROCLAIM OPENLY THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES CANNOT BE OBTAINED EXCEPT BY THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF ALL EXISTING SOCIAL ORDER." This is what Marx and Engels had already said in the Manifesto in 1848.

Communists have nothing to hide. From Imperialism we hide the concrete plans of action, but not our political ends and our political objectives. Why doesn't Guevara appear saying what his political objectives are? Why has he not been able to do this? In effect, the basis, the programme and the authority of any leadership rests on its political objectives. For this is the centre which regroups, which attracts and organises. One cannot organise any revolution by hiding political ends, why does not Guevara say what he wants to do? Why can't he do it? Because he is in a place where he is held by force. It is necessary to say this.

Fidel Castro "appeals" to the revolution throughout the world. Why doesn't he say in one of his appeals where Guevara is and what he is doing for the revolution?

They concealed him when he was in Cuba, they concealed what he was doing. The vile declaration of Fidel Castro is aimed at hiding his move towards the right. He has still not given himself over entirely to the bureaucracy. He is still trying to defend himself, but he is on the road which is leading him to surrender himself to the Soviet bureaucracy and in consequence to the Cuban Communist Party.

Fidel Castro shows his failure in the fact that this declaration is in his own name and not in that of the Tri Continental Conference. He has spoken in his own name. He was not able to put it to the congress for it would not have been passed. He must certainly have tried and have fought to impose it, but without success. He has had to make it individually and he and the soviets failed. It is Fidel Castro who has had to speak and not the Soviets, because we are in Latin America. He has failed to speak other than individually. He has had to make these accusations before 600 people and not before the Cuban people, before 600 selected types picked, chosen, direct members of Stalinism.

Fidel Castro has made these declarations outside the Tricontinental Conference, faced with the most corrupt types of the bureaucracy as Arismende of Uruguay, and in spite of all this apparatus he has not succeeded in making the Tricontinental Congress, issue a bureaucratic reactionary declaration. This indicates that the basis of support of this apparatus is tending to weaken. The Cuban masses will know how to settle accounts with the Cuban Communist Party and with Fidel Castro. The Cuban masses will know how to demand from

the Communist Party or at least from Fidel Castro a rendering of accounts. They have supported the latter's movement not because it is developing itself as a new bureaucracy, but in order to overthrow capitalism. One cannot construct socialism without the intervention of the masses. There is not in Cuba as there is not in the U.S.S.R. the instruments of socialism. There is economic progress and improvement in the conditions of life of the masses, and the economy is in general nationalised—in general but the masses cannot give their advice, cannot decide speak and discuss. This is the greatest advantage which can be given to Imperialism; it is an objective alliance with it.

...The attacks of Fidel Castro on Trotskyism, at the same time as the masses are prevented from speaking represents an objective alliance with Imperialism, as Lenin showed in 1917 by the alliance of the Socialist Party with the Bourgeoisie of the world. It is an objective alliance!

...To prevent the masses from discussing, to prevent them from bringing out into the open their differences, is to favour Imperialism, to make it appear with a force which it hasn't got. Thus capitalism appears with an authority which it does not have, for the masses of the world are in process of overthrowing it. If the Cuban masses could discuss and act freely, this would push forward Socialism in Cuba infinitely more; it is not only economic measures that are necessary but equally social measures; discussion, independent organisations in the masses, call to the revolution, workers militias. This is the International.

Neither in Uruguay nor in Brazil, nor in Argentine nor in Peru, nor in Chile nor in Bolivia have the remarks of Fidel Castro received the least echo in the workers movement. On the contrary it does receive the influence of the Cuban Workers State. The struggle of the Cuban Workers State, the correct appeals of Castro, on the other hand receive an echo. The calls of Fidel Castro to oppose Imperialism have a response because it is the Workers State that speaks. When Fidel Castro speaks of conciliation it does not have any response and nobody has accepted sending people to the United States.

It is the same concerning the accusations against the Trotskyists, against Trotskyism. The Communists are trying to profit from this but nothing will come of it. For even the Communist base is going to say "it is a lie for in Latin America in the workers movement, one knows the Trotskyists, one knows they are at the head of the revolution." This fight in Latin America becomes each day more extended, resolute and general for the sliding scale of wages, of hours of work, for workers control for factory committees, expropriation without compensation of Imperialist enterprises, the expulsion of Imperialism arms in hand, workers militias as in Bolivia in Peru, in Venezuela, in Argentina where the programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda is Trotskyist. All this is the programme of Trotskyism. And the things which Fidel Castro says are diseased and are going to rebound against him. It is bureaucratic preten-

sion which makes believe that it is sufficient to order to be accepted. Stalin had the same bureaucratic attitude. And it was Stalin who fell and not the programme which advances. The programme of Trotskyism advances, while Stalin has fallen. The fight of the Latin American masses is made not with the programme of Fidel Castro but with that of the Trotskyists and each time in a more elevated fashion. Also the Latin American masses will take account not of the declarations and the insults against the revolution, the insults to the Latin American masses, to the Trotskyists, but the experience of the world revolution and will support themselves on it and this is Trotskyism.

What the masses of Vietnam are doing is Trotskyism; armed insurrection. The Soviet Bureaucracy have wanted to give up Vietnam as the Chinese have accused them. The Trotskyists have called for an intransigent fight. Also it is the same in Dominica. There, what was the programme of Fidel Castro? What was the programme of the Soviet Bureaucracy on which Fidel Castro bases himself? It is that of peaceful co-existence. And if it has failed, it is because the masses of Vietnam are opposed to it, have rejected it.

The lies without foundation of Fidel Castro saying that the IV International is an agent of Imperialism must be analysed by him. What does he analyse? What does he show, what does he say is the policy of the IV International what is the policy of Cuba! What is his analysis!

He came out saying "The valiant Turcios." Turcios has been expelled from the revolutionary movement of 13 November for treason and betrayal. He has betrayed the leaders of this movement. He has been expelled. A public appeal on this subject exists, published in REVOLUCION SOCIALISTA and it is known by the World Workers Movement, published by nearly all the World Workers press, in "Mondo Nuovo"—which Fidel Castro accuses of betrayal! Does he also accuse the Chinese? The Chinese have broadcast by radio and published communications of MR 13 November during the past year.

The journals of the M.I.R. of Venezuela, "Marcha" and "Epoca" in Uruguay, and of the M.I.R. of Peru, "Monthly Review" and other journals and reviews of the entire world have also done so and Fidel Castro accuses them. It is an ignominious act on his part to mask his paternalist policy towards the masses!

The attitude of Fidel Castro in making propaganda for Turcios as a peanut seller, is only the expression of the beginning of a very rapid development of the decomposition of Fidel Castro. Why this defence of a peanut seller; when someone defends a revolutionary one defends his programme his policy. One would say, for Guatemala, Turcios has such a programme, such a policy. But what is the programme of Turcios? The MR 13 says clearly: it is necessary to overthrow Imperialism, workers militias are necessary, nationalisation of property, its functioning under workers control, factory com-

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First addition to the article on Castros attack

(continued)

mittees the expropriations of all the power in the hands of Capitalists. What is the programme of Turcios? There isn't any. In the Tricontinental Conference, the validity of the representation of Turcios in the name of Guatemala was discussed. The explanation Fidel Castro gave about Turcios meant that he had had to justify his presence in being a delegate.

Fidel Castro says that Turcios represents Guerillas from Guatemala. Who has named him? None. There isn't any movement which he could claim to represent. And the conference has had to discuss all this, the fact that he had not come in the name of Guatemala. He has been imposed by the Cuban government and the Soviet bureaucracy, by one or the other. He cannot show any action to demonstrate that he represents the guerillas. Where are his guerillas? He has simply been imposed by above.

The defence which Castro made of Turcios is that he is a peanut seller. He wishes to base himself on all the authority of the Cuban Workers State, in order to put across the policy of peaceful co-existence, against the programme of the Socialist Revolution. This is the road to the graveyard, of defeat and of revolutionary denigration. Fidel Castro uses this road. The IV International, as did its teacher Trotsky follows the revolutionary road, for the socialist revolution. The socialist future does not belong either to the bureaucrats or to the paternalists or protectionists who believe that they are the ones and not the masses who decide history. Fidel Castro's centrist conception of the revolution, of wanting to remain between Moscow and Peking—it is not Moscow and Peking but a choice between conciliation and revolution—is going to lead him, as it has already led to ignominy like the communists. He appears publicly as terrorising the masses so that they do not choose the road to the socialist revolution, so that they do not take into their hands the programme for the socialist revolution. ...The objective of Fidel Castro is to terrorise the Guatemalan and Cuban masses so that they do not think, so that they do not give their advice, do not demand the free expression of their thought, and that is Stalinism.

FOR A WORLD INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO JUDGE THESE ATTACKS.

We demand and we launch an appeal to the world workers movements to demand an international control committee to judge the attitude of the Trotskyists and of Fidel Castro, and moreover, AN APPEAL IN DEFENCE OF THE CUBAN TROTSKYISTS MENACED BY ASSASSINATION AND DEATH.

They have assassinated Guevara because he called for the fight of the world revolution this shows that they are already preparing the ground to assassinate all the Trotskyists in Cuba.

We appeal to the world workers movement to demand COMMITTEES FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY RIGHTS OF THE CUBAN MASSES, and for the Cuban Trotskyists, to discuss their rights, their right to intervene in the political life and moreover we demand from the government respect for the liberty, the life of the organisations of the IV International, starting with the defence of the life of the Cuban Trotskyists. There is an immense risk for the Cuban Trotskyists. There is the threat of death.

What we know of the declaration of Fidel Castro is infinitely more dangerous than what we knew yesterday; we did not know the complete sense and we knew only certain reports over the radio and telegrams. THIS SHOWS THAT ALREADY THERE ARE IN PROGRESS PLANS TO TRY TO CARRY OUT A CAMPAIGN OF SLANDERS, INSIDIOUS LIES AGAINST THE TROTSKYISTS WHICH IS A RESULT OF THE FACT THAT TROTSKY IS LIVING AND THAT TROTSKY TODAY ARISES ONCE MORE IN THE U.S.S.R. This is the road of Fidel Castro and of all the bureaucrats.

Paternalism and revolutionary protectionism leads to a bureaucracy. Only a revolution allow one to fuse with the masses. We are not frightened of the future we speak of it publicly. In however small a minority, we fight and are fighting to lead the revolution forward. If Stalin has not been able to prevent it, if Capitalism and Imperialism have not been able to prevent the development of the IV International the bureaucrats and their apprentices are going to be still less able to do it.

Paternalism and protectionism is not the policy of the revolution. It is the policy of the petit bourgeoisie such as Fidel Castro, who does not succeed in understanding Marxism and fusing with it. He follows a protectionist

policy. From here comes his centrism. It is because of this that they have assassinated or have made Guevara disappear, because he had reached an understanding of the programme of the revolution and had been gained by the world revolution.

We reject all the lies without foundation which Fidel Castro has made and we repeat our appeals to the Cuban masses that they demand a public discussion, the creation of public committees, discussion on the elimination of Guevara and on the free activity of the Trotskyists in Cuba. WE ISSUE A WARNING THAT FIDEL CASTRO IS IN THE PROCESS OF PREPARING A PROGRAMME OF MASS PURGES OF THE TROTSKYISTS IN CUBA. Whatever may be its nature, he is in process of preparing it. There is no place for a Stalinist epoch, but there is a possibility of assassinating the Trotskyists as they have done before in other places.

The radio has just said that the Chinese delegation at the Tri-Continental Conference asserted that the conference had been used by the C.P. of the U.S.S.R. to make propaganda for peaceful co-existence and to sabotage revolutionary solidarity of the masses of the world with the fight in Vietnam. What does Fidel Castro reply to this, to the assertion of the Chinese that this conference has been utilised by the bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R. for its world alliance with Imperialism? Fidel Castro is behind this alliance totally. This shows that this brutal intervention by Fidel Castro against the Chinese, on the subject of the commercial treaty has not been chance, but was done intentionally. He has simply made use of the commercial problem between the Workers States. We say that both of them are mistaken for this is not the way to trade. They must plan production and exchange.

The attitude of Fidel Castro shows that he has used the problem of the commercial agreement in order to make a political attack against the Chinese Workers State, against the Chinese leadership and that in a direct or indirect fashion, this is an attack on the revolutionary policy of the Chinese.

We denounce all this and demand of the Cuban people that it demands of its leadership a public discussion of all these problems. We appeal to the Soviet Chinese, Polish, Cuban masses the masses of all the workers states to demand a public discussion of the policy of the IV International, of the disappearance of Guevara, of the Sino-Soviet differences, and that they discuss the world united front of unconditional support of the revolution, aiding it maintaining unconditionally the United World Front of the Workers States, of the Colonial and Semi-colonial countries, for a world conference to organise a programme to crush Capitalism; a united World Front with the Colonial and Semi-colonial countries on an anti-imperialist programme, a programme which calls for action—not a simple declaration such as had been formulated in the Tri-Continental Conference which is an abstract declaration—but a programme which appeals to the struggle.

The conclusion of all preparation for action is a programme which leads to action, this is what it is necessary to say. We appeal to Fidel Castro, to the Chinese, to discuss all this publicly. We appeal to the Cuban government, the Soviets, all the Workers States to open a World Public discussion where the masses can also discuss. We appeal to them to discuss publicly in each Workers State.

18.1.66. J. POSADAS

Second addition to the article of the 17th and 18th of January. The calumnies of Fidel Castro against the IV International.

We regret that two errors occurred in the article on Spain in the last issue, obscuring the sense of two sentences.

The first occurred half way down the first column where it said: "...in full retreat before the world revolution". This ought to have read "in full retreat of the world revolution".

The second occurred in the fourth column where the absence of a comma made the meaning of the sentence unclear, the sentence should read "... and this will mean the emigration abroad of hundreds and thousands of peasants who would not be able to work".

We apologise for these errors.

The Ideas Of The Easter Rising Of 1916 Live In The Struggles Of The Irish Masses

The Easter Rising of 1916 was the violent culmination of a period of mass activity, strikes, demonstrations and increasing oppression by British Imperialism. The Rising was crushed because objective conditions were not yet ripe. The rest of the European proletariat had not begun its revolutionary struggle for power. In the struggle, Ireland lost some of her finest sons among them Comrade James Connolly. However the Rising marked the beginning of the Irish struggle for National Liberation in this period of socialist revolution and wars.

Today the Irish bourgeois government of the Dail (the caretakers of British capital in Ireland) celebrate the Easter Rising, in an attempt to foster the optical illusion of Southern Ireland as an independent State. The bourgeois Valets of British Monopoly Capital in the Dail wish to claim the Easter Rising as part of their own totally bankrupt nationalism. But the Marxist ideas of the International Socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat on which Connolly based his actions are more alive than ever today.

In 1916 conditions were decisively against the Irish revolution. Today everything is in its favour. British Imperialism is no longer the colossus that it was in 1916. The existence of 14 Workers States, the rising world colonial revolution and the resolute and ceaseless struggle of the British proletariat present great possibilities for the revolution in Ireland, giving it enormous International Support.

Imperialism can find no political stability anywhere in the world. Everywhere we can see the revolution advancing despite areas of apparent stalemate. Thus in Spain, the masses develop secret trade unions and defy Franco's intimidation. The whole of Latin America is entering a phase of civil war, class forces in Africa are constantly polarising and nowhere have the rash of army coups succeeded in eliminating the gains of the colonial revolution. The revolutionary war in Vietnam is bringing the weight of the colonial revolution home to the North American masses and has led to open divisions among the U.S. ruling class, while the Dominican masses confront the U.S. imperialists on their doorstep.

FOR A UNITED IRELAND FREE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND THE IRISH BOURGEOISIE

The Irish bourgeoisie has always been prepared to merge its interests with those of Imperialism rather than pursue national independence to a stage where it means breaking with imperialism. Always it has feared the Irish revolutionary socialist tradition. As a result of the struggles against British imperialism after 1916 — Irish bourgeoisie obtained some small field of manoeuvre against imperialism but with the inexorable pressures of the mingling of Irish and British capital it was quickly whittled away, so that today with the recent trade treaty between the Irish republic and Great Britain, British imperialism makes obvious what we have known for some time that it has swallowed the Irish economy whole. Irish agriculture is integrated with the British market whilst the Irish industrial market is thrown open to the British manufacturers; in fact of course Irish capital has been amalgamated for a long time with that of Big Brother. The agreement confirms and accelerates a process already in being. As with countries in the orbit of developing capitalist economy particularly over the last ten years — there has taken place in Ireland the usual, decrease in the number of employers, decrease in the number of small peasant proprietors but increase in the size of

holdings. The logic of the process could theoretically be the political unification of North and South Ireland but the turbulence of the Irish masses could actually be stimulated by suggestions on this score and for this reason the imperialists will show great caution on this issue. For the Irish masses the matter presents itself simply — a United Ireland means a socialist Ireland free of the shackles of British imperialism and their own bourgeoisie.

Ireland, side by side with Britain (fastened to a dying animal as it has been very neatly put), is entering the richest phase in its stormy history, that of the socialist revolution. The Irish proletariat is among the most highly centralised in Western Europe (even the newsboys are in the union) and the workers are expressing enormous confidence by their continual mobilisations, and in the level of their demands. The Dublin Print strike for instance was staged with tremendous determination and lasted for weeks with a demand for a 33% wage increase, paralysing communications, while Lemass was fretting about his balance of payments crisis. The struggle of the Dublin dockers was a complete victory and gained the solidarity of the Liverpool dockers (it is necessary to link up the struggles of Irish with the British workers). The workers must press for the complete democratisation of the T.U.'s. The Irish T.U. bosses are under tremendous pressure from the base but they are, like their British counterparts, thoroughly rotten and reformist. In order to stop these people from impeding their advance the workers must build their unofficial organisations and centralise the struggle of the whole of the Irish workers around the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme.

The Irish masses have had no class or revolutionary leadership from political parties; the communist and labour parties have merely adopted positions mildly critical of the existing partition etc. The nationalist grouping have in general subserved the interests of the national bourgeoisie and even the radical wing as represented in the IRA has no real conception of a revolutionary class programme directed to building the revolutionary party based on the masses. But despite all the weight of past defeats—and they have been particularly heavy for Irish masses — the strikes of the Irish workers show that the ground is being prepared for the new Irish revolution.

In Northern Ireland religious prejudice

(Continued Page 7)

Make The
EASTER MARCH
Not Pacifist
But
Anti-Capitalist
and
Anti-Imperialist

Second addition to article of the Slanders of Fidel Castro

What were the positions of the Soviet Bureaucracy during the Indo-Pakistan conflict? Chauvinist and with a bourgeois conception. And (the masses) on what could they base themselves? On Fidel Castro who denigrates the Trotskyists, slanders them and presents them as vermin? And what is his opinion on the subject of the attitude of the USSR in the Indian-Pakistan conflict? Our teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky faced with frontier conflicts called the masses of both countries to take power, to overthrow capitalism in both countries, and for the self determination of nations. They showed that in one or another country, on the subject of the problems of the self determination of the masses, there was the interest of the bourgeoisie and the interests of the masses. What is the position of Fidel Castro concerning the Indo-Pakistan conflict?

He has not taken a position. The Trotskyists have taken a position. They have criticised the Soviets as much as the Chinese. They call the masses of India to overthrow capitalist power in their country and to unify themselves with the masses of Pakistan. They call the masses of Kashmir and of Pakistan to overthrow capitalist power and unite with the masses of India; to plan the economy of these three countries. This is Trotskyism, this is the plague which horrifies Castro. But what is the plague of Fidel Castro? It is the support of the capitalist countries of one capitalist country against another. Lenin called this class treason and Castro can be the Prime Minister of a workers state and not cease to be a traitor to his class when he supports one capitalist against another. He is a traitor to his class. And a traitor to the interests which he says he represents. This is from Lenin it did not come from us.

When the members of the Bolshevik government tried to make a series of pacts with capitalism in 1922 Lenin sent them packing. When Chicherin wanted to take a series of measures believing that, in this way, he was deceiving capitalism with manoeuvres which consisted of allying himself with capitalism, Lenin looked at him and said: "it is necessary to send this comrade away to a lunatic asylum, it is necessary to shut him up." What do you have to

say about that. This is evident. On the Bolshevik Central committee only a madman could say such things. ... And what does Fidel Castro do faced with the Indo-Pakistan conflict? What is his position? The Cuban masses must demand of him that he makes a statement. And who does he support? Why doesn't he call the Chinese traitors? Why doesn't he make a statement on this conflict? He is silent. This is a position of support of the Soviet bureaucracy, of support for Yankee Imperialism. It is a betrayal of the interests of the Revolution. One can be Prime Minister twenty thousand times while betraying concretely and objectively, such and such a position, or betraying historically the interests of the Revolution. ... This is the actual position. For this the Trotskyists and the Cuban masses as well, are very quickly going to demand a reckoning. The references of Fidel Castro to Vietnam are Trotskyist texts. All these references to the heroism of the Vietnamese people have never been made before. ...

... But at the same time it is not sufficient to mention the heroism of the Vietnamese revolutionaries. One already knows that they are heroic. What must one do? The best way to help Vietnam is to call for the destruction of capitalism in Latin America, to call for the destruction of capitalism in the world, to call for the destruction of capitalism in the USA. And this is possible today. Fidel Castro says that the revolutionary struggle can begin in the countries of Latin America (among them he names Brazil, the Argentine, Uruguay); this was done at a moment when the masses were already fighting. This had started well before Fidel Castro had even thought of the existence of a Marx, of an Engels, well before Fidel Castro felt the influence of the Cuban people, the masses of the Argentine and Brazil had overthrown capitalist governments they struggled for a revolutionary programme and imposed on the nationalist movements of Peron, Vargas, and Brizzola, a confrontation with Imperialism, and resistance to imperialism. If they have not gone further, if they have not taken power, it is because of the Soviet Bureaucracy and the Communist parties who influenced these movements, to prevent them from taking power. For the nationalist movements did not have any points of revolutionary support no example to follow. The policy of the Communist parties and that of the bureaucracy of the Workers States is to ally themselves with capitalism, as the Chinese justly denounce them for. This is the conclusion which the Cuban masses must draw. The masses of Argentina and of Brazil have not waited for Fidel Castro to be revolutionaries. They were revolutionaries long before Castro dreamed of taking up arms against Imperialism. ... The advantage of Nationalism was not to be found in its ability to manoeuvre, but in the ability of the communists, of Fidel Castro, and the soviet Bureaucracy to prevent the elevation of the revolutionary consciousness and the independent action of the class, the revolutionary action of the masses. There has not been a single appeal of Fidel Castro to the Peronist masses to act independently and to crush capitalism.

We have said that the Cuban workers state maintains itself and Fidel Castro is in power thanks to the action of the world proletariat. By its struggles the world proletariat prevents capitalism having its hands free to intervene in

Cuba. Fidel Castro cried out with hate: "It is the IV International" that is to say that he attacked the programme of the IV International, which is to say not Trotskyism in the abstract, but the programme of the IV International which exerts an influence within Cuba itself. The masses of Cuba themselves are in process of understanding that Cuba, in order to advance, must follow the programme of the IV International which Guevara was approaching. The conclusion of Guevara on his return from Asia and Latin America his letter to the Uruguayan readers, is full of naivety, of paternalism as we have analysed in the article "The crisis of growth of the revolution"; with naiveties paternalism Guevara orientated himself towards understanding the Trotskyist conclusion of this epoch; the need for a revolutionary struggle or the overthrow of capitalist power, planning of the workers state, the right of small workers states to demand aid from large workers states; Planning and unconditional aid; Unconditional aid of the world revolution by the Workers States, commercial exchanges. He still had not posed commercial exchange without advantages for the big workers states, but on the contrary benefiting the small workers states. This is why they have killed Guevara. For he was against the interest of the bureaucracy. It was vital for the bureaucracy to get rid of Guevara. Fidel Castro has accomplished the task which the bureaucracy could not do. This is why we declare today, fully aware, that they have tried to eliminate us also. They have not eliminated Guevara simply because he was Guevara. They sought to eliminate Guevara because he was a danger as a leader of a current. Now they are going to seek to eliminate us. We know this. We knew it before and we know it now. But they did not have the strength to do it. They are going to seek to liquidate our principal leaders, at least those they will succeed in reaching. But this is going to stick in their throat. For they do not have the possibility of doing what they did with Trotsky and Guevara. Our movement is sufficiently strong to defend itself and continue our policy, our programme, nobody will be able to remove this. All of us can die, they could liquidate every one of us, but neither our policy nor our programme are going to disappear.

Before disappearing, and after the dates indicated by them as those of the departure of Guevara (they gave the date of the 1st of April whereas Guevara on the 15th April had a meeting with the comrades in a Ministry and he declared that he recognised the sincerity and the revolutionary ability of the Trotskyists and that soon the Trotskyists and he would meet again in the front line against capitalism; that soon Cuba would publish all the work of the revolutionary Leon Trotsky; Not publicly, but he had made a series of declarations against the Trotskyists. And in this meeting he said, the communists treat me as a Trotskyist, while you accuse me of being an adventurer". In reality we have never done this. The Trotskyists have never called him an adventurer; we have said that he made adventures — this is something different — as we have also never said it up till now of Fidel Castro. And in this same reunion Guevara said to the comrades "In a little while we will boot out all these conservative bureaucrats who are impeding the development of the revolution".

Up till now we have not made these facts public so as not to compromise the life of Guevara. Today we are convinced of his assassination or his neutralisation or his imprisonment some where. This is why we make these declarations public. The last public appearance of Guevara was in support of the Trotskyists; to intercede in favour of their liberation in objective alliance with them. This last attitude of Guevara was that of coming towards the Trotskyists. This does not mean either support or a direct alliance with the Trotskyists but an indirect alliance with them. A conclusion which we drew one or two years ago was that there was going to be a direct or indirect alliance with the Chinese. In place of the Chinese it has been Guevara. For Guevara has arrived at the conclusion of the permanent revolution before the Chinese. That is to say our conclusion has been logical and completely correct.

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 control, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation, including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polarix and rocket bases and their means of
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

World Trotskyist Press

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

ARGENTINA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pölet. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30 Nieuw bruckaai Gand.

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

BRAZIL: *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.

CHILE: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL: *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

The Crisis Of The Italian Communist Party Deepens

Italian masses go forward against the C.P.

The crisis of the left-centre government — originally caused by the resignation of Fanfani who desires a conciliatory policy with the Workers States imperialism — and then its reconstitution took place with no call for a General Strike on the programme of workers power from the I.C.P. The I.C.P. props up the bourgeoisie but the crisis can only be solved by the masses taking the road to revolution and they advance in that direction despite the leaderships. Any right-wing putsch in practise will only precipitate the revolution.

The recent congress of the CP has further confirmed the analysis recently made by Posadas that despite its apparently "monolithic" apparatus it has proved impossible for the Longo team to conceal their differences. Thus Ingrao

persisted in his criticisms of the official line in relation to inner party democracy, and the need for a long term "socialist alternative" (very muffled criticisms it should be said). Of course he did not give a profound analysis or real alternative but the fact that a confirmed bureaucrat as this was prepared to embarrass Longo forcing the latter to invoke "democratic centralism" (!) and calling for a stop to discussion shows that there is now a very deep disturbance in the apparatus of the communist party which will lead to far bigger crises in the future. Ingrao will never lead a serious opposition to the CP bosses on a revolutionary programme, but his attitude shows the enormous tension now existing in the CP.

Continued Page 8

The result of the elections in France demands the Organisation of a Revolutionary Programme and current

J. Posadas

The importance of these elections in France lies in the behaviour of the vanguard. We have already said in the last article that it is possible and probable that de Gaulle would win. It is the attitude of the vanguard which it is necessary to observe.

There were 15% abstentions. These abstentions do not come from the bourgeois camp but from the proletarian vanguard which has demonstrated its discontent. The communist party has not increased its votes; it has lost them. The total number of votes which Mitterand has obtained is inferior to the sum which the communists and socialists had obtained in the previous stage. This sector of the vanguard which had not voted for Mitterand, which is opposed to the PC is our base from which to influence the communist base. If one does not understand this, it is impossible to undertake the tasks.

The working class in its entirety has voted for the CP; that is logical. But we must observe vanguard and assess the behaviour of vanguard because in this case it has acted consciously in representing the communist interest of the masses and tomorrow it is going to try to influence politically with its interest.

In not voting, it has demonstrated its decision. It is a combative attitude that is to say of non alignment with the communist party, it could have voted with blanks. But it has not done this. It has shown its decision to confront the CP and to ignore its directives. It has rejected this, by decentralising the action of the party, feeling itself capable of having an influence on the class. If our sections do not understand this phenomenon they cannot act.

Another aspect of these elections is the retreat of de Gaulle. But this latter only interests us a little. He has an importance in the class struggle as a reflection of High Finance, of French capitalism and of its centralisation around de Gaulle.

The elections show a process of polarisation although this does not show itself completely, given that one of the poles was expressed through Mitterand, and a candidate of the CP was not available.

Mitterand has received a quantity of votes which masks the sense of the class struggle. For the working class in voting has not wished to vote for a bourgeois candidate but has wished to maintain its centralisation, its class solutions by maintaining itself united as a class, seeking in this way to be able to impel, to be able to gain and influence the petit bourgeoisie.

ABSTENTION A CONSCIOUS ACT OF THE VANGUARD

The proletarian vanguard has shown that it has a clear political comprehension and its attitude has been determined by the fact that it feels that it cannot harm its class interests nor the polarisation of class forces. It has acted consciously. This aspect is the most important in the French elections.

Whether de Gaulle won or not is not the most important issue. We said before the elections "The most probable result will be that de Gaulle is going to win." There had been enough discussion about whether he would win. But when the centre of bourgeois opposition has tried to influence the outcome by appealing against a vote for de Gaulle, but for an independent vote this indicates that for the bourgeoisie it is clear that this is not a question of an election but of the polarisation of classes. There are two fronts: the bourgeoisie around its candidate de Gaulle; but on the side of the working class the latter cannot feel itself represented in the same way by Mitterand whose candidature has deprived it of force, power and political centralisation.

According to the facts that we have, it appears possible that a sector of the working class voted for de Gaulle. It is possible. The working class has voted for the CP and SP but it is very possible that a sector of the proletariat, the most remote from activity has voted for de Gaulle in the search for a practical solution against the rotten perspective of the CP and SP. It is necessary to analyse the quantity of votes obtained by de Gaulle in the Northern areas which is a proletarian zone. If the Gaullist vote is strong that indicates that the communist party and the socialist party lead not to demoralisation but to isolation. That reflects a sector of the proletariat seeking for practical solutions which are neither socialist or communist. If it is so de Gaulle is going to try to show that he is a centre for this proletariat, whereas the class in general has voted for the CP and the SP.

The attitude of the proletarian vanguard in France has an enormous importance, for it has demonstrated that it is living in the present stage and has shown itself disposed to influence its class to direct the struggle against capitalism. It is on this that the activity and perspective of our French section must support itself. In the 15% abstentions, 10% represent the vanguard. The conclusion of our French section must be to make an appeal to the proletarian vanguard, to support itself on the results of the elections in its opposition to conciliation with capitalism, to regroup around it in the factories, the unions, the workers quarters, the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie in a struggle on the independent class programme, with workers demands, wage demands, against unemployment, for the sliding scale of wages, nationalisations, for the workers and peasant government.

The French bourgeoisie is going to utilise the figure of Mitterand to smash, to annul the independent class action of the proletariat, to open the perspective of a new front of conciliation with the CP. It is not excluded that the CP can negotiate such an agreement with one or other tendency. This is not excluded. It can act in this way in trying to profit from the necessity of an opposition from a bourgeois sector to exercise an influence on de Gaulle to blackmail him; equally to try to extra advantages as a party. It is not correct to regard the elections simply as past history. They mark a stage of the polarisation in the class struggle in France.

Our party in France must launch this appeal for the united front, to engage with the object of specific, limited and concrete actions to prepare the new stage which is coming.

THE WORKING CLASS WANTED TO VOTE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST NOT FOR MITTERAND

The position taken by de Gaulle shows that he has enough support in the bourgeoisie. This cannot be doubted. But at the same time the massive regroupment of the working class, of the petit bourgeoisie has been done not behind him but behind Mitterand under the electoral front of the CP and of the SFIO. The votes have not gone to Mitterand, but to the CP and the PS. The petit bourgeoisie, the workers the poor peasants have submitted to vote for Mitterand with the desire to apply pressure on the CP to impel it. The proletarian vanguard in France must feel that the working class and the poor petit bourgeoisie, the poor and middle peasants have manifested their desire to push forward a policy of opposition to capitalism. They must rely on this element and have confidence for the work of organisation of an independent revolutionary current even if this must re-

sult in a rupture with the CP. It must analyse on this line, calling upon the class to follow it, calling for a programme of proletarian demands in the search for a workers and peasants programme. Such is the line which the proletarian vanguard must adopt in showing its political decision.

The comrades of the French section have not drawn in analysing the results of the first ballot, the conclusions on the number of abstentions. There were 15% abstentions and among these are worker votes not simply of the class in general but of the vanguard. And it is this vanguard to which it is necessary to pay attention. Between the vanguard and the class there is no contradiction of historic separation. The vanguard has shown with its abstentions, its desire for independent class action against capitalism. It has felt that in supporting Mitterand, its force, its interests, and its class direction would support a bourgeois candidate outside the class. But the working class, the agricultural worker, the poor petit bourgeois have supported Mitterand in drawing the same conclusion as the vanguard. But they have not felt themselves sure, confident in the consequences of the elections. They have seen them as a means of exercising a pressure, of pursuing the struggle which they are conducting, factory occupations, demonstrations, the struggle against unemployment, for an increase in wages. In voting for Mitterand, they wished to impel the PC and the PS. Such had been their intention. Its vote had not been for Mitterand but for the CP and the SFIO.

The triumph of the bourgeoisie was not only the victory of de Gaulle. Its real victory consists in the fact that it has hindered the independent representation of the working class. The elections have been decided between two bourgeois candidates. There has been no candidate of "the left" and another for the bourgeoisie. Both were bourgeois. The working class has been absent from the elections; this is one of the monstrous crimes of the communist party. If in present conditions the CP had presented an independent candidature, it would have received a sufficient number of voices to give confidence to the working class, to advance into an independent action of work stoppages, strikes.

The bourgeoisie is the only victor from these elections, the bourgeoisie as a class. It is for that reason that the communists and the socialists present

these elections as a battle between de Gaulle and the left. It is nothing of the sort. The bourgeoisie is the only victor. The centralised candidature of finance capital has triumphed, preventing the working class presenting itself in an independent manner.

It is a triumph of the bourgeoisie. de Gaulle has lost strength but the bourgeoisie has augmented its political control. And that is the work of the policy of the CP and of the SFIO. The proletarian vanguard has to feel itself capable of aiding, attracting, regrouping and increasing, the action of the class in the next stage. The confidence and security which it has demonstrated in itself by abstaining are sufficient to obtain an echo in the class. This is sufficient.

It is necessary to launch appeals for the type of task which it is necessary to pursue in these sectors of work, in the factories, the working class quarters, in the CP and SP, in the unions. It must struggle to regroup the nuclei, the worker tendencies in the action for the programme of the united proletarian front of wage demands, democratic demands and the struggle for the workers and peasant government which means the struggle against French capitalism, nationalisations, all the benefits of automation in the working class, the decrease in the hours of work, an increase in wages, holidays, sliding scale of hours...

It is necessary to struggle for the retreat of imperialism from Vietnam. It is not simply a question of the withdrawal from NATO which is not the slogan which expresses the struggle of the proletariat against the preparation of the war; it is necessary that imperialism leaves Europe and the struggle pushed forward for workers and peasants governments throughout Europe, for the socialist unification of Europe, for the single revolutionary centre in Europe, for the unconditional support to the colonial revolutions. This is the struggle against NATO. Everything else is an abstract struggle against NATO, supporting one sector of the bourgeoisie against the other and favouring objectively the interests of French finance capital who are against NATO but for the organisation of the nuclear war against the world revolution and against the workers states. Such is the dispute of French imperialism with American imperialism, and nothing more

20 Dec. 1965.

J. POSADAS.

The Easter Rising

Continued from Page 5
ces of the past no longer play the same role.

In Belfast Dock, for example Fitt won the votes of both Catholic and Protestant workers because of his more radical platform. The fact that he calls himself a Marxist, a word gaining in popularity among the Irish petitbourgeois tendencies, the I.R.A. for instance, shows that the world revolutionary process gains in influence.

Build the workers unofficial committees on the anti-capitalist programme!! and without compensation eehteffi

An all round 35% wage increase.
Nationalisations under workers control and without compensation.

All profits of automation to the workers.

Expropriation of all large estates. Credits for small farmers organised in co-operatives.

Expropriation of all foreign capital State monopoly of Foreign trade.

No Irish troops to be used for the suppression of the colonial revolution.

No British troops in Ireland.

For the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ireland as part of the United Socialist States of Europe.

Build the Revolutionary current in Ireland.

Unite the revolutionary currents in Ireland on this programme for workers power.

Demand the release by the Guatemalan dictatorship of the MR-13 leader Francisco Amado and the Mexican Trotskyist student David Aguilar

The Dominican Masses Continue To Struggle Despite Imperialism And The Lack Of Help From The Workers States

The renewed fighting in the Dominican republic is a tribute to the heroic and persistent struggles of the masses against the military gangsters and their Yankee imperialist backers. Despite all the terrorism of the Yankee military intervention the masses have not lost their will to struggle and are aided by the whole process of the world revolution which goes constantly against world imperialism.

The masses of Dominica have had to endure a long and protracted struggle against the Imperialists and their military allies. The notorious Trujillo dictatorship deprived the masses of basic democratic liberties and isolated from the world revolution the workers and peasants seemed to have to endure an apparently immovable regime. Trujillo was finally assassinated and a new relationship of forces began to show itself in the country. The revolutionary movement of June 14 in which Trotskyists played a role began to develop and in 1961 two general strikes helped to force out the Balaguer-Echavarría government which had succeeded to Trujillo oligarchy.

IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION FAILS TO CRUSH THE DOMINICAN MASSES

In late 1962 J. Bosch was elected as President on a popular vote, but in under a year was thrown out by a military coup. Nonetheless the Dominican masses had gained in confidence and increasingly felt the weight and power of the world and Latin American revolution. As a consequence in 1965 a sector of officers distributed arms to the masses and fought to overthrow the military oligarchy with such success that Yankee imperialism intervened quickly to prevent Dominica developing towards a workers state. As Thomas Mann of

the state department argued. The army was their most reliable pillar.

But despite a brutal intervention involving thousands of well armed American troops, the Dominican masses resisted although the workers states gave nothing beyond verbal support.

IN THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE A NEW LEADERSHIP IS BEING FORMED

In the absence of a revolutionary leadership with sufficient roots in the masses the Yanks have tried to maintain themselves by means of a "constitutional" (!) balance between the extreme right of the army leaders and the left led by officers such as Camaano. Thus Garcia-Godoy is representative of this compromise. But the struggle between the popular and reactionary forces cannot be prevented by constitutional compromise least of all in this stage of human history. (Elections, Balaguer v. Bosch are due shortly). Students and police have clashed again. Right wing military leaders have refused to abandon military positions ordered by the President, although on the left Camaano departed. But again the masses have not been intimidated. A general strike has been called. The revolutionary elements possess arms and in the course of the struggle a new leadership is in process of being formed. The military rightists may no doubt proceed to yet another attempt at a military dictatorship but one thing is quite certain no dictatorship could ever be more than a mere phase in a continuous civil war, the path of the permanent revolution, the struggle for democratic reforms fused with the struggle for socialism. No defeats and no slaughter however terrible can break the invincible tested will of the Dominican masses to overthrow capitalism and imperialism.

Unite the struggles on the shop floor with factory committees on an anti-capitalist programme

The increasing pressure of the workers at the base of the trade unions has produced, in recent weeks, great activity among the bureaucrats at the top. The strike by the Bakers Union has been followed by the strike that never was, of the National Union of Railwaymen, and the overtime ban by the National Union of Mineworkers. There can be no doubt that conditions are ripening for another general strike and that official leaderships of the trade unions are preparing, with their allies the Labour Government to prevent the struggle of the workers reaching this new stage. These bureaucrats were able to sell out the workers in 1926, but they will be incapable of doing the same in this period.

This enormous pressure of the constantly advancing workers has resulted in a number of proposals from trade union officials. It has been suggested that the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), The National Union of General and Municipal Workers (NUGMW) and the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) work towards a merger. It has also been proposed that the unions in the car industry via the small National Union of Vehicle Builders (NUVB), form a single industrial union for the car industry. These proposals show the enormous mass pressure towards simplification of union structure whether by general or industrial unions, and the centralisation of the class which lack a real union centre. The bureaucrats only wish to more effectively control the workers struggle. This of course is sheer delusion in this period, but that is their intention.

The proposals for an industrial union in the car industry is a direct reflection of the recent strikes in the industry making necessary for the workers a single unified centre for their struggle; a desire that the union officials, for their own sectional interests, have opposed in the past. This single centre is necessary, but it must be formed by the direct intervention of factory committees under the direct control of the workers and not simply by paid officials

who have no other interest but their own position of privilege and power, and vanguard workers must link the struggle for a single union with that for the anti-capitalist programme. The rather proposed merger of the TGWU, NUGMW and AEU, is something of a miracle, rather than a definite coherent intention; on the question of an incomes policy, for example there are differences between these three unions. The TGWU formally opposes an incomes policy and the other two formally support it. All three desire to block the advance of the workers, but the AEU and the NUGMW do this by openly opposing the pressure of the workers at the base and the TGWU by conceding a little in order to retain some control of its membership. In the end of course, they are all unsuccessful because the workers have destroyed any hope the labour government had of keeping wages down. The argument that an incomes policy favours the lower paid workers has also been destroyed by the fact that the railwaymen were awarded only 3% and the daywage miners got nothing at all. Those unions that used this argument to get support for an incomes policy, like USDAW, at last years annual conferences will be under powerful pressures to have this rejected.

To intervene effectively in all questions of union mergers whether in the car or printing industries etc., it is necessary for the workers to constitute workers committees that function continually and put forward an anti capitalist programme with demands for nationalisations under workers control, all union officials to be recallable and to earn no more than the average wage, a basic minimum wage to be decided by workers commissions, and to rise with the cost of living etc. The attempt by capitalism to legislate against strikes etc. will further accelerate need for this programme. The union leaderships themselves are imperilled by the conflicting pressures from the workers and the anti union legislation of the government, all of which weakens their position as agents of reformism. It is difficult to function effectively when no reformist crumbs are available.

Resolution Of Support For The Cuban Trotskyist

Political Bureau of the RWP (T)

The vile attacks on the IV International made by Fidel Castro after the end of the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana points not only to a grave degree of degeneration in the leading team of the Cuban Workers State, but also the intense fear of all the degenerate bureaucracies who follow the line of Peaceful Co-existence, of Trotskyism and of the World revolutionary process.

With this vicious slandering of the IV International, the comrades of the Cuban Section are directly under the pressure of Stalinist terrorism. Although the Cuban section is not large — this applies to the International as a whole — compared with the magnitude of the historical tasks set by the course of the world historical process, such is the correctness of revolutionary Marxism and the activity of the Cuban section in maintaining the revolutionary struggle for genuine socialist democracy in the Workers state, that the conservative sectors in Cuba and the other Workers States supporting peaceful co-existence, are terrified of what the Cuban section represents. They see in that section and in all the other sections of the IV International the vanguard of the world revolutionary forces that are going to bury them forever.

Already great pressures have been brought to bear on the Cuban comrades, who they only recently released from prison. But their very existence exasperates the bureaucrats. What makes the situation even more intolerable for the wretched parasites who support peaceful co-existence is that a whole tendency within Cuba supports Guevara and that the latter was coming closer to Trotskyism, forming in practice an anti-imperialist, anti-bureaucratic front.

The bureaucrats have demonstrated before that they cannot cope with ideas. They never lift their pig snouts from the pursuit of material privileges, and when this is threatened they resort, where possible, to assassination. This was notorious under Stalin. Today history moves against them completely, but they can still and will murder to defend their parasitic position in society. Certainly no revolutionary at any period of history, even the most favorable, has ever been free of the shadow of violent death.

At this time when the Cuban section is isolated and must feel the full weight of the frustration and fury of the bureaucrats — and of Fidel Castro to his eternal shame — we assure you valiant Cuban comrades of our complete solidarity, we are with you in every minute of your struggle for Socialism, for a superior level of existence for all mankind against the imperialist exploiters and the degenerated bureaucracies of the workers states.

We know that in the very worst moments you will hold to the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, the clearest scientific conceptions of the world workers movement, to raise the confidence of the Cuban masses to run their own workers state.

- Long Live the IV International!
- Long Live the Cuban Section!
- Forward to the Mass Communist International!

Resolution of the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British section of the IV International.

The Crisis of the I.C.P.

(Continued from page 6)

The Italian communist party has notoriously failed to gain among the revolutionary youth and the factory workers, although its electoral strength has increased. Longo's speeches intoned praises of the Vatican but offered no programme for workers power to the Italian masses. Today however the world revolution is much more powerful than in the period after the war, when the Italian communist party returned power to the bourgeoisie, and the Italian masses are going forward via strikes and occupations of factories to the taking of power. The apparatuses can still block and delay the process but they lack the power to betray it. The ICP and the CPSU etc., are preparing to break with the "Chinese", this in practice will further expose the reactionary objectives of the "peaceful co existers" before the masses.

During the Congress a new great strike of engineering workers took place but the CP merely offered "support" instead of offering a perspective of extending the strike into a general strike.

We salute the struggles of the Italian masses and the efforts of the Italian section of the IV International to centralise the struggle with the revolution-

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British Section, IVth International



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we are nothing. With
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— Trotsky

No. 32

MAY, 1966

SIXPENCE

Speed Up the Process Towards a General Strike By Uniting The Factory Committees

INCREASINGLY the Parliamentary routinism of the capitalist class shows itself to be totally irrelevant to the real balance of forces in the country, the real struggles which are being waged. The Wilson apparatus speaks in dulcet tones about the "legislative demands" of the "next session" but these demands bear little relation to the issues at stake. The LP apparatus is the last defence for capitalism in this country and it has no serious concessions to offer to the masses because capitalism has none to offer.

Under the pressure of the masses it would seem that Wilson will have to go ahead with steel nationalisation and the process will prompt all manner of discussion about compensation and about workers control. The capitalist class would hope to submit steel nationalisation to the overall needs of capitalist nationalisation i.e. to use steel as they have used coal, the railways etc. as cheap props for the rest of the capitalist economy, but the workers who see nationalisation as the vehicle for the wholesale liquidation of capitalism will be stimulated by the steel nationalisation to go forward on the full anti capitalist programme for the abolition of capitalism.

At the same time that the LP apparatus reacts in some trivial way to mollify the masses—perhaps some attempts to modify price increases, some vague attempt at a co-ordinated transport policy—it strains itself to impose a wage freeze and to intimidate unofficial strikers via the early warning system, nothing more than reactionary anti-working class legislation. Such a tendency can only accelerate the workers' currents to overthrow capitalism. The very fact that such legislation can be proposed by a so called "Labour" party shows how remote this apparatus is from any interest in the masses. One of the so called "left" MPs Dr. Kerr has rushed to draw the conclusion from the elections, that the masses approve the capitalist policy of the LP apparatus! so much for these parliamentary gentlemen who at the very time when the British masses are participating in the world struggle to overthrow imperialism and capitalism, decide that the capitalist class is actually gaining in authority in Britain. It is certainly not ruled out that these feeble creatures may manoeuvre in Parliament and let out defeatist yelps about Vietnam but otherwise they will do nothing but exhibit their political impotence and cowardice.

The temper of the class struggle at this stage—but again only at one remove not at all reflecting the level of the crisis—has been shown by the recent assembly of the Scottish TUC at Aberdeen. There, so called delegates vo-

ted unanimously against the incomes policy but with characteristic two facedness talked about the need for a productivity drive. Such a Congress can only reflect in part the activity of the masses. Delegates who put forward proposals for productivity drives simply reflect the presence of the aristocracy of labour. Instead of centralising the activity of the masses by putting forward the anti capitalist programme, they delay and immobilise the struggle.

UNION MILITANTS MUST DEMAND A BREAK FROM THE LABOUR PARTY

Various are the protests made about the incomes policy but the bureaucrats in the unions do nothing to co ordinate strikes, refuse to put forward any alternative programme except raising productivity", i.e. trying to sustain capitalism. Thus the whole attitude of the trade union bureaucracy shows itself to be one of attempting to block the workers offensive because it will inevitably mean the end of the union bureaucracy, the end of the aristocracy of labour besides capitalism. The TGWU has rejected both the income policy and the Vietnam policy of the labour party apparatus. Militants as part of their intervention with the anti capitalist programme should put forward the demand for a genuine workers centre of unions based on the programme of nationalisations under workers control without compensation and the demand for a break from the Labour party. It is preposterous for a union supposed to represent workers, to oppose the basic orientation of the Labour party and at the same time to back it as the political expression of the unions. The apparatuses must be fought tooth and nail, they are the last props of imperialism and capitalism. They talk of raising productivity when all the evidence shows that capitalism is stagnating and decaying incapable of expanding the world and home markets. To "raise productivity" under capitalist conditions means a policy of encouraging speed up, rationalisation etc. to benefit small sectors of privileged workers. And even so Wilson says they cannot afford any more wage increases to the better paid

workers!

The Wilson administration is faced with insurmountable problems given the nature of capitalism. Economically, falling exports, rising imports mean continued stagnation, most likely an increase in unemployment, and a brake on the consumption of the masses. But encouraged by the weakness of imperialism, encouraged by their own limited successes on the wages front which has enabled the workers in some degree to defend their interests, the masses will increase their pressure. There is a con-

sistent pressure in the docks for nationalisation under workers control. The seamen resolve on strike action. The militancy of the teachers is inevitably now a constant factor disintegrating capitalist authority, particularly as the recent conference showed again that Crosland had nothing really to say except that matters should be alright years hence and teaching as a profession would change i.e. no concrete solutions to anything. The demand for equal

Continued on Back Page

COMMUNICATION FROM THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS (TROTSKYIST). BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL. ON THE MURDER OF FRANCISCO AMADO.

We have learnt that Francisco Amado Granados, the political leader of the 13th November Movement of Guatemala has been murdered. We denounce with all our force this murder which was carried out by the Guatemalan dictatorship with the support of the Guatemalan Communist Party (PGT).

In his speech attacking Trotskyism and the MR 13 November after the Tri-Continental Conference, Castro referred to Francisco Amado as a 'business man and "imperialist agent" who was in charge of the political side of the MR 13, and who was responsible for the journal of the Movement "in which was copied from one end to the other, the programme of the IV International by C.P. Members follows logically from this attack. This is not the first betrayal by the PGT. The renegade Turcios who left the MR 13 to join the Communist Party was responsible for betraying the other leaders, "Estefano" and "Paco" a few months ago. This is the counter revolutionary policy of the Soviet Bureaucracy and the CP in action.

It was the influence of the IV International brought to the MR 13 by Francisco Amado, which was the principal factor in raising the ideological level of the leaders of the MR 13 (who at the same time had a desire to advance and an enormous revolutionary will) causing them to pass from their confused empirical conceptions, to the programme of the SOCIALIST REVOLU-

TION.

In spite of all these blows the strength of the guerilla movement in Guatemala continues to grow, increasing its influence over the masses of the country.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British section of the IV International renders homage to Comrade Francisco Amado who has played a tremendous role in the Latin American revolution by accelerating the formation of a Marxist revolutionary movement in Guatemala and in doing so has given a stimulus to all the guerilla movements of Latin America.

We render homage also to the other leaders of the MR 13 who have been murdered, and we demand the release of the Mexican Trotskyist student David Aguilla Mora who is at present injured and tortured in a Guatemalan prison and risks losing his life because of lack of medical attention.

We appeal to all the workers movements and to the students to condemn this criminal repression, the Stalinist betrayal by the Communist Party which has no other way to block the development of the struggles of the Guatemalan masses.

We appeal to them to continue the struggle for which Francisco Amado GRANADOS, Francisco ARCE, Augusto ARGUETA, Ramon NAJERA and tens of Guatemalan workers peasants and students have died.

UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR
THE GUATEMALAN REVOLUTION

EIGHT TROTSKYISTS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN MEXICO. DEMAND AND CAMPAIGN FOR THEIR RELEASE

Manifesto Of The Enlarged Meeting Of The I.S. Of The IV International

(First Part-Extracts)

J. POSADAS

The Tri continental Conference has shown in a categorical way that the situation is ripe for the world overthrow of capitalism. It has shown that subterfuge and manoeuvre cannot be substituted for the revolutionary programme and revolutionary politics to overthrow capitalism. The principle conclusion from this Conference is that it was forgotten on the day it ended. It has produced no effect. The promises, the slogans the analyses have taken no account of any sector of the masses. There exists no movement which can orientate itself from this conference. The final resolution was only a general declaration condemning imperialism, from non-socialist bourgeois movements.

In spite of the efforts of the communist parties and of Fidel Castro, to give it an audience, this conference has had no effect. The Chinese have completely ignored it and the Soviets also. Yankee imperialism has tried to draw advantages from this, to draw from it arguments in favour of its discussion with the soviet bureaucracy within the framework of peaceful co existence. But that also has found no echo. The masses at the same time that this Conference was held, pursued their struggles by occupying factories, lands and in developing the guerillas and the struggle for power. The revolution took no notice of this conference.

THE CRISIS OF GROWTH OF THE LEADERSHIP

This conference is part of the crisis of growth of the leadership of the world revolution. One of the most important aspects which denotes the character of this Conference is the fact that it met near Dominica and that it drew no conclusion from the action of Dominica, no appeal to action, no programme.

The Soviet bureaucracy opposes itself to imperialism; it sends arms to Vietnam but it has no programme for the Vietnamese revolution, it ignores it. And this is the crisis of the leadership. To support the revolution is not simply a question of saying that it is necessary to take power, to fight an armed struggle, it is necessary to aid the organisation of this struggle.

The Soviet bureaucracy, the CP of the USSR has no programme. It does not suffice to say that it is necessary to overthrow imperialism. How could one overthrow imperialism in Vietnam and its agents without taking power? There exists no other way. The Tri Continental Conference only spoke of eliminating imperialism from Vietnam but did not speak of the taking of power.

The development of the revolution in the Congo passes through a crisis, but this crisis exists equally in Angola, in Algeria, in the Middle East, in Egypt, Syria, Iraq. The world leaderships do not respond to the pressure from below. These revolutions not progressing, their internal crisis manifests itself constantly allowing the right wing tendencies and the imperialist tendencies to gain a little. The recent crises in Egypt, Iraq, and Syria demonstrate this. The absence of progress incites the conservative tendencies of the revolution to show themselves, to organise themselves to arrange matters to block the revolution or to dislodge the political power of the revolution which is a centrist power.

Objectively the masses are centralising themselves. It is necessary to evaluate the attack by Castro (on the IV International) as a reply to, as an indirect expression of the fact that the masses wish to see Guevara, they wish to discuss, they wish to have matters clarified.

When Fidel Castro accuses the Chinese and within twelve days attacks them and slanders them accusing them of being agents of imperialism,—at the same time that he accuses the MR13 of Guatemala, the Trotskyists, the Latin American bureau of the IV International — with an attack which has no logical basis, because there has been no direct struggle against it, there has been no polemic against it, there has been no show of hostility of China in confrontation with Cuba—this shows that within Cuba is developing incessantly, although in a rhythm that we are not able to appreciate in all its velocity, a state of agitation, of opposition to the conservative policy of the leadership of the Cuban revolution and a desire to unite with the world revolution. And it is a direct expression of the tendency to unite to

the world revolution.

We repeat our judgement; in the Tri continental Congress, Castro has not been capable, has not had the authority to have a resolution approved against the Trotskyists, against the MR13 November and against the Chinese. He had to attack them two or three days after, in his discourse in front of the 600 selected elements. He did not do it as a member of the Conference, but as Castro and the attack against the Chinese was done as from Castro. This indicates that there is an increase in the preoccupation of the masses which weighs on the government and on the Cuban leadership.

The reaction of Fidel Castro is an indication of the fact that in Cuba the masses wish to discuss, wish to know, wish to intervene and express themselves against the policy of conciliation by Castro. If the masses were satisfied with the policy of Castro, if the masses felt that the policy of Castro is what they want there would not be this opposition, there would not be this repudiation of the policy of Fidel Castro, that of conciliation with imperialism and the limitation of the enormous revolutionary possibility of the Cuban people.

Equally the masses who are expressing their desire to struggle and to crush imperialism in Vietnam, resist and reject the policy of conciliation of the soviet bureaucracy. But it is not only these masses of Asia, of Africa, Latin America, of Vietnam and of S. Domingo, the Chinese masses but also the European proletariat which participates in this process. The Italian proletariat carries forward a struggle without interruption, which began from the end of the 1945 war, an incessant struggle of growth and of influence in the power of the communist party, in the crisis of the communist party, has shown that in a short time, in the ICP, will appear publicly revolutionary tendencies. Nothing will be able to impede this. They will appear in one way or another within the ICP.

In the recent French elections there has been the appearance of groups and tendencies in the French CP which for the first time for many years, involves thousands of militants who have launched themselves openly to oppose themselves to the policy of support to Mitterand. The 15% abstentions indicates the extent of opportunities to the policy of support to Mitterand. It is the vanguard of the French proletariat.

THE STRENGTH OF IMPERIALISM AND THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY DIMINISHES CONSTANTLY

The Belgian proletariat has just now demonstrated that its desire for revolutionary struggle remains alive. To defend their right to work it has confronted the police, the army of the king and it is the king who has had to make concessions.

In Germany despite the elections in which Erhard won representing the Christian democracy, there is a constant increase in crisis. This crisis indicates that the economic prosperity of German capitalism has reached its peak. At the same time the political instability of the capitalist world is affecting also German capitalism. And there are tendencies who already feel that to continue to maintain tranquillity through a certain economic expansion—as that at present—requires trade with the workers state. Indirectly the development of the world revolution expresses itself in Germany through the workers states and already they are proposing and discussing the necessity of allowing the socialists into the government with a programme which allows them to trade with the workers states; and to seek to arrange with these a policy which allows them to conserve equilibrium, following their own interests between imperialism and the soviet bureaucracy. The Christian democracy cannot continue to maintain its own power from the capitalist point of view. It must have recourse to the socialists.

In the countries of Latin America the most developed countries Brazil, Argentine, Chile and Mexico are in constant crisis. The form in which this crisis is expressed is not only that of the struggles, strikes and occupations of factories. This exists. On the other hand the capitalist parties lose political authority before the masses and the nationalist revolutionary groups tendencies gain authority. The occupation and the tak-

ing of the lands continue incessantly.

The policy of the soviet bureaucracy has always fewer points of support on which it can rely. The communist parties of the world which are those who bring to the masses of the world the policy of conciliation of the soviet bureaucracy and of the bureaucracy of the workers states meet always less social support in the world and their power becomes always less stable. The most evident proof is in France. Despite the policy of the FCP of support to Mitterand, a considerable part of the proletarian vanguard, of the students, of the intellectuals, have decided against this policy, expressing themselves not only in electoral repudiation but also in the development, in an organic form of compact groups who seek for the independent revolutionary class policy.

And within the workers states the power of the bureaucracy diminished constantly. Examples are the recent crisis among the writers and the recent informations according to which in the USSR the minutes of the CC of the Bolshevik party have been published referring to the discussion of the peace of Brest Litovsk in which are included the complete interventions of Trotsky demonstrating the revolutionary role played by Trotsky. In China the measures against the conservative tendencies in the army and in the government, the repression, attack, the criticism of conservative tendencies in literature, in the theatre, in cinema in general, the appeal to the soldiers to constitute themselves in political control in confrontation with the commanders, the constant appeal to put in the first place the political and revolutionary action of the party in confrontation with the army, the insistence on the fact that the army must be submitted to the struggle for socialism, that what decides is revolutionary policy and not military action, that military action must stand in the service of the revolutionary policy; all this discussion in China reflects not an alternative discussion between the revolutionary and conservative wing but the fact that the Chinese revolution cannot advance if it does not resolve this problem. The Chinese revolution is facing an obstacle which is not the internal struggle. The internal struggle is the reflection of external conflicts, of the fact that the Chinese revolution in order to sustain must progress. And to progress it must confront not only the soviet bureaucracy but it must overthrow capitalism because it is not possible for China, to make an alliance with imperialism. It is not possible. The internal struggle in China reflects the limit to which they can pursue the possibility of conciliation of the Chinese revolution with the soviet bureaucracy and world imperialism. There is no more possibility for this conciliation. Not because the Chinese see that capitalism is advancing towards war, but because the economic, financial, social and political conciliation with world capitalism has reached its limit. There are no elements on which this conciliation can be based.

And it is thus that this development in Cuba, in Latin America, the development of the struggle of the masses in Europe which we have analysed makes capitalism feel that it is encircled, that the world revolution is surrounding it and even if it can economically still resist, it feels that socially the revolution cancels this.

The attitude of Johnson who is going to discuss with Ky shows this. The President of the United States, the President of American imperialism which has the military and economic power sufficiently to attempt the conquest of the world, to seek to maintain itself on its feet continuing to destroy the world, has to go to discuss with a general and with the Pentagon. There are the enormous contradictions of American imperialism which can no longer impose on the army the political conclusions the political direction of imperialism. The sector of the army by means of the dominion of arms decides, no longer the financial or economic circles, but the army. This is because American imperialism feels that it is not competition, it is not its financial capacity which maintains it, but atomic arms and is drawing conclusions to that end.

In this sense the attitude of Fidel Castro is criminal, absolutely criminal and counter revolutionary attitude (he attacks the Chinese and accuses them

of being agents of imperialism.) It is a counter revolutionary action. The vital centre, essential centre of the world revolution is the Chinese. It is not only the vital centre for economic, geographic, military reasons but because the Chinese revolution is progressing. He cannot attack the Chinese for being the agents of imperialism. It is mad and criminal, just when the Chinese are progressing towards the political revolution. In the phase when the Chinese did not have the present policy of progress towards the socialist revolution, the Cubans supported them. When the Chinese are progressing towards socialist democracy the Cubans are attacking them, accusing them of being agents of imperialism. It is the Cubans who have remained behind, and it is the Chinese who are advancing. Even if the Chinese have not arrived at soviets, this will lead them inevitably to soviets.

The crisis of growth of the leadership of the world revolution in the totality of situations is expressed harmonically centralised in the struggle of the Chinese CP against the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no possibility of isolating oneself from this struggle. It is defining the course of history. And capitalism seeks desperately not to disappear. And our International, the IV International must intervene and participate with all its force in this crisis. It is already intervening. Our sections must intervene there constantly. The IV International is part of all this crisis and intervenes there constantly. Neither the war or the revolution are independent or separate from this process. War and revolution are the result of this process. It is necessary to intervene actively. It is necessary to lean on these points of support as the MR13 November of Guatemala, on the points of support in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe to intervene in this process, to impel the masses and seek to make the united front between the revolutionary tendencies in every part of the world. This is what will define this part of history.

THE SITUATION ESCAPES FROM THE CONTROL OF THE BUREAUCRACY

This crisis of growth of the world revolution shows that the revolution is advancing constantly and seeks contact between its various sectors.

We emphasise the importance and the significance of the attack of Fidel Castro on the Chinese. It means indirectly, it shows, that the Cuban masses cannot be contained—as cannot the soviet masses—with economic successes, with declarations, with formulas, with tricontinental meetings with eulogies of the communist parties. The masses are maturing more rapidly than all the economic progress which can be made. The masses of the Soviet Union, of Cuba of Vietnam progress, mature politically, raise their decision much more rapidly and powerfully than all the progress of science and soviet technology. The masses of the world are not simply content with the success of the soviet missile which has arrived on the moon. The masses have saluted it, are not content with it, they see there, a defeat of capitalism but they do not remain satisfied with it. The masses of South Vietnam, at the same time that they salute the Soviet spaceship on the moon continue to fight against imperialism. They believe that this is the struggle which will overthrow imperialism not the spaceship on the moon. They believe that it is more important to arm to overthrow imperialism than all the spaceships on earth.

We salute the soviet spaceship which has reached the moon; it indicates a powerful technical scientific progress of the workers state compared with the capitalist countries but it is not this which will decide the course of history. It weighs on the team of scientists of imperialism, demoralises them, disorganises them because they feel themselves inferior to the workers state; it weighs morally on them and exercises on them power of enormous attraction. All this is valid and correct. But it is not this which will decide the course of history. If there was before us a perspective of a thousand years it would have an enormous importance but as the perspectives are very short and the

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The Crisis in the Chinese Party and Government Will Promote the Development of the Socialist World Revolution (First Part) *J. Posadas*

THE publication of the statement of the Chinese, criticizing the Army, shows that the struggle in China is very profound. Very, very profound. It could only come to light at a certain stage of the struggle, but because there is also a decision to dispose of the right wing! The decision is already made! When it becomes public, it is because they are turning, in a worldwide scale, to the vanguard of the workers' movement, to the communist vanguard, also to the trotskysts. They are turning to them, so that the working classes, in their discussions, in their public life, may join them, to overthrow the right, the conservative wing of the Chinese revolution. That is conclusive. There is no place for any other interpretation. It does not become public unless there is a decision made! Although there is no direct statement from the Chinese leaders. Since it has been made public it is because it is meant to be public. It has leaked out, found a way out, in spite of the private agreements to keep it covered up, and in spite also of the reluctance of the Chinese Communist Party to appear publicly.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CHINESE LEADERSHIP SHOULD REST ON THE MASSES

This shows clearly too that the organization, activity and extension of the militia, the major importance they are giving to the formation of the militia, is part of this struggle; that is, that the army should also depend on the militia, that the militia should exercise influence on the army. The existence of the militia, much more than the regular army, shows that the revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is preparing for a world revolutionary leadership in a short term, and, on the way to this. Disposing of or conquering the conservative tendency in the army, that opposes their struggle. Let us remember that Mao-Tse tung has just stated that children should participate in politics, that children, already at six, seven years, should intervene in the cells where their parents work, discuss and live! This amounts to carrying over to the family the crisis in progress. It is a very indirect way of having the whole of the Chinese population participate in a soviet pattern. It is not the soviet organization, but a type of soviet operation, tending to achieve a soviet operation. It is limited, decentralized, not the proper organization, limiting consequently the Chinese people's ability to influence. But the tendency to allow them is there in the meanwhile. Fidel Castro calls for referenda, and plants fifty military men in the Central Committee. This is one of the reasons why this fellow raged against our analysis on this measure.

MANIFESTO OF THE ENLARGED MEETING OF THE I.S. OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (Continued from page 2)

decision advances as happens in South Vietnam, the preoccupation of the leadership of the workers states must be that of resolving in a short time the problem of the liquidation of imperialism. In consequence they must pre-occupy themselves with arming the masses of the world, with helping them in a United Front to smash capitalism. Then they can go to the moon. It is necessary to resolve the essential problem: who is to control the planet Earth. Even if the moon has importance as a military base it is still too distant for it to be turned into a military base. And the strength to prepare the missile which means an enormous quantity of money and of scientists, of time, makes use forces which are not dedicated to the preparation of political and military armaments for the masses of the world.

This crisis of growth of the colonial revolution still lacks a centre. The centre of crisis of growth is lacking because the Chinese have no programme. The IV International has a programme but not the material force thus the crisis of growth.

The Chinese attack the soviets, attack the leadership but in an intermittent form not organically not leaning on a programme and conscious objectives. They do not make this attack, they do not combat the soviet bureaucracy they do not combat the conciliation of the soviet bureaucracy with world capitalism by proposing the programme of the socialist revolution and appealing to the socialist revolution.

They do not make an appeal to the soviet masses to rise because the Chinese themselves are weak, they have no solid base to do this. The call which they must make to the soviet masses to invite them to intervene is "Reorganise the Soviets! Return to the soviets!". The Chinese cannot make an appeal for these. They are inhibited from making this appeal because they themselves have not got soviets and every appeal to the soviet masses has repercussions within China itself.

But the process advances, gains areas, progresses and acquires world authority; the internal struggle of the Chinese in-

There are fifty military men in the Central Committee, while the Cuban people do not live politically, while there is no independence in the unions, while only the leadership resolves political measures, and the rest have to obey. And those who criticize or oppose, with a revolutionary policy, as the trotskysts, are accused of being agents of imperialism. In China, the participation of children shows that they sense the necessity to lean on public opinion. On the people, on the popular base. And, in China, the popular base are the people. The masses. And the intervention of the children is meant to increase the social weight from below, by educating in socialist consciousness.

This is not the genuine way to act. The Soviet is the genuine way. But the fact that the whole of the people do take part, is a kind of preparing for the soviets. On account of the timidity, the insecurity of the Chinese, their lack of ideological certainty, but also on account of the internal trouble, the revolutionary leadership has not yet attained the authority and decision necessary to impose the soviets. But shortly after this the soviets will be proposed, or a higher form than the present one. The paths are available. The soldiers in the army are partisans of the Communist Party, Not soldiers. Neither in U.S.S.R. nor in Cuba is it like this. There they are soldiers as in the capitalist system, obeying commands. In the early times of the U.S.S.R. with Lenin and Trotsky, the soldier obeyed the Communist Party, and, as in the factory, the field or the

workshop, he was a partisan and imposed the line of the Party. Thus it was in the Army, because there were no class enemies. But now there is the bureaucrat, the military leader, the hierarchy, which is the conservative pattern, the pattern assumed by the resistance, the opposition, the conservative interests. The soldier remained a partisan. This is not the case in Cuba. In Cuba he is a soldier, and cuts away the powerful possibility of the Cuban people to intervene.

In China the militiamen and those who are doing military service, in a limited way yet, have the right to impose on their commanding officers, as well as the duty, the line of the Party, arguing with them, opposing them, criticizing and refusing to obey those orders which are against the interest of the Party. The elimination of rank, salutes, and commands, does not efface the differentiation of responsibilities and leaders. As in the Party, the existence of leading members and partisan members is not annulled. There is no rank. There is the experience, the respect, the centralized life, running in accordance with the political line, the line, the programme, thence the respect. Nobody wins respect by force. That is what the Soviets accomplished in 1917; Lenin and Trotsky. In the revolutionary army, it is the respect of the political line, the political authority, that commands. That is what commands; the military function is secondary to the other. The army is getting ready to overthrow capitalism, and it is the masses who build socialism. That is under way in China in a limited and timid way, owing above all to the ideological timidity of Mao-Tse tung's leadership, to the lack of a marxist development in China, as well as to the prevailing difficulties. That is how the Chinese leadership arose, and a wing wants to detach itself from those who formerly united to oust Chiang-Kai shek, to oppose imperialism; and this wing has become conservative.

Part of the certainty of the Chinese, limited, though it is going towards the soviets, lies in the fact that the "13th of November Guerilla Movement" of Guatemala, takes up the programme of socialist revolution, goes ahead and wins and Fidel Castro cannot defeat them! That is part of the certainty of the Chinese. The Chinese sense the influence of the revolution. They see Guatemala. They do not say, or comment on it, evidently, or broadcast it. Nor do they speak against the "13th of November" by radio, but that is because there is an internal struggle. We are sure that within three or four months they will be mentioning the 13th of November through the Chinese radio, as the struggle wins on the left, on the revolutionary position, winning confidence and harmonizing the revolutionary position.

That is part of the Sino-soviet struggle. This shows that the Chinese in a short time, will be obliged, not only to give their policy wider scope, to expand it throughout the world, but to have the masses participate in it. We shall see it in no long time. Provided there is no atomic warfare within one or two years, this will be unavoidable, utterly unavoidable. The process of sovietization in China is unavoidable, because it is the logical, organic way for the revolutionary wing of the Chinese to have the people's support. This public knowledge of the internal struggle in China is only a very distant reflex of what is happening. It also shows that the Chinese people are living a highly active revolutionary life. And that active revolutionary life has not yet reflected itself externally, because the revolutionary wing will not dare yet to take the jump. Whereas this is the time! Let the Chinese launch the appeal.

The statement by the Chinese Army, now it has come to light, reveals that by this time the pressures, the quality of struggle and discussions are very high and are brought about by the sharpening of the fight in Vietnam. This Vietnam crisis brings to a head the internal struggle which had till now been repressed. The yankees launched this campaign, seeking the support of the soviet bureaucracy. But the soviet bureaucracy in their turn, as we had said, could not join the yankees, publicly. They went to Hanoi to increase aid, but at the same time to try and apply pressure, on the basis that the yankees would go farther later on, that is, bomb Hanoi. The concentration of troops shows that it will happen sooner or later. The preparations of the Chinese to send volunteers to Hanoi is a warning to imperialism. Imperialism has failed in its stratum to snare a sector of the Vietcong and South Vietnam into a discussion. A revival of the internal struggle is to come. The yankees, as we have said, are seeking for agreements with a sector of the Vietcong and North Vietnam, as well as with the soviet bureaucracy, and these also have an alliance with a

sector of the Chinese army. But the Chinese army is the strongest spot for them to meet with resistance, and the weakest for the soviet bureaucracy to find support. And the Vietnam crisis has produced, has been and is a dominant centre in the crisis of the Chinese Communist Party. Of a positive importance because Vietnam is exactly the weakest point for a development of the right, because the whole of the Chinese people see it, they see the permanence of the yankee army, which will become the invader of China. And it is the strongest side of the revolutionary tendency. That is why we have referred to the slowness and timidity of reaction in Mao-Tse tung. It is a timid attitude, because he would have an immense advantage. It is one thing the Congo or Cuba, which are far away. But there in Vietnam the Chinese masses have imperialism close by, as in the whole of Asia. On this account, the Vietnam crisis is one of the essential factors in the crisis and internal struggle in the Chinese Communist Party and the progress of the revolutionary wing. It is to be expected that in a short while the Chinese will be calling for, in a direct not indirect, way, a struggle against the Communist Party of U.S.S.R. They are appealing now, but with very indirect calls "against modern revisionism" against conciliation, against alliance with imperialism. They call forth the communist masses of the world, but timidly, very weakly. Timidly and weakly because they do not advance a programme. The basis of the call, if it is not made through its programme, is weak, without a revolutionary objective. Instead, they appeal "against modern revisionism", "against coexistence", which they thought possible not long ago. But not now: now it is nowhere possible. The discussion in the Tri-continental was like that. They voted against peaceful coexistence, which is a great advancement. The vote of the Chinese is a change, not complete, because they no longer stress coexistence, but for a few cases, not as a line. Instead, they now advance and support the line that peaceful coexistences not possible. That struggle will push them in their internal struggle; to appeal to the communist parties. It will oblige them to seek for direct points of support; calling upon the communist parties to overthrow the rightist leaderships. That is the logic. As in other years, in the first crises of '62, when there was no actual break, but they were inevitably bound to break. At present, they are nearer, to that final break. Not a split of Workers' State with Workers' State, but of the Parties. This is the form, the appearance that the political revolution takes to-day.

THE SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE ACCELERATES THE CRISIS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

One aspect of this crisis, and its sharpness, which shows that in a very short time, one or two years, it will lead to a very serious conflict between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties, lies in the fact that the Chinese are obliged to pronounce themselves for coexistence or revolution. One proof of this situation, which is in process and will gather momentum is the statement from Longo, at the start of the Italian Communist Party's Congress, who, while attacking the Chinese says that we "shall be willing to do our utmost to prevent a split. We must unite." It is a statement which combines an attack on the Chinese and at the same time an appeal to remain united, and it expresses fear of the split. They see that they are approaching a break and that they will lose. They see that the base in the C.P.s. throughout the world is bound to join the revolution and not peaceful coexistence. This is their awful fear. We can appraise Longo's views in what he thinks of the agreement of world communism. In a rightist programme, he calls on the Christian Democrats to unite, and states that "we are willing and shall presently drop the slogan of 'atheists to seize power'; we shall not build an atheist state, but a state with religious freedom! we are against an atheist state." That is to say, he no longer thinks of a class state, representative of the interests of the exploited masses, but a state of conciliation with world capitalism.

It is a confirmation of all our analysis, that there is no ground for conciliation with the Chinese. There is no ground. On the contrary! This shows that in the leaderships of the world communist parties their adhesion to conciliation and their fear of the revolution asserts itself increasingly, whereas the Chinese are obliged to lean more on the revolution. They are two conceptions, The Chinese advance in their criticism

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The Crisis in the Chinese Party and Government

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of the conciliation policy. In the latest Tricontinental meeting, the Chinese, together with other delegations, voted against peaceful coexistence. That is of enormous consequence. They denounce publicly peaceful coexistence and call for revolution. Their calls are not through a programme. They are not objective. They do not address the masses of each country of the world, to seize power, with this programme, to organise militia, place production and property under state control and ownership, expropriate by force and without compensation occupy the factories, take the land, call the masses to carry out any task, demonstrations, meetings. The Chinese do not appeal for that. They oppose coexistence as a statement; the programme is lacking. But they will have to produce the programme on a short term, if they want to sustain that formulation. On this account, the statement of the Chinese is indicative of the development of the crisis that will shortly, in months or years, become public. It will be a public break. At present, there can be no break, no division between the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties, that will not be expressed in an elevation of this political revolution.

If the soviet bureaucracy breaks with China, they will promote the development of public tendencies in the U.S.S.R. trying to remain united to the Chinese Communist Party and carry on the revolution. Imperialism expects to draw advantages from the crisis of the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties. But it is in its turn conscious that it can draw but small advantage, very limited advantage, through peaceful coexistence, because the crisis will eventually favour the Chinese. There is no possibility that the crisis may carry the masses of the world with the Soviet bureaucracy. Impossible! The Soviet bureaucracy still expects to keep control of, or alliance with the Italian and French Communist Parties. It expects to. But the elections held recently in France show the existence of a vanguard that, after many years, pronounces itself publicly against the policy of the Communist Party. For the first time, after many years. It is a mistake of our French comrades not to understand this. It is an open rebellion against the leadership of the Communist Party, which shows that it will carry such political conclusion within the Communist Party. And it is the same, or more, in the Italian Communist Party. When the Italians Longo and Amendola, leaders of the Italian Communist Party take the same road, appealing to the Catholics, guaranteeing not to establish a proletarian state, but a state of conciliation with capitalism, they will promote the development of a revolutionary tendency. In France, the revolutionary tendency has already pronounced itself. There is a tendency 15% of the electorate, corresponding actually and truly to 12% of the Communist Party. It is very great. There is already a tendency. It pronounced itself, unanimously, in the country, through abstention, blank votes, annulled votes. That is the way to pronounce itself organically. It found the way to pronounce itself. That is in France. In Italy, it is the same. If, in the next election, the leadership of the Communist Party concludes an agreement with the Christian Democrats, the same phenomenon will occur again.

TO ORGANIZE REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES IN THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN FRANCE AND ITALY

There is in Italy the necessity for the tendency to have a public activity, one which can be made public. The proletarian vanguard in France and Italy will understand that such an attitude breaking even with the Communist Party, is neither divisionist nor superficial. They will understand that the means to address it or the whole of the Communist Party, publicly. They will not see it as a division or schism, but as a means, a resource they have adopted in order to be able to publicize, write carry out an activity allowing them besides to achieve political influence, within the Communist Party, it will prove more difficult. Not the whole of the opposition is to break, but a small group. Let them be recognized as partisans from without. Now it is different from Marty's time. To-day it will attain an enormous weight. It has already been shown that there is a revolutionary tendency in France, which has weight. It is the 15% that did not vote Mitterrand. And that tendency is communist or is turning to the communist influence. It is undoubtable that within that 15% there is a large number of socialist workers and intellectuals, socialist vanguard against class conciliation and for a class policy. It is united. To-day, as in France, Italy and anywhere in the world, opposition to class conciliation and struggle for a revolutionary class policy, unites the different sectors, communists, socialists, nationalists. For example, Indonesia. It unites them. The proof is, the division in Sukarno's national party. There are two publicly

clashing tendencies. One which favours the continuation of the alliance with the communists and the other against it. It is the expression of a tendency which has already been won by the communist influence, by the programme.

The Chinese find themselves in a most favourable situation. They would have an enormous support if they made public the programme of the socialist revolution and called for the programme of state control and property, expulsions of imperialism, of capitalism, struggle for the programme of expropriations without payment, distribution of land to the peasants, sliding scale of working hours, sliding scale of wages, workers' control, factory committees, planning of the economy, monopoly of foreign trade, unconditional support of the world revolution, socialist democracy, proletarian democracy, internal democracy for socialist and communist parties, and for the workers movement; discussing the programme of the revolution, the Chinese would have an enormous basis for support. To call publicly would have an immense echo. There is a situation infinitely more favourable than before; the elections in France are indicative of two conclusions. Capitalism in France appears weak, immensely weak, because the centre of capitalism is De Gaulle, who has lost influence and authority. But, at the same time that the weakness of the vital centre of capitalism has become evident, the proletariat has not been able to present itself, as a class. The petty-bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the working class have not seen their class expressing itself in opposition to capitalism. They have seen two bourgeois candidates, and in that sense it is a victory of capitalism. It is not a social victory, a revolutionary victory; it is a political victory of capitalism. Even when De Gaulle who is the centre loses strength, he is the only way for capitalism to sustain itself. When the proletariat fails to present itself, it has lost political authority. On that account, the attitude of the vanguard refusing to vote, presenting itself in opposition is of immense consequence; because it has maintained the basis of class authority, in the exploited classes of France. If a sector of the vanguard which refused to vote had not existed showing itself to be independent and accusing the party, it would have been an immense blow to the political authority of the class over the exploited masses of France. The attitude of the revolutionary vanguard has played the role of the revolutionary leadership. That is the support on which the Chinese should base themselves.

The Chinese should sense that they have there a direct force. But they will not be able to support themselves, if the Chinese go on discussing who is more or less Marxist-Leninist, who is more or less a conciliator. A programme is necessary, an appeal for this programme. Let them show it by doing so. The present attitude of the Chinese is part of an ascending process of the world crisis of the soviet bureaucracy and of capitalism. The crisis in the workers states does not come in the same way. It is an uneven and combined development. It develops in a many-sided way because the development of the revolution is uneven and combined. China is expressing the necessity of the workers states to unite and forge the way to a socialist life. That is the attitude of the Chinese. When the Chinese say "who commands; the Party or the Army?" it is way of asking, "Where are we going?", Conciliation with capitalism or the development towards socialism, that is the discussion, in substance. When they say that it is necessary to support Mao-Tse tung, not the army; it is the way of expressing the necessity to act with the party, the marxist-leninist teachings. But at the same time it has to be explained, to be realised in its proper perspective, that the works of Mao-Tse tung's do not correspond to the needs of today.

Today what is needed is the call to the masses of the world to seize power; to act in a united front with an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme; for the direct organisation of the militia; for the expropriation by force of capitalism, for the distribution of land to the peasantry; for the programme, in Europe. The sliding scale of salaries, of working hours, factory committees, opening of the books of the enterprises, not with the object of investigating their profits, but for the workers to take the factory in their hands. That is what they have to do. And the Chinese must appeal and organize for the workers to take the factories into their hands, the lands, the entire country into their hands, and establish the Government of the Workers and Peasants. The appeal of the Chinese will sharpen the crisis of the Communist Parties.

We repeat, the crisis in the Communist Parties has attained its peak, and at the same time its depth, on account of the existing pressures, and in-

tensity, on account of the kind of discussion in progress, on account of the attitude shown by 15% of the electorate in France, of which the proletarian percentage is in opposition to the capitalist candidacy, supported by the Communist Party. There is the crisis. That is ten thousand times more important than all the argument and appeal around who is more marxist-leninist. It is necessary to intervene in this crisis! The Chinese must intervene directly! They have nothing to lose, but everything to win. They will estrange no supporters but will increase them.

THE TIMID POLICY OF THE CHINESE AND THE NECESSITY OF AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST WORLD UNITED FRONT

If they are to influence the soviet base, part of the soviet army, and the soviet masses, they must carry out this struggle. They will have an immense influence. We trotskysts call upon the Chinese to intervene in a direct way; to an alliance with the Trotskyists, to a discussion. The Fourth International calls upon the Chinese to publicize all this discussion, all the commercial secrets, all the discussions with the soviet bureaucracy, with the capitalist countries. Everything public! Out with secret diplomacy! And make a direct call on the masses of the world, for a World United Front to overthrow capitalism and imperialism. But not as a formulation or a slogan, but as a programme, the programme to expropriate the factories without compensation, expropriate the land without compensation, distribute the land as needed, the remaining lands to be nationalized. Monopoly of foreign trade, SOVIETS, COMMUNES; explain what the communes are, how they resolved the problems of the communes; make a discussion for establishing the soviets, as in the USSR up to 1924; launch a worldwide agitation about the communes, show the advantages of the communes, their importance.

Explain to the world about the communes. Explain to the masses of the world the enormous efficiency and importance of the communes; their weight in the development of the Workers' States and the countries entering the revolution, for resolving all the problems of cultural-economic backwardness and diminishing differences between town and country. For attracting and organizing the socialist conscience of peasantry in a short historical time, to bring to the peasant masses of the world the strength of socialism. The peasant masses of the world are already socialist, they have been already won by the revolution. They already accept revolution and socialism too. The masses of the most backward countries of the world, who are peasant, join the revolution immediately. They seize the land and there is no struggle for the distribution of the lands. There is a struggle for the organization of production. It is the influence of the programme of the proletariat! More numerous layers of the world, layers of the petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry, are won to the proletarian point of view. They work as petty-bourgeois and peasant leadership, but their programme, policy and objectives are proletarian, because they respond to the programme of the Proletarian Revolution: expulsion of imperialism and capitalism, civil war, arms in hand, expropriation of property, nationalisation without compensation, expropriation, etc. This is the proletarian programme. It is the programme of the Socialist Revolution, functioning with elimination of private property. All these peasant and petty-bourgeois sectors which are being gained to the revolution, as in Indonesia, have brought to the front page the struggle for disposing of capitalism, of what remains of it. This way of acting is not capitalist, it is that of a workers' state. The Chinese must see to it that this is known the world over. In Indonesia, the Chinese should call forth the masses and the Communist Party directly. The way out of the Sino-soviet crisis—which is the crisis of the soviet bureaucracy, who support peaceful coexistence—is that the revolutionary programme of the Chinese—timid, irregular, inconsistent,—should, for deciding in favour of the revolution, support the revolutionary tendencies of the Chinese Communist Party to displace from power and overcome the conservative wings of the army, the economy, the Party's leadership and literature. The Chinese should appeal to the masses of the world, the Communist Parties, to intervene supporting openly social mobilization, and in a United Front with Soekarno. Openly, now, they should form a United Front with Soekarno for overthrowing the leaders of the army, and call the masses to intervene, on the basis of the programme against imperialism and for land expropriation. That is what they should do. There is already crisis in Soekarno's Party. Thousands of demonstrators of Soekarno's Party, the Indonesian National Party, have clashed, one sector supporting the measures

against the communists, the other against the measures and for the alliance with the communists. There is the crisis. One cannot take the measures back to the starting point. From now on, they have to displace the military power. The Chinese must intervene.

THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY ALLIES ITSELF WITH IMPERIALISM. THE CHINESE SHOULD LEAN ON THE MASSES OF THE WORLD.

One of the strong points for the Soviet Bureaucracy is the status quo, the conciliation and situation in Indonesia. The Chinese must intervene. There is no Sino-Soviet dispute, but a dispute on World Revolution or Peaceful Coexistence. It is the expressed wish in the Sino-Soviet crisis, in Longo's attitude at the Italian Communist Party's Congress, in Indonesia, in the positions of the French Communist Party and in the Tri-continental conference. The Chinese have to intervene openly. The basis for intervention is the programme of the revolution. Call for the programme of

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OUR PROGRAMME

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

The Crisis In The Chinese Party And Government

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therevolution, that is the pivot for attracting the rest of the masses of the world to its support.

The Fourth International supports unconditionally such struggle. It supports all of the progressive decisions of the Chinese Communist Party and government against the whole conservative wing of the Chinese army, against the whole conservative wing who intend to oppose the army's strength to the We support unconditionally the struggle of the revolutionary sector in China against the army's conservative wing. But at the same time we object to and criticize their limitation in this struggle, a limitation that prolongs the life of these reactionary and conservative sectors. We call upon them to intervene with all their weight and strength, which means to call upon the masses of the world to seize power, that is, to formulate the programme of the revolution as stated above, and quickly dispose of the problem of the conservative wing in China. This will undoubtedly speed up, precipitate imperialism to launch a war. But it is bound to do so, sooner or later, anyway. While, on the other hand, such an attitude of the Chinese will oblige imperialism to enter a war, that is the revolution, war in the worst conditions for them, because imperialism seeks to enter counter-revolution in a climate of quietude, of passivity. There is the preventive war as we propose it. It is preventive war, to develop, to call forth the masses to seize power, to intervene directly. When imperialism declares war, it will last three minutes. The proof that capitalism senses this measure, as imminent, is the recent statement by McNamara, who has just said that in a few years they will dispose of China and the USSR. When they make it public, what they mean in fact is "stop", they are admitting their own weakness. It is necessary to intervene now, immediately. That is the human viewpoint, the viewpoint of the human historical interests, to shorten, lessen the losses and havoc that imperialism is going to cause. It is the strongest and consistent way for humanity. To do it now! ...

The Yankees are getting ready in Vietnam, to that end. The offensive of the Yankees is not aimed at Vietnam, it is aimed at checking the progress of the Chinese revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy is interested in them doing so, but they cannot consent to an invasion of China. They would welcome, however, the checking of China. The aggravation of the Sino-soviet conflict makes the soviet bureaucracy feel that they are losing advantages, world support. And it suits them to check the Chinese. The interest of the Soviet bureaucracy is its own bureaucratic, conservative interest. While they are not interested in minding the Workers' State, in its elimination, their bureaucratic interest is not homogeneous. They cannot be homogeneous, harmonious in their own behalf, but they have no consistent, direct interests, to express the interest of the Workers' State. Consequently, they constantly endanger China's interests. So the bureaucracy goes limp and before being destroyed on account of being unable to support imperialism openly, it will assume an attitude of passivity of restraint of discussion, which will benefit imperialism. The newspapers have reported recently that the tour of Breshnev and Koshygin through Asia and the Communist Parties of Europe, and the interviews with Poland and Czechoslovakia, as well as the quarrel and discussion between the different communists of Europe and the URSS, shows that the Soviet bureaucracy is either preparing a way out, for China and Vietnam to accept, or is getting ready to stop the offensive of imperialism and to stop the Chinese. We believe the second conclusion is correct. The Soviet bureaucracy is afraid that imperialism will go ahead. One proof of this is given by the 12,500 million dollars the Yankees have voted for sustaining an indefinite war. And not only against Vietnam, but also against China. They are getting ready for that. The Communist Parties of Central Europe have the ne-expressed their repudiation and pre-occupation, and the Soviet bureaucracy senses the necessity to respond to that. But it cannot respond together with the Chinese. It intends to respond together with the Communist Parties of Central Europe and those of the Warsaw agreement, for containing, threatening, pressuring imperialism, with the likely result that Vietnam can bring forth the war.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OR SOCIALIST WORLD REVOLUTION

The Fourth International calls on the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to lean on the advance, the ascendancy of world revolution and the organisms that express it. In Latin America there are the guerillas of the 13th of November in Guatemala. They should call for the masses to follow the example of the 13th of November. The internal struggle in China points to the action of the guerillas of the 13th of November, of the Fourth International all over the world. In a deliber-

ate way, in a combined and uneven way, the world revolution expresses itself on different levels. The highest of them is the Fourth International, the 13th of November. But the Chinese are following and marking a way, on the lines the IV International has been following for thirty years.

It is necessary that the revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Communist Party leans on the programme of the Socialist Revolution of the 13th of November, and calls to the rest of the Communist Parties to follow that programme.

After the Tricontinental Congress, Castro allied to the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy—not sold out as yet, but allied to—seeking for a support against the Chinese and the Fourth International, launched an infamous accusation, an infamous slander against the Fourth International and the 13th of November. But he did not lay open to discussion the programme of the 13th of November. He avoided, as every conciliator, centrist opportunist, to pronounce himself on the programme and the policy that the 13th of November and the Trotskyists are carrying out. He tried to use his authority, which he once had won, to discredit, not only the 13th of November and the Fourth International, but also the programme of the 13th of November and the Trotskyists. He did not name it, he did not say "Down with the programme of the 13th of November and the Trotskyists", but "Down with that plague that is the Fourth International."

The programme of the Fourth International is the programme of the 13th of November; it is the programme adopted by the guerillas who fight and advance in almost the whole of Latin America; that are the Guerillas of MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) of Venezuela, of Peru; it is the programme of the Fourth International: weapons in hand, to overthrow the governments, pull down and destroy capitalism, place enterprises under state ownership, impose workers' control, factory committees, expropriate the land, monopoly of foreign commerce, united front with all the masses of the country, to overthrow capitalism; communes of Chinese type, soviets, socialist democracy, socialist democratic rights for the masses. That is the programme that the MIR is attempting to carry out, that the 13th of November is already carrying out, and the Peru guerillas are advancing, the guerillas who have been neither dissolved nor annihilated. They have eliminated some of their leaders, whom we pay homage through this article, in the name of the International. But the guerillas have not been annihilated thereby. They are reorganizing themselves in order to carry on the fight.

The unworthy, slanderous attitude of Fidel Castro was checked, he had not the courage to speak, to accuse the guerillas of MIR and Peru, who voted against peaceful coexistence. And they have the same programme as the Fourth International. In everything, save one or two limited points, where they call on the bourgeoisie—it is the programme of the Fourth International: expropriation of imperialism, armed struggle, overthrow imperialism in Guatemala, sliding scale of wages, nationalization of the land, of all the imperialist enterprises. Every bit is the programme of the Fourth International, of Trotskyism.

The Chinese comrades should understand that the prejudices, the limitations, the attacks, against the Trotskyists, show in last analysis their political an ideological weakness. Because there is no other way to attack the Trotskyists. They show the ignorance of who the Trotskyists are, of the programme Trotsky had. The Chinese comrades should think, seek support and alliance with the world revolution. They will receive no massive support. The Chinese comrades should understand that they will obtain no organized support in any mass movement of the world. That is excluded. But they will certainly be able to organize and lead in a short time, revolutionary tendencies in all the Communist Parties of the world, which, in the advance of the revolution, may assume its leadership. They are small groups. And the basis of these small groups is the communist ideological and programmatic certainty, that is, the policy and programme of the Fourth International. The basis of this programme is the understanding of the experience of the masses, who have already reached the socialist level, and the peasants of the world, who jump directly to socialist revolution. It is the understanding of this situation where the Chinese comrades should look for support, to organize the groups and tendencies fighting for this programme. And the Trotskyists, the 13th of November fight for this programme. The MIR of Venezuela fights for this programme, and so does the MIR of Peru. That experience is the support, the point of support for the Chinese, preparing leaderships on a world scale for waging an open struggle against the soviet bureaucracy, which they inevitably will have to do. The Chinese cannot expect to re-

solve the struggle against the soviets counting on the support of the soviet army. The soviet army, the officers, the young cadres and the old soviet military men who continue to support and be faithful to the socialist revolution will not feel encouraged if they see the Chinese intervening as up to now, conciliatory, attacking the Trotskyists, hiding the programme of the socialist revolution. But the soviet army, its young cadres, the soviet masses will feel encouraged to intervene when they see the Chinese intervene and call openly to socialist world revolution. The soviet masses are expecting it.

NEITHER IMPERIALISM NOR THE BUREAUCRACY HAVE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The new proposals of the soviet bureaucracy for economic reforms, lead to capitalism. The soviet bureaucracy is trying to contain this way, and has no perspectives. The development of the world crisis does not favour the soviet bureaucracy, nor gives them points of support for their retrogression; on the contrary, nor from a military standpoint. The revolution advances continually. The Chinese should call on the masses of the world for a united front, for the programme to overthrow imperialism and capitalism: to determine for each country the objective programme for that country. The soviet masses will feel armed and encouraged to intervene. The masses of the Communist Parties of Italy and France will feel encouraged to intervene. The proletarian vanguard in France rebelled against the alliance with capitalism; that is the verdict of the French proletarian vanguard. They do not support the Chinese because they do not see them consistent, decided to overthrow capitalism. It is necessary to call on the masses of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, to a United Front for overthrowing capitalism. It is necessary to call on the masses, the petty-bourgeois leaderships, the leaderships of these countries, but agitating the masses at the same time. That is the way for the solution of the struggle against the soviet bureaucracy, which must be resolved, not through direct discussion amongst them, but by calling the masses to intervene on all sides, as the party of the proletariat, as the Chinese, for conquering, for crushing Chiang-Kai shek and imperialism, call on the masses of all China and of the whole world. What is in discussion is not only the dispute between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union, but the course of world revolution and mankind's history. The course of mankind depends, on the last analysis, on the historical outcome of this discussion.

Yankee imperialism has no historical strength; its boast that it has atomic weapons to destroy China and the URSS will choke it. Weapons do not decide. The Chinese now say that it is not the weapons that decide, but the Party, that is, the masses, the revolutionary will of the masses. That is the thought of Lenin, of Trotsky, of the Fourth International who, long before the Chinese, embarked in this fight, when the Chinese still proposed peaceful coexistence as a centre. The Trotskyists criticized, fought coexistence and the position of the Chinese, to win, influence and convince them that the solution is not peaceful coexistence, that atomic weapons do not decide the course of history, but it is revolution that decides history. As necessity is the product of social relationship and social progress, which determines the future of mankind, society will develop on that basis. And society means the will of the masses of the world, who are more powerful than all nuclear weapons. Nuclear bombs destroy, they do not build, do not decide. Capitalism has no strength, it has lost all its historical authority. The Chinese, in an indirect way, confirm the position the conclusion of the Fourth International expounded very long ago: namely that the consciousness of mankind is communist. The masses are convinced of the necessity of communism. They are already convinced. Now the Chinese reach that conclusion. We Trotskyists did so many years ago. On that should the Chinese lean for the United Front with the Fourth International.

THE UNITED FRONT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL WITH THE CHINESE COMRADES WILL ABBREVIATE HISTORICAL TIME

The benefits to be drawn by the masses and world revolution from an alliance and United Front with the Trotskyists will be immense. The social, organic weight of the Trotskyists is small but their political authority is immense. Where the Chinese have not been able to develop, the Trotskyists have developed. With all the apparatus, the Chinese comrades have not been able to build up a national movement in Italy, and the Trotskyists have one. They have nine regionals, intervene in the PSFUP, in the C.P. The ideas and policy of Trotskyism travel through Europe and are increasingly taken up by papers and magazines. The Chinese comrades should lean on that. With all their apparatus, all their strength, influence and money, they have not been able to organize

a movement, because the movement is organized through the revolutionary programme, methods and fight. And the Chinese call for the overthrow of imperialism using methods of conciliation with imperialism. In each country, the Chinese make alliances with sectors linked with imperialism. They do not call for the overthrow of capitalism in each country.

The Chinese comrades have to draw the conclusion that, through their inconsistent, timid, irresolute policy, their prejudices, which show their uncertainty, they are allowing historical time in favour of imperialism, capitalism and the soviet bureaucracy.

When they fail to call on the masses of the world to fight for the programme of socialist revolution, when failing to appeal to each country, at each moment and stage, when they do not ally themselves to revolutionary tendencies, they allow bureaucracy to sustain itself. A United Front of the Chinese, in Italy, France, Belgium, throughout the world, with the Trotskyists, will give them strength, the strength of the Workers' State, the influence of the Workers' State, the precision of the programme. The objectivity of the programme is its strength.

The pro-Chinese Communist Parties, the pro-Chinese groups, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, should understand, should raise themselves to this experience and this conclusion. They should accept this United Front with the Fourth International, because it will increase immensely the fighting capacity of the Chinese revolution, of the world proletariat.

The power of the Chinese Workers' State, its political, military and social power, has not allowed it to organize, either in France nor in Italy, even currents, counting on powerful Communist Parties as it does. There are currents which dissolve themselves too often. There are crises every week. Crises in those groups, and none of them becomes stabilized. The cause is not the quarrel in itself, but the non-existence of a unifying programme. There being no revolutionary programme, the struggle is waged by desperate, reformist petty-bourgeois; some of them less, some others more reformist and conciliatory with capitalism than the Soviet bureaucracy. And this will go on, while the Chinese Communist Party do not call for proletarian revolution, for the programme of social revolution.

It is enough to observe the necessity waited and watched; they did not of the proletarian revolution, the experience shown by Guatemala, of the 13th of November, to appraise the power of Trotskyism. Fidel Castro attempted, on behalf of soviet bureaucracy, to smash the programme of the social revolution in Guatemala. He tried to do so in the Tricontinental Congress. He praised Turcios there, he selected the cadres. In Latin America, where he could manage it, there were only his direct agents. He had to accept, grudgingly, the existence of groups which on account of their guerrilla nature, such as the MIR of Peru and Venezuela, had no affinity with them.

Fidel Castro attempted to carry out, at the Tricontinental Congress, the programme of conciliation with capitalism. That was his intention. It was soviet bureaucracy that he was serving; he was the agent of soviet bureaucracy. The accusation against the Trotskyists, the Chinese, the attack against the Chinese, was used at that time to serve the bureaucratic interests of peaceful coexistence. But the rebuff he has had, the non-acceptance is reflected in the fact that he was not able to build up a current in the Congress. Turcios, this agent of the Cuban Communist Party, and of the soviet bureaucracy, has not been able even through Fidel Castro's figure and influence, as well as that of the Workers' State, to make the Congress admit him as a representative of Guatemalan revolution and condemn the 13th of November. He has not had the strength to do so, has been unable to succeed, has met with resistance. The Chinese comrades should appraise that failure. He is rather clever at manoeuvring, the proof is what he did to Guevara. And now, his shameless and miserable task is to hide the murder of Guevara, no matter how Guevara was murdered. Be it politically, the fact is that he has been murdered. The elimination of Guevara from the fight is murder; that has no justification. Guevara only justifies himself as a revolutionary. And when they eliminate him, it is murder. Castro stands responsible for him. History and the masses will hold him responsible. All in his present attitude is directed to hide, to justify, to try to implicate the Cuban and the world masses in the falsehood, using the authority he had previously won. But he did not secure Turcios' acceptance by the Tricontinental Congress, nor the condemnation of the 13th of November. It is evidently the strength of the revolution what has not allowed it.

The Military Coup In Ghana Emphasises The Crisis Of The Revolutionary Leadership In Africa

THE army coup in Ghana is another example of the process which began with the overthrow of Ben Bella. All those leaders like Ben Bella, Sukarno or Nkrumah who believed it was possible to gradually and quietly replace capitalism and imperialism without basing themselves on the masses, have been thrown out by military coups. It is a demonstration of the fact that the condition on which they based their regime i.e. peaceful coexistence between imperialism and the workers states, has come to an end.

In Ghana since independence there has been a gradual administrative process of growth of the state owned sector, for example in 1956 61.5% of investment was in private hands while in 1962 this had fallen to 48.5%. The Nkrumah government was planning to slowly buy out imperialist enterprises and had a perspective of years and years of peaceful development during which time Ghana would progress steadily towards Nkrumah's personal brand of 'Socialism'. But imperialism had other ideas and as the IV International has analysed, if the government does not base itself on the masses, on their armed strength in mi-

litias and in their political participation deciding all the problems of the economy, it will leave the field open for the intervention of those sectors in the army, in the administration linked to the local landowners and capitalists and to world imperialism, who wish to stop the progress of the revolution or to push it back. This is exactly what has occurred in Ghana where the 'National Liberation Council' has said it will review all state corporations and that some will be handed back to private enterprise; it has expelled all the Russians and Chinese technicians and appealed to the west for financial aid. There can be no doubt that imperialism played some part in the coup and they are obviously relieved to see a military apparatus in control of the situation.

But now the 'National Liberation Council' has taken power what will they be able to do? There is no possibility of a capitalist way forward for Ghana or any other of the underdeveloped countries; there will not be a significant amount of western 'aid', and the problem of Ghana's one crop economy, cocoa which has fallen in price from £476 a ton in 1954 to £35 last year cannot be solved while Ghana is tied to the world capitalist market. Because of all this the economic crisis of Ghana will continue to deepen. The military ruling clique which has absolutely no social support in Ghana, will quickly become rent by internal crises (as in the Boumedienne team in Algeria) because of its lack of strength to carry out the reactionary policy which it desires.

Nkrumah has been to Guinea to rally support for his own reinstatement as leader of Ghana, and there has been some vague talk of a military intervention from Guinea even though it has no common border with Ghana. The military coup has been a great blow at Sekou Toure of Guinea and Mobido

Keita of Mali who are trying to pursue the same policy as Nkrumah. These people feel insecure and threatened by imperialism, but they have no force to oppose to the army and the reactionary sectors save that of the masses and they are frightened to base themselves on this strength.

Up till now the masses of Ghana have not demonstrated in their thousands against Nkrumah's overthrow not through fear of the army but because they do not feel themselves united with Nkrumah, but they will act when the military clique tries to solve the economic crisis at their expense or if they attack the gains of the Ghana revolution. Nkrumah's appeals to the masses to overthrow the regime will tend to encourage them but they will do this by their own methods (the general strike, workers and peasant militia) and for their own class objectives, not for the return of Nkrumah.

The removal of Nkrumah is yet another example of the failure of the opportunist policies of the Chinese leadership. All their diplomatic games of alliances with petit bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists has come to nothing. On the very day that they receive Nkrumah in Peking the military aire overthrowing him. This latest failure will inevitably strengthen the tendency in the Chinese leadership which wants to go forward against imperialism basing itself on the masses and the programme of the socialist revolution.

With the end of peaceful co-existence there is a polarisation of the forces for and against the socialist revolution. The people who tried to steer a middle peaceful course have been or will be crushed. Nkrumah is a victim of this process, but within the Ghana masses as with all masses of the world, the process towards the solving of the crisis of revolutionary leadership will be

accelerated.

The events in Ghana take place against the wholesale crisis of the African revolution. The collapse of the apparently stable pro imperialist government in Nigeria, and the process leading to the development of a potentially revolutionary opposition in Kenya show that whatever military coups may happen the volcanic fires of the revolutionary process cannot be put out. It is true that the army in Nigeria tries to block the further advance of the masses and that the leadership of the opposition in Kenya is not the most coherent in the world, but these crises indicate the inability of either imperialism or the native bourgeois elements to stabilise a counter revolutionary regime.

The crisis over Rhodesia demonstrates the powerlessness of imperialism to arrive at a stable solution to the colonial revolution. It demonstrates again that the African revolution has enormous and immediate possibilities whether in Morocco or in the middle of the South African slave Empire itself. To take full advantage of this, it is necessary that the Chinese leadership in particular sends in full military and technical aid and that above all it puts forward throughout the length and breadth of Africa the demand for the formation of militias with the programme of land to the peasants, communes expropriation of all imperialist and capitalist properties, workers control, for the United Socialist States of Africa.

EDITORIAL FROM FRONT PAGE

pay for women has been voiced yet again, and the expected reply is as usual "the nation cannot afford it" that is capitalism cannot afford it, because it is involved in the preparation of the counter revolutionary war against the world masses.

All the events before and after the elections confirm our analysis that what sustains capitalism is not its own social, economic or financial strength but the lack of a centre and programme in the workers movement. The programme for this struggle must meet all the necessities of the struggle of the masses. It should include the following. All wages must rise with the cost of living and the cost of living index must be subject to the control of workers and housewives; a 35 hour week in all industries now; equal pay for equal work; all the profits of automation to the workers; a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living; workers control in all industries, nationalisation of all major industries, etc.

Capitalism is extraordinarily feeble. Its spokesmen are already fossils. They repeat the same useless slogans as though to exorcise the demon of reality. The vanguard militants must feel this profound weakness. Wilson cannot, dare not see further than the immediate crisis whatever it may happen to be. His much vaunted "pragmatism" merely testifies to a lack of any historic perspective. All the trade figures are examined in fear and trembling, so weak do the imperialists feel themselves to be. On the international plane there is no solution to the Rhodesia issue. South Africa's support to the Smith regime shows the enormous rifts opened up among the imperialists and every hour that passes without any solution in sight, lowers the prestige of imperialist authority, nationally and internationally.

It is necessary to take full advantage of the divided counsels, the uncertain strategy of capitalism as reflected in all the debates over the incomes policy. Militants must comprehend that the constant mobilisation of the masses demands the coordination of strikes to prepare a general strike. And only strong factory committees can ensure such a strike. If the masses do not find the appropriate programme and leadership, it allows capitalism breathing space and the possibility as the Italian bourgeoisie is seeking—of imposing, even if for only a short period before the war, a regime of intimidation of the masses.

Life of the Party

A group of party militants intervened with leaflets and the party paper in the commemoration of the 1916 Rising held by the Irish bourgeoisie in Dublin. The commemoration with its military parades reflected the fear of the Irish bourgeoisie that the Irish masses had not indeed forgotten 1916 and would shortly apply its lessons. In the atmosphere of intimidation our comrades were reviled by various rightist half wits and the

leaflets and papers of one comrade were ripped up, but workers gave our comrades a good reception. The intervention was well worthwhile and reveals quite certainly that there is an audience for the IV International in Ireland.

Other comrades intervened at the Easter March in London selling over 100 papers and entering into discussion with some of the more serious marchers.

APOLOGY TO OUR READERS

We apologise to our readers for the large number of errors in spelling, punctuation and also omissions in the last issue. The paper was brought out under conditions of great haste. Conditions for producing the paper are not ideal and we take this opportunity of apologising for previous issues where similar errors occurred.

World Trotskyist Press

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

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



No. 33

JUNE, 1966

SIXPENCE

ORGANISE THE GENERAL STRIKE FORWARD TO THE EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE

REPLY TO THE EMERGENCY POWERS REGULATIONS BY EXTENDING THE STRIKE TO ALL INDUSTRIES
AND BY APPEALING TO THE SAILORS

The seamen's strike, remarkable for its unity and the intransigence of its members, is a clear reflection of the increasing combativity and determination of the British masses to defend their class interests. It is a mark of the tremendous confidence of the working class, their refusal in any way to be intimidated by the attacks of the capitalist class headed now by the Labour government on the living standards of the masses. The seamen are acting as the vanguard of the class, they have already raised the struggle by their actions way beyond simply another wages dispute. They are challenging the incomes policy, the whole basic line of the capitalist class and to do this means to challenge the capitalist state, to pose in fact the problem of power. Capitalism may offer the doctors a fantastic salary—the bourgeoisie look after their own of course—but as a principle now it must try to block with all the means in its power the attempts of the masses to raise their living standards.

At some stage Wilson was bound to challenge the workers, directly. He has postponed it as long as he can, aided by the trade union bosses as happened over the railway strike. Now he still hopes by threats to browbeat the seamen, but as is characteristic of this stage in the declining fortunes of world imperialism and capitalism, he is not fighting from a position of real strength. The social support for capitalism is constantly weakening, even in this citadel of Imperialism. Furthermore the British workers inevitably become aware of the enormous power of the world revolution. They see the strikes of the New York transport workers. They become aware of the social struggles in Spain, Italy, France, Belgium. They see American imperialism incapable of defeating the Vietcong despite enormous military and financial resources at its command. And they witness the combativity of their own sectors whether in the car industry, transport, docks etc. Wilson says the seamen's strike is a challenge to the state. It is most certainly that. It opens the way to dual power and it should be sustained by the **General Strike Now**, if the masses are to gain the full benefit of the determination and initiative of the Seamen.

The seamen have in fact imposed themselves on their union leadership. Hogarth has not distinguished himself for militancy. On the contrary, he would have capitulated long ago to the government if he had been able to do so. Even now when he mutters about the struggle leading to a general strike, he is really trying to warn Wilson, but does not intend to prosecute the struggle to a finish. The seamen have always in the past found it difficult to impose their wishes on the leadership. As late as the early nineteen sixties the union could still block the reform movement and suppress pressure for strike action. It is significant that the last strike of the seamen was in 1911, also during the development of a pre revolutionary situation. That process was blocked by the first world war and the absence of a revolutionary leadership on a national and international plane. Today war cannot save the bourgeoisie or postpone the revolution. On the contrary, the war will be the revolution immediately.

The strike shows that fundamentally the basic economic demands of the masses at this stake cannot in any way be disassociated from the struggle for power. After all what do the seamen want? At the moment they

must work 56 hours to earn £14 a week, well below the standard of life of many British workers. Do they not belong to the lower paid workers for which the capitalist leaders of the Labour Party weep crocodile tears? Capitalism is trying to intimidate a smaller union, but it will only accelerate its own downfall.

The IV International and its British section have not only argued that the situation is ripening for the General Strike but that to guarantee that it is coordinated, that it is effective and that it is geared to the anti capitalist programme and the programme for workers power, it is essential that the workers co-ordinate all the factory committees (shop stewards committees) between industries. The union bosses are not interested in organising anything that utilises to the full the enormous social weight of the proletariat. They do not want the dockers to support the seamen. In fact as one seaman put it recently, the struggle of the seamen is the struggle of the whole British working class. It is essential that the workers develop their own organisations to the maximum and bypass the union officials; they already conduct most of their industrial disputes irrespective of the officials, now it is vital to co-ordinate all the struggle of the masses. Dockers, seamen, transport workers should have no hesitation in establishing contacts with miners, engineers, car workers, teachers. Leaflets explaining the necessity for the General Strike should be distributed in all the main industrial enterprises. Whatever happens in the course of the seamen's strike, it signifies a maturing of the vanguard, an expression of the increasing centralisation of the British masses. The opportunity should not be missed to appeal to the sailors to support the strike by setting up committees to prevent the ships being used to break the strike. We do not want sycophantic trade union officials nattering about the "magnificent" job the navy is doing in the remoter parts of Scotland.

In all its actions the vanguard must understand that the British masses are not alone in their struggles but receive constantly the indirect support of the European and world masses. The struggles of the British masses are particularly identical with their brothers in Europe. Recently seven million French workers were out on strike together for wage increases (it could have been a general strike of unlimited duration but for the sabotage of the communist party). In

Belgium also the masses are faced with the policy of wage freeze and increases in military expenditure. In Italy the bourgeoisie think in the same terms of being in a "national emergency" as Wilson. Hence the violent clashes in Milan where the police got the worse of a clash with the workers. In Spain the Franco regime in different conditions from those of the British imperialist bourgeoisie, tries to repress the students, the workers and even the clergy many of whom receive the influence of the Spanish masses. In all these countries there is industrial crisis, rising prices and political instability. When we hear that the health or education services are in crisis in Britain, all this is paralleled in Europe. Even the student disturbances in Rome and Madrid find a lesser but no less significant parallel in the student demonstration outside Bristol University against the anti democratic regime of university life. The student body is more conservative in Great Britain but they also refract the process of disintegrating bourgeois authority in this country.

The world bourgeoisie cannot control the increasing social chaos which its regime has brought about whether it be in Vietnam, or the decomposition of bourgeois power in India and in North America itself. The

big monopolies in Great Britain, Germany etc. still seek an exit by means of the Common Market but that holy land is also involved in economic competition and quarrels over NATO. World capitalism prepares in all manner of ways for the war which is coming. Thus in Germany they are trying to pass emergency laws designed at any moment to install a dictatorship and in this country, not to be ignored in the present process, there is the policy of centralising the police—also for any national "emergency."

Just as the conditions are mature for the General Strike in Great Britain so they are mature for a co-ordinated EUROPEAN GENERAL STRIKE ON THE PROGRAMME FOR WORKERS POWER. The seamen should appeal for similar strikes in other European countries. A national committee of shop stewards committees should appeal for the unification of the struggles in Great Britain and Europe. The vanguard must be convinced that the conditions are ripe for every aspect of the Transitional Programme—nationalisations under workers control, a basic minimum wage to rise with cost of living, committees of workers and tenants to decide rents and expropriate

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Demand liberty for the Trotskyist Militants imprisoned in Mexico, Guatemala and Cuba

On the 26th of April seven militants of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario Trotskyista, the Mexican section of the IV International, and Adolpho Gilly a journalist who has defended the positions of the IV International in numerous articles in left periodicals including "Monthly Review" of the United States, were arrested by the police.

This arrest of the Mexican comrades is not simply a counter-revolutionary act of the Mexican Bourgeoisie alone but is inseparably linked to the arrests and murders in Guatemala of trotskysts and militants of the MR 13th of November of Guatemala. It is also linked to the recent imprisonment in Cuba of two members of the Cuban section of the IV International.

There is a tacit agreement between the Soviet Bureaucracy and Imperialism to block the advance of the revolution in Latin America and the world, and to impede the organisation of the revolutionary vanguard in whose ideological and theoretical development the IV International is intervening in a decisive way.

Imperialism is going to carry the repression which it has begun in Guatemala and Mexico to other countries, profiting from the counter revolutionary campaign of betrayals carried out by the Stalinists and its allies. In Uruguay the

communist party has started this campaign in "El Popular," Blas. Roca the Cuban Stalinist bureaucrat dedicated 16 pages of the review "Revolucion Socialista" to attacking the Trotskyists and Adolpho Gilly as agents of imperialism. Several days after, the police detained Gilly and our comrades. In the Argentine, diversionist tendencies, (in which there are certainly police agents) such as "Palabra Obrera" and "Politica Obrera" have started a campaign of slanders against our party. "Palabra Obrera" has announced in its publication that they are disposed to betray the leaders of the IV International to the police.

We know that this blow against the Mexican section has not demoralised the comrades or caused them to stop their activity. The attack by the bourgeoisie followed the struggles of the students to impose their democratic rights in the University; these struggles presage in a short time, the revolutionary mobilisation of the Mexican masses in whose organisation the Party is the conscious political centre.

We appeal to all revolutionary tendencies and militants in all the organisations of the working class, the students, the poor petit bourgeois, to demand the release of our comrades, and to reject all the Stalinist lies spread about the IV International.

The crisis in the Chinese Party and Government will promote the development of the Socialist World Revolution (Second Part)

THE FAILURE OF THE PRO-CHINESE GROUPS ALL OVER THE WORLD AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE WORKERS' STATE

J. Posadas

At the same time, the Chinese comrades should realise the failure of all the pro-Chinese groups in Latin America: Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia and Mexico. Failures. These groups are in dissolution, they are perverted and spend in their own private interests, the money and support of the Chinese Workers' State, and support a policy of conciliation with capitalism. One proof of this is the pro-Chinese Communist Party of Peru, which is to the right of the pro-Moscow Communist Party. It opposes guerrillas and revolutionary struggle. And the Chinese are encouraging these in an indirect way, because their intention is to support the revolution, but to support it through men, and not through a programme and a policy. All these groups live on the Chinese revolution. Careerism is encouraged by means of wages, and money supplied by the Chinese. It is necessary to denounce this and be done with such fellows as Sarandy Cabrera in Uruguay, as also the other agents by his side, who are mere brokers of the Chinese. And they try to exploit the Trotskyists, use the Trotskyists in order to have political and social points of support and be able to collect money from the Chinese. That is filthy. They are filthy individuals whom the revolutionary movement and the Chinese should condemn. They have no support or perspectives. They are dead. The revolution gains nothing if they have a conciliatory programme. The Chinese should understand that the development of world revolution does not coincide or harmonise with the conciliatory policy of all these groups and tendencies.

The struggle in China against the Soviet bureaucracy is not the same as is carried on in the pro-Chinese Parties. Grippa, in Brussels, has a policy of conciliation with capitalism, while the masses of Belgium try to overthrow capitalism. In France, the 15 per cent of the basis of the Communist Party, the proletarian vanguard, refused to support capitalism. There the Chinese have points of support. The Fourth International has access to this basis. The IV International is small in number but full of strength and decision, because they have had to face, in every stage, since its foundation blows, persecutions, threats. It has not been able to develop in larger numbers, not through lack of capacity, programme and policy. The proof is that wherever revolution goes ahead, it adopts the Trotskyist policy. If Trotskyism had not existed, the currents, tendencies and groups which hold to and carry on that programme could not have been influenced. The historical function of Trotskyism is irreplaceable. The Chinese should understand and consider the process.

They should not take the accusations from the Soviet bureaucracy and from Fidel Castro, who is ignorant of Marxism, in an isolated way. Let them study the programme of revolution in Latin America which is the programme of Trotskyism. And the programme of Trotskyism is that along which revolutions develop objectively: armed revolutionary fight; out with capitalism and imperialism; expropriation of lands and factories; expropriations of capitalist and imperialist properties; state ownership; workers' control; factory committees, worker and peasant government; worker and student government in the universities; monopoly of foreign commerce. That is the Trotskyist programme. And that is why Trotskyism develops in the world.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE CHINESE COMRADES HAVE THE SAME OBJECTIVE. THEY ARE NOT COMPETITORS

The Chinese comrades should not see the Trotskyists as competitors. We are not competitors of the Chinese, but we, as they, are revolutionaries who want to overthrow capitalism. Our forces have had to be for a long period concentrated in order to avoid atomisation to give certainty, confidence in the programme, in the consistency of that programme, the policy and the future development throughout the world. That is the indisputable ally for the United Front with the Chinese because the Chinese, in their own way, in a timid and incoherent way, not sustained ideologically and politically, are after the same end as ourselves. That is why such a United Front is essential and necessary. It is not a diminishing of nor a competition with the Chinese. It is an increase of their forces. We do not intend to displace the Chinese. The purpose of promoting socialist revolution has more than one form. The Chinese can see this: the revolution in Guatemala takes up the pattern of the 13th of November, another in Venezuela, in Peru, Indochina, Laos, Burma. It acquires several forms and phases. The programme of the socialist revolution is that which promotes the unification and elevation of those phases. Those cadres and teams are already the Fourth International,

they are already in the Fourth International. Socialism is a conscious need, requiring a conscious leadership. It requires a leadership by teams and cadres convinced of the theory, of the programme of the application of marxist conclusions based on observation of the historical class struggle. The Trotskyists are that. Our lack of further development is not due to lack of perspectives and capacity: it is due to the fact that history has developed that way. On the other hand, the Chinese should ask themselves why they did not impose themselves on the world. History has developed that way.

The weight of the Soviet bureaucracy has been immense. But it has not been able to restrain history. It has limited it, it has delayed it, but that bureaucracy is tearing itself to pieces to-day.

THE TRANSPORT WORKERS' STRIKE IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE POLITICAL RIPENING OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MASSES

If imperialism were strong enough to reconquer Cuba, it would already have done so. Since it has not done it, that is because it cannot. And it tries to draw advantages from peaceful coexistence, in order to strengthen itself as long as possible. The Chinese should understand that. To-day it is necessary to organise and call to revolution. TO-DAY! If that drives imperialism to accelerate the unleashing of war, so much the worse for it, because it will break out with the revolution in full swing, and the United States masses will rise immediately. The Chinese should speak and resolve the problems, and resolve them against the Soviet bureaucracy, with the U.S. transport workers' strike in mind. It has an immense weight and importance, showing the fighting strength of the American masses. It is the development of revolutionary tendencies in U.S.A. There are the demonstrations for Vietnam, which do not mean a support of Vietnam itself, but an opposition to the policy of imperialism, opposition to the policy of North-American capitalism. American imperialism has not been able to organise any demonstration against the Vietnamese masses or in support of its policy. There have been instead demonstrations against imperialism. The Chinese should notice that the North American masses observe China, Cuba, the USSR. They want to be revolutionary, they are making an immense effort. The Automobile Union voted against intervention in Vietnam. It has not done it publicly, it has made no agitation, but it voted against! It means that the masses, the North American proletariat, one of the largest concentrated powers in the world, is against imperialist policy. It is in favour of independence, for support of self-determination of the peoples of the world, which is the source of socialist revolution. Yankee imperialism has not been able to organise a single demonstration against the USSR, against the progress of communism. None. They could mobilise up to ten, one hundred, five hundred thousand people; but this would mean triggering political action, and then these mobilisations would lead to such slogans as increase of salaries, reduction of hours, better living standards. They would call capitalism to account! That is why

they do not make demonstrations. And, if they are afraid of such consequences, it is because world revolution exerts a powerful influence on the North American masses. The Chinese should take that as a basis. They are the allies of the North American proletariat. The North American proletariat are not imbecilic, as the Communist Party represents them. They live and feel the effects of world revolution. They are an ally that the Chinese Communist Party does not use. It does not count on it. The North American masses are waiting are sensing world revolution. It is a lie of the communists that the living standard of the North American masses prevents them from understanding. They do understand! And well. They are making a magnificent effort. It is an indisputable fact, which the Chinese should appraise, that imperialism has not been able to make up a single white mass demonstration against the Negroes. None! And it has barely carried out some mobilisation of the petty-bourgeoisie. And, if the Negroes have not obtained better results and advantages in their struggles, it is because the petty-bourgeoisie who lead these movements have a programme which does not interest the exploited Negro masses. It is merely a programme for a better distribution of income. The Negro masses understand that. The equal, democratic, electoral rights, union rights, are common to all of the Negro masses. But they see that their leaders do it in conciliation with capitalism. They have no concern for their particular class interest. There is no Negro problem without a class problem. They are united. There is no particular solution for the Negro question.

Yankee imperialism will never resolve the Negro problem, until the masses as a whole do resolve the class problem and smash capitalism. The Negro struggle shows an advance in that struggle; an increase in the weight and strength of the masses. And the North American masses and proletariat are sensing constantly, in their struggle, the weakness of capitalism and the ascent and strength of the world masses. They see St. Domingo, Vietnam, Cuba, China. They see that the masses are capable of overthrowing capitalism, and imperialism cannot prevent it. They see that imperialism uses weapons, aircraft, a very strong army to check the St. Domingo masses, and these are not frightened, but go on and block imperialism. The North American masses learn that way. They do not learn from the soviet bureaucracy, nor from the revolutionary actions of the masses of the world. That is the point of support for the Chinese Communist Party.

THE CHINESE MUST SUPPORT AND LEAN ON THE STRUGGLE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MASSES

The North American masses are an unquestionable ally. The effort that the North American masses are doing to be able to understand and live politically is immense. The proof is that they do not support imperialism in its miserable deeds of worldwide murder, with its intervention throughout the world. They do not give up for a single moment the struggle for their demands. That's enough! While imperialism calls on the masses of its country to displace communism in a world-wide scale, there comes the communist intervention of the masses! When imperialism calls on the North American people to be calm, to support it—the North American masses carry out strikes, and they don't care a damn! On the contrary, one of their leaders, in the transport workers' strike in New York, remarked, "I prefer being called 'red' by the scabs to being called 'scab' by the reds"! What is he expressing, but the level of the discussions, that the public opinion to the transport workers is favourable to the development of the revolution? Favourable! Johnson's attitude, when he has to explain and appear conciliatory before the North American masses, is directed to that. It shows that the North American petty-bourgeoisie, the whole of the exploited masses, sense the world revolution.

The North American proletariat will take a giant step when it can open its eyes. Because of that, imperialism decides—in a certain measure—according to the reaction of

the North American masses. In the meantime, it tries to control, to subordinate it, and plays for time. Yankee imperialism's feelings are of defeat, not of triumph. They have to recognise before the masses of the United States and the world, that a small country of fourteen million inhabitants—South Vietnam—makes them spend 12,500 million dollars. 12,500 million! and send half a million soldiers! The masses see that, and realise that each Vietnamese is worth one thousand! And not because he has any weapons, but by his will to conquer. That is an immense force in the world. The North American masses, however, find only very limited help from the world revolution.

THE NECESSITY OF ORGANISING A WORKERS' PARTY, BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

If the Chinese would call for a United Front with the Trotskyists, they would get in touch with the American masses. Because these are bound to see, objectively, the strength of the revolution. They will be attracted and convinced of what China is. They will sense what China is. And they will consequently increase the internal struggle towards the building of a Workers' Party based on the Trade Unions, in the United States, to-day, towards becoming independent from the bourgeois policy of their leaders, towards the establishment of revolutionary tendencies in the unions, towards the forms of independent political intervention of the masses. They must act to-day! THEY MUST ACT! The Chinese have a huge part in that, by forming an alliance with the Trotskyists in a United Front. This will facilitate the intervention and influence in the United States. The Trotskyists are the only ones who have access to the masses in the United States. Limited, small as they are, the Trotskyists are the only ones who have access to the masses in the United States. The Chinese have no direct access. The activity of the Chinese towards the intellectual circles is very limited. They have a very limited effect. It is important, but very limited. It is necessary to understand that, already in the United States, the intellectuals are not the only ones who play an important part in support of the revolution. The masses struggle as in the transport workers' strikes, as well as in that of the automobile industry, show this. The Chinese should appeal to them. The Trotskyists have access.

All the attempts of the petty-bourgeoisie and the proletariat, to oppose openly the war in Vietnam, are expressing, in an increasingly higher way, a sharp class intention, more and more elevated.

The comrades of the Chinese Communist Party, of the Chinese Government, should call on the North American masses, address them. And the best way to do so, to influence them, is to have them see socialist democracy in China, the Communes, the Chinese democracy, to hold public meetings to discuss every problem, to adopt mass positions, to argue publicly. Let them see the unions discussing and resolving. Let the Chinese leaders obey the people's resolutions reached through public discussions, call on them to discuss, to intervene, to propose agitation work, to appoint a full team of agitators so that in the whole of China, from the farthest communes to the towns, they agitate on the necessity to overthrow capitalism to-day, the necessity to get ready to overthrow it completely, otherwise imperialism will let loose atomic war tomorrow under better conditions; and on that basis of agitation, to give a term of three up to six months to carry out massive demonstrations and public meetings throughout China, in which the Chinese people may discuss the resolution to crush capitalism and imperialism on a world-wide scale, and help the world masses unconditionally. Let the masses of the world see the Chinese masses speak, decide and orientate. It will be an immense weight and strength for the exploited masses of North America.

THE NINE VOTES IN THE TRICONTINENTAL CONGRESS AGAINST PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE EXPRESS THE NECESSITY OF THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

CRISIS IN THE CHINESE PARTY

The interests of the revolution are those of the Fourth International. Its programme is anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. We call the comrades of the Chinese Communist Party to a UNITED FRONT, so that the Chinese Workers' State, in a wide-world scale and with its material weight, and help, calls upon the masses of each country and of the world to organise themselves in a United Front to overthrow capitalism. It must be done now.

If Fidel Castro, with all his authority, has been unable to make the Tri-continental Congress adopt a resolution condemning the 13th of November, this means that, even under the form of bourgeois conciliation that they have tried to give it, placing it on the road of conciliation and peaceful co-existence, it has opposed the programme of capitulation with capitalism. That is the strength of the programme of the socialist revolution. The Chinese should understand and appraise that it was not their opposition that prevented Fidel Castro from doing it, but the pressure of the world masses, which drove the leaders of the countries represented there to take those masses into account, refusing to support the condemnation of the Guatemalan socialist revolution. Fidel Castro, in a conciliatory, bureaucratic attitude, has disguised his intentions. He has condemned the Trotskyists, Yon Sosa and the 13th of November movement, but has not condemned the programme. He has called the programme of the Fourth International "pestilential." Why is the Trotskyists programme "pestilential" when through it Lenin and Trotsky seized power in Russia, the Chinese seized power in China, and the masses of the world are fighting for it? It is the programme for overthrowing imperialism and capitalism, weapons in hand. Workers' and Peasants' militia; workers' and peasants' government, expropriation and placing under state ownership, under workers' control, of all property; soviets; socialist democratic will of the masses to impose, decide and carry out. That is the "pestilential" programme of the Fourth International, of which Fidel Castro understands nothing; and as it is beyond his comprehension, he condemns and slanders.

That is the programme, Chinese comrades, for which we fight. That is the programme of the United Front. The American masses must feel and understand what Trotskyism is, what the Fourth International, the Chinese, and their programme represent. The American masses should appraise and confirm that. There is no opposition between the programme of the Fourth International and the objectives of the Chinese communist leadership. There are differences. The Chinese still think it feasible to carry on revolution in imperialist countries by means of manoeuvres, in accordance with the Soviet bureaucracy, while restraining imperialism and making use of it diplomatically. The attempt to use diplomatic means is correct, but not at the expense of the appeal to revolution and its programme.

Time is short for imperialism; it is going to launch the war. An offensive in Vietnam is to be expected; an offensive attempting to drag behind it the Soviet bureaucracy, the rest of world capitalism.

CAPITALISM IS WEAK

One of the aspects of this conclusion can be seen in the fact that the delegate from Peru denounced the Soviet bureaucracy in the course of his intervention in the Tri-continental congress, rejecting all alliance with the capitalist countries.

The bourgeoisie feels that they can avail themselves of peaceful coexistence which the Soviet bureaucracy gives them. But the united front of Imperialism finds no success. On that account the lack of interest of capitalism in this does not mean it is not interested in confronting the anti-capitalist struggle, but it does not wish to submit to Yankee imperialism, but tries to speculate and negotiate, to blackmail, and all this shows the weakness of capitalism!

If capitalism had a uniform strength on a world-wide scale, surely it would already be united. There would be no differences with De Gaulle. De Gaulle's dispute with Yankee imperialism, on the European Common market, is the expression of the fact that capitalism cannot unify on a world-wide scale because the contradiction in its interests is of an enormous weight. Part of that contradiction, is capitalist competition and rivalry all over the world. But also it is the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world which prevents capitalism from finding a way out from the pressure of the masses. And at the same time it makes a

rapid dynamic anti-capitalist struggle obliging capitalism to take steps which affect the very strength of the capitalist structure!

The struggles of the world masses, as those of the masses in every country, their union struggles, their struggles over hours, better working conditions, drive capitalists to a struggle among themselves for competition, to maintain themselves. To survive they have to eliminate capitalists. They increase production and productivity at the expense of other capitalists, and, on last analysis at the expense of the masses, but also eliminating capitalists, that is, weakening their social strength. Whereas the masses, through their struggles, acquire more and more confidence and certainty, and are weakening capitalism throughout the world.

The Chinese should understand that, and intervene. They should make now an analysis based upon these conclusions. They should base themselves upon the world experience of the masses, educate and elevate the understanding of the masses about these problems, not only on a general line, but analysing each contact, each step and weakness of capitalism, and see, in general and in particular, its economical, financial, social, political weakness, the crisis amongst them, to elevate the masses of the world in their confidence and certainty and to establish solid bases for a United Front.

The Chinese comrades should not write generally "capitalism is defeated." It is necessary to analyse each stage, thus giving the masses of the world solid points of support for going ahead. This is one of the fundamental conclusions to be drawn by the Chinese and it is a solid basis for the United Front with the Trotskyists.

TROTSKYISM IS ALIVE IN THE STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES ALL OVER THE WORLD

The Trotskyists make an objective United Front with the Chinese, without any organism being established. Without awaiting the constitution of such organisms, the Trotskyists make a United Front with the Chinese and with the revolutionary masses of the world, because they support any correct policy, any advanced position of the revolution, whether of the Chinese or of the masses. They support this objectively, without expecting any profit as a Party. The interests of Trotskyism, of the Fourth International, the interests of the Latin American Bureau of the Fourth International, are the interests of the masses of the world, the interests of the revolution. It is for that, that the support is objective.

The Fourth International has no private interests, as a Party, but the interests of revolution; on that account, it supports objectively the advancing of the revolution.

The Chinese also establish an objective United Front, because, when supporting a series of actions of the world masses—against what they themselves said before—when supporting objectively the armed fight against peaceful co-existence, when announcing that the atomic world war is inevitable, and when preparing for war, their conclusions are Trotskyist ones. They are also supporting objectively and helping the Trotskyists. Would they support directly the Trotskyists in Italy, France, Belgium, England, Latin America, they would have an infinitely greater strength. And in a short time of six months, one year, they would have a well established, firm basis in the struggle for overthrowing imperialism and capitalism. The Chinese comrades should consider that; combining and incorporating into their struggles against the soviet bureaucracy the world, public, objective, United Front with the Trotskyists. They will lose nothing. They will gain much. That is, THERE IS NOTHING TO LOSE, EVERYTHING TO GAIN. The Soviet bureaucracy may criticise them and will do so. But it has interests opposed to the revolution. Capitalism has interests contrary to the Chinese revolution; they are class enemies. If they distrust the Trotskyists, here is the programme! If they want to appraise the Trotskyists through their programme, their policy, here it is! The old Trotskyism does not exist. Nor does the Socialist Workers' Party of America, or the Pablos, Germain, Pierre Franks; none of those currents expresses the interests of Trotskyism. They are organisms and groups which are out, have broken with Trotskyism,

with the Fourth International. The Fourth International has in its programme the facing of inevitable, atomic, world war, and revolution. They are against that. Their perspectives are of alliances, agreements, to impede world war. The Fourth International calls to the struggle for the seizure of power as the vital centre of the activity of the masses. Everything reduced to that; unconditional support for colonial revolution, together with revolutionary political independence, to impel the masses and help the nationalist tendencies to mature towards the Socialist Revolution. They allied themselves to Ben Bella, and now do not call to overthrow Boumedienne's government to impose the socialist programme, but to restore Ben Bella, that is, they are conciliatory allies. They have nothing to do with Trotskyism, nor have had.

Fidel Castro's experience with a group of ex-Trotskyists in 1959-60 has nothing to do with us. They were not Trotskyists. He had recourse to incorporating them into the State apparatus, people who had long before quarrelled with Trotskyism. If Castro had followed the struggle and literature of the Trotskyists he would not have resorted to them, but to us. When he went to them, he went to the sewer, to what was already useless, those who had broken with Trotskyism and went away. It showed an attempt at conciliation, but he called them also because he was then in alliance with Urrutia, the capitalist tendency. He called on conciliators to carry out such a programme, expecting those conciliators to help him to save his interests. They were not Trotskyists, neither the S.W.P., nor Germain, Pablo or Maitán. All these people, the refuse of Trotskyism, broke with the programme of the proletarian revolution, with the conception of the inevitability of war and preparation for revolution-war-revolution. Our programme is what we have announced, that which goes ahead with the guerrillas of the revolution. It is the programme of the Guatemalan Socialist revolution. It is the advancing of the guerrilla revolution in Peru, the advancing of MIR in Venezuela, which adopts the programme of the socialist revolution. All that is Trotskyism.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL HAS SUSTAINED IN ITS PROGRAMME THE CONTINUITY OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

The Chinese should compare what the Trotskyists said 30, 10 years ago, with what they say now. It is the continuity of the programme of revolution. Without that continuity of the programme for socialist revolution, they would not have influenced the currents existing to-day. They are the only ones to sustain such a programme.

The Chinese comrades should observe and appraise themselves—who have not held this programme. They held to the programme of the four classes. Indonesia is an example of that. They should sense that it is world-wide Trotskyist action which has organised and influenced a whole layer of leaders, cadres, teams of partisans and tendencies on a world scale, which has enabled it to lean on the objective advancing of revolution and fight for the programme of socialist revolution. To-day it is on a small scale, tomorrow it will be worldwide, because the objective of revolution is to advance towards the programme of socialist revolution. On that account, the world advance of Trotskyism is irresistible, and the bragging and bullying of Fidel Castro's, together with his slanders against the Trotskyists, will be lost in the sewer of history, while revolution forges ahead!

We call on the Chinese comrades to name the objective, world United Front, publicly. It would have an immense effect on the masses of the world. It would not convey loss of prestige for the Chinese, nor a retrogression of revolution or a diplomatic complication. It would amount to encouraging whole currents in the world, who are seeing the Chinese as conciliators, to advance the revolution. Now! It would impel and carry them to revolutionary action, concentrated in the revolutionary programme of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle. Such a call to the Chinese has an historic importance. They should do it. That is the use of the whole of the revolutionary forces existing in the world now.

Not tomorrow, but TO-DAY. That is the duty of every revolutionary leadership, to lean on the whole of the existing forces to be able to advance.

Lenin, in 1917, called for a United Front of all the masses, all the leaderships interested in the displacement of Czarism, in opposing war, making peace and distributing the lands. He called on the whole world, holding out at the same time the Bolshevik programme of anti-capitalist struggle, for overthrowing capitalism. Conditions in the world are to-day infinitely better than they were in Lenin and Trotsky's time in 1917. There are the masses of the world that are struggling for the revolutionary programme, nationalist currents that from the start organise themselves and face their own crises on the basis that they cannot make any headway as bourgeois nationalist movements, instead they must take up the programme of socialist revolution. They are petty-bourgeois in their conception of the Party, but in their conscious purposes they are obliged to take up the programme of socialist revolution.

An appeal from the Chinese for a United Front with the Trotskyists, in support of the struggle against capitalism would encourage, in the nationalist currents a fast development of revolutionary marxist tendencies. It is a historical duty of the Chinese to launch that call to-day. Those are the forces which are not yet used. The world united front with the nationalist masses of the world, with the nationalist petty-bourgeois leaderships, depends largely on the call by the Chinese. If they do not launch it, they are responsible for the delay and blocking of the revolutionary course of leadership and the masses. There are Nationalist leaderships to be won! In Egypt, Indonesia, Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Latin America, Africa, there are entire leaderships who are attracted by revolution and are slow in the process, because they do not see the Chinese decided, do not see the Soviet call to revolution, do not see the struggle for socialism, do not see the socialist life of the leadership. The call by the Chinese would have an immense influence, as would have a constant agitational work by the Chinese, organisational and agitational work, to attract all those groups to the consciousness of socialist revolution. To give them confidence and certainty to go directly into the programme of socialist revolution would be an advantage in historical time, an immense advantage, and a rhythm in historical time, which would shorten the damage imperialism is bound to cause with atomic war. It would diminish the period before nuclear war, allowing the most rapid destruction of capitalism, and society to quickly recover and advance towards Socialism. The proof is the developments of socialist revolution in all the "backward" countries. That should give the Chinese confidence. To that they should call, and we repeat, OUR UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, OF THE CHINESE WORKERS' STATE, OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHINESE TO CARRY ON THE REVOLUTION IN THE WORLD, AND AT THE SAME TIME FOR A UNITED FRONT WITH THE TROTSKYISTS ON A WORLD-WIDE SCALE TO IMPEL WORLD REVOLUTION.

THE STRUGGLE IN CHINA IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE CONSERVATIVE WING OF THE WORKERS' STATE

The Chinese comrades resort to the masses in order to oppose the conservative sector of the army. But the struggle is not only there. There is a full campaign of the Chinese, in literature, in society, in the army; they send the leaders to work twice a week under the control of the people. All that is correct, but insufficient. The Chinese comrades call on the masses and the soldiers to intervene, to make revolutionary theatre, cinema and art; to sharpen the confidence of the Chinese leadership. There is a global struggle against conservative tendencies. But the means they use are still very limited. It is necessary to have all the Chinese people intervene; let the militia intervene in an organic way, living politically. Let the unions live politically. Political union life in the communes, let them have in each union, political discussions, hold weekly meetings and gatherings in the unions. Discussions in the field, organised in the communes; organisation of the communes to weigh on the more backward sectors of peasantry.

They put in motion the social strength of China, which is immense and not used, and thus delays the struggle against the right and the conservative wing. They should resort to that.

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VIETNAM: THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE REVOLUTION IN ASIA

The situation in Vietnam is a situation of continuing struggle. Yankee imperialism has failed in its attempt to impose on the masses and the leadership of Vietnam a treaty or an agreement. But at the same time it appears now with every clarity that Yankee imperialism is seeking but a base for propaganda and of justification in the eyes of the American people and above all of the petit bourgeoisie; that is, to seek to justify the continuation of the war through propaganda for peace. This has been the intention contained in the plans of Johnson. To-day in the papers there appears the information that in China preparations for war are going ahead. Throughout the Chinese areas bordering on Vietnam, there are mobilisations of troops, special trains and the economic apparatus is being adapted to the necessity of the war. Although it is not possible to draw the conclusion that the war is immediate, such mobilisations indicate that the Yanks are preparing themselves to extend the war to North Vietnam and the Chinese are preparing to intervene.

The soviet bureaucracy have shown their support and certainly have increased also their military support. But what the soviet bureaucracy has not increased is their resolution to intervene in the struggle. As in Korea, they do not intervene because they do not wish to confront directly imperialism and reinforce the position of the Chinese. The interests of the bureaucracy are favouring the policy of Yankee imperialism. The peace offensive which is the most important until now, is not yet finished but already it can be seen to be failing. It is not a question of peace, it is a question of an agreement; peace is a mask, a pretext. In reality they are seeking for an agreement, but what agreement can they attain with the leadership of the Vietcong or of the North Vietnam? There is no possibility of attaining it, because the revolution goes against every attempt at pacification, of freezing present positions and of conciliation with imperialism. This attempt has failed and its failure will have consequences in a very short delay because it will have its influence within the Soviet Union. The failure of peaceful co-existence is shown clearly in Vietnam and will have its influence throughout the world. Imperialism has been forced, has sought to find a centre which would allow it a conciliation with Vietnam on the basis of the permanence of the army there. It has failed. This shows in a clear way that neither North Vietnam, nor the Vietcong can allow any discussion, any peace agreement that is agreement with imperialism if their troops remain in Vietnam. The tenacious persistence of North Vietnam and of the Vietcong is saying out with the American troops from Vietnam! It indicates the wishes of the Vietnamese masses, their desire.

We repeat our appeal to the Vietcong, to North Vietnam and to the Chinese, to launch an appeal to the masses of South Vietnam to rise, to organise militia, to occupy factories, lands, public places, so that all the population of S. Vietnam join in insurrection.

There are more American soldiers than the Vietnamese. They say that they have around 380,000 soldiers. They must have about half a million. They announce that by the end of the year they should reach half a million, that is 150,000 more. This means that there are as many American soldiers as Vietnamese. They admit directly that the Vietcong are no more than 250,000. They admit this. They exaggerate numbers. The Vietcong are fewer, but they give a number not larger than 250,000, and this shows the fear which they have of the Viet Cong and the fact that the population of South Vietnam is the force united to the Vietcong to maintain the war. North Vietnam and the Vietcong, or the Vietcong alone, without waiting for the North Vietnamese, must make an appeal to the people to go forward to make a general strike; that is for a period of months to prepare a general strike to occupy lands, factories, roads, transport and at the same time a massive uprising through militias previously organised to chase out the Yanks; to make a united front like that which exists already on the basis of the slogan, out with the Yanks

In South Vietnam there is already no more place for a Constituent assembly. This front of the four classes is only a facade. The mobilisation of South Vietnam is not due to this front, it is due to the war against the Yankees. It is not the Buddhists nor the groups of the petit bourgeoisie who determine the action of the Vietcong, it is the will of the people of South Vietnam to throw out the Yanks. If the Vietcong appeal to the mass uprising for the general strike to throw out the Yanks, to throw them out and liquidate them, it would not cause difficulties. It is possible that some sector of this front of four classes may react or oppose, but this will have no influence; none of these sectors would have the least echo and influence if they said that the masses should not mobilise; but in any case they would not have the energy to do this and they would have to have the means to act and they have not got these means. The leadership is in the hands of the Vietcong. It is necessary to appeal. It is necessary to demand this. Besides this, the Chinese and the Vietcong must carry forward a campaign to associate the masses of Laos in the struggle. If Laos does not intervene in the struggle the Americans will invade Laos or Cambodia. They will invade them and will drag them into the struggle. It is necessary to make an appeal to Laos and Cambodia that they intervene now in a united front to expel imperialism. If they do not intervene in Laos or Cambodia now, the Yankee invaders will come. The Yanks will not go, will not leave the zone. The logical conclusion of the Yankee policy, determined by the necessity to confront North Vietnam, South Vietnam and China, will be the invasion of Laos, of Cambodia and Burma.

It is necessary to appeal, let the Chinese, the Vietcong and North Vietnam appeal for and organise now at this moment, an action to throw out the Yankees. Now, immediately! Let them organise themselves in the form of militias and of a regular army, occupy all the land, all the properties of the Yankees, all the places in which there is imperialism, expropriating, calling upon the population to occupy places of work, to make demonstrations, to appeal so that in Laos and Cambodia mass demonstrations are called. The masses of Laos and of Cambodia, like those of Burma are with the revolution.

If Imperialism has not succeeded in particular in Laos with all the military coups which it has tried, to impose a team which can dominate the masses, it is because the masses reject it. All these agreements with diverse leaders have not succeeded in containing the masses. One of the three chief brothers, the one closest to Yankee imperialism, has tried twenty coups and has been forced to the mountains. But he has a team equipped by the Yanks with modern arms, with a Yankee military equipment, with mercenaries, and is waiting for the moment to launch a coup. In so far as the struggle revolves around the military or the administrative spheres there is always opportunity to launch coups.

It is necessary to consider that the Yanks are seeking to reach an agreement to weaken the Vietcong, to break the front of the Vietcong. For this reason the military of South Vietnam are afraid that an agreement will be made at their expense. The military do not decide, have no social base, but there is no possibility of an agreement. On what basis can this agreement be reached? On the contrary the Yanks will increase their troops. The basis of an agreement is that the Vietnamese masses allow the presence and the permanent presence of the Yankees in Vietnam. They do not admit them. The Yanks to maintain themselves must invade Laos, Cambodia, Burma in a short perspective. This attempt although they are not making it at the moment, is inevitable. If there existed the possibility of stopping the war, of concluding peace, the perspective would be different, but there exists no possibility that the Yanks will allow peace negotiations. The negotiation of peace means that they must leave Vietnam; this is the only basis on which to negotiate. They will not leave it. They are staying there precisely to prevent the revolution conquering. To sustain themselves, they will invade Laos, Cambodia and Burma.

It is necessary to make an appeal to a United Front formed from Laos, Cambodia and Burma to mobilise the masses and to chase out the Yanks. Just this, to chase out the Yanks, this does not mean the workers or the American masses, but the people serving imperialism.

It is necessary to make immediately a united front. This is the preventative war. If this leads to the war so much the worse for the Yanks, because it will be a war which breaks out with the masses in action and the North American masses will see this. They see that all the masses are rising against imperialism. For this reason the absence of this appeal is yet a weakness, a timid attitude of the Communist Party and of the Chinese Workers' State.

The Chinese government must understand, feel that their mobilisation is not enough. The masses of Cambodia, Burma and Laos must feel the intervention of the Chinese masses. This will cause a break in the agreements with the princes, the counts and countesses. But it will be a break without any social significance, because no one will be able to sustain, even for a short period, the pressure of the revolution. These princes have an authority on the very backward peasants who still live in a semi-feudal form; soldiers and tribes. They still have authority on these sectors, but these peasants as the rest of the peasant masses of the world, want the land.

The way to elevate these peasants is the land. Let them see that in China, in North Vietnam, in the zones liberated from the Viet Cong, they are working the land organised in communes. Then this backwardness which capitalism has maintained for centuries can be overcome in three months and even these sectors will be incorporated in the revolutionary struggle. We understand the difficulties which there are. These leaders in fact are not found in the position where they are, only because they have arms; they support themselves still on the basis of an enormous backwardness. How can this backwardness be overcome? How will the Chinese do this? By making appeals for the constitution of communes, by taking the land and giving the example of Laos and Vietnam. Elevate the peasant masses and associate them with the revolution in a brief period. It is possible that the princes may react, uniting themselves against the revolution; indubitably they will unite. But it will be the worse for them. In one way or another it will mean their death, because they will not succeed in containing the revolution.

These princes will not advance with the revolution. If all these people had been in agreement with communism they would have shown it. They are grappling with the lesser evil. They are leaning on China to sustain themselves. In fact if they lean on imperialism they would have to confront the peasant masses of their own country, the worker masses who exist; on the other hand there exists the development of radicalised petit bourgeoisie. If they hand there exists the development of the Chinese to defend their own interests. There would be alliance with imperialism. When they seek to ally with the Chinese, it is because the masses of their country hope for the revolution.

UNITED FRONT OF SOUTH EAST ASIA TO EXPEL IMPERIALISM

On this conclusion, the Chinese must base themselves and the masses of the Vietcong must make an appeal to Laos, Burma, Cambodia, and carry forward the United Front of South East Asia to expel imperialism. It is necessary to appeal to the masses of Malaysia, of Singapore, of Indonesia, to make a United Front to expel the British. Out with the British! Out with Yankee imperialism! For a programme of the federation of the islands of Malaysia; federation with Indonesia. The Chinese have to make an appeal that Indonesia may intervene in the struggle to chase out Imperialism. It is necessary to unite Indonesia to reanimate the struggle and liquidate the military coup. They cannot continue insensible to the events developing in Indonesia. It is necessary to incorporate Indonesia in this struggle to chase out Imperialism.

The military are gaining ground there no doubt, at a tortoise pace, but nevertheless they are gaining ground, not the communist

movement. The proof that they have not been able to impose a military dictatorship is shown in the fact that these must support Sukarno and this means that the Muslim petit bourgeoisie and the nationalist party which has around 30 million adherents has an immense weight. Besides it appears clear that there are already internal repercussions from the fact that one sector shouts against communism and the other supports the communist party. There is a struggle and they cannot liquidate Sukarno, they still need him. The military junta needs Soekarno to contain the petit bourgeoisie. The Indonesian Communist Party and the Chinese must appeal for an uprising and for unity to throw out imperialism from the area, for the United Front of south-east Asia, to throw out imperialism, expropriate the owners of property.

This is the policy which the Chinese must operate now. Let them propound this policy and resolve the problem of Indonesia. To be able to make this policy, this United Front of South East Asia, it is necessary to make an appeal to the peasants, to take the lands, to constitute Communes; it is necessary to organise collective socialist labour to the advantage of the state, of those large properties which still exist and which formerly belonged to the Dutch. It is necessary to construct an organisation, to make meetings so that the unions of Malaysia and of Indonesia who have considerable strength, put themselves at their head and call upon the peasant masses for the united front, making an appeal for the seizure of the land and its expropriation. It is necessary to make an appeal to the worker and peasant alliance, to smash down the military dictatorship. It is necessary to find support in Indonesia, in this phase of great economic difficulty and of the mobilisation of the student petit bourgeoisie, to realise a united front with the objective of throwing out the military government. It is necessary to do this now. Sukarno sought to do this by means of persuasion; he sought to use his power, the relationship of forces to try to exclude the military, not throw them out. The military will not go. It is necessary to throw them out.

There is no doubt that Soekarno wishes to take them by the scruff of the neck but he mobilises in a diplomatic way, seeking to play a game of rival groups, of mere balances consisting in seeing who has more force to impose, to weigh, to impose candidates. For example, now he wants to impose a vice-president. This will not lead him anywhere. The military who have been capable of realising an intervention, will not let him play this game to push them out by parliamentary methods. Their rebellion against this has already begun; they have resisted the resignation of the vice minister. This means that the military are disposed to go further but they have not the strength to push the process to a conclusion and must contain themselves. The solution of the problem of Indonesia is bound up with that of Burma, of Laos, of Cambodia, of South Vietnam. The liquidation of imperialism in South Vietnam would mean its liquidation throughout South East Asia. It is necessary to make a programme on the basis of a United Front to throw out imperialism from South East Asia; this the Chinese must do and we make an appeal to them to do this. It is necessary to make a campaign throughout South East Africa. This must be based on the following:

The planning of all the enterprises, nationalisations of the banks, monopoly of foreign commerce, expropriations of the land of the middle and large landowners, handing over the land to the peasants, union organisation of the peasants, and also the union organisation of the small proprietors and of the small tenant farmers, through unions of small owners, independent organisation of the agricultural workers, that is independent of the organisation of the small proprietors and small tenant farmers; the alliance of the unions of the agricultural workers with the union organisations of the poor petit bourgeoisie and the tenant farmers of the country, an alliance to throw out imperialism to take over all the land, distribute it and nationalise all the large properties with work organised in co-operatives in common with the small and middle

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Manifesto Of The Enlarged Meeting Of The I.S. Of The IV International

(Second Part-Extracts)

J. POSADAS

When the Chinese see themselves obliged to lead a struggle against the conservative sectors, as they are doing publicly, the fight cannot be stopped where it is. Above all, in order to fight against capitalism, they have had to abandon the programme of co-existence, the line of four classes and the idea of the possibility of avoiding the war which prevented them seeing reality; they are going to be obliged to bring into the light the existence of the bureaucracy, are going to be obliged to learn of and understand—though they try to pose and formulate other problems—the existence of a bureaucracy and to pose the creation of Soviets. It is very possible that Soviets are being discussed in China. This struggle in the army appears to-day, but it is not the result of to-day's events. It probably dates from 1959-1960. If it attains such a level as it does to-day, it is because it is produced in a historic arena of constant elevation of the revolution.

This elevation is so great that it forces Fidel Castro to attack the Chinese. This attack goes against the Cuban Workers State, against Fidel Castro himself; he feels that he is cutting his links with the masses in the world. He feels it, but he sees himself obliged to, because he does not have any other point of support, for he feels weak and is not willing to advance. And like all the centrists, he clings desperately to everything which he has before him, trying to conciliate, to balance, to profit from the weakness of one or another tendency, of lack of strength of one sector or another. As with all centrists his life will be short-lived. For centrism is not a programme, or a historical policy, it is a transitory effect of transitory organism, of transitory policies which denote weakness, nothing else. And in this stage—this is definite—the counter-revolution does not have any strength.

This is why in other articles we have said that we are no longer in the period of Stalin who based himself on the ebb of the world revolution. His centrism had a certain historic basis. But to-day, no. The proof lies in the liquidation of Guevara. But four months later, they have to speak all the time saying that Guevara is alive and well and that he is away somewhere. Stalin did not have to render account for the assassination of Trotsky. He ordered the assassination, Trotsky was murdered, and that was the end. Castro had to talk for the whole of four days, had to say that Guevara is alive, that people are slandering, lying, and that he is speaking the truth, that one must believe him. Guevara is alive, etc.

Stalin assassinated Trotsky and the whole of the left opposition, and he rendered account to nobody. Castro has to do so at every minute. For the power, the elevation of the world revolution reflects itself in the Cuban masses. This is why he has to answer to them. He does not have to answer to the Guevara tendency taken abstractedly, but to the world revolution which the Cuban masses reflect, which they receive, and which they express and demonstrate with their interest to know "where Guevara is," which means "apply the revolutionary policy." They are calling for Guevara not because they want to see him, but in order to apply his policy, and this is Trotskyism.

THE ATOMIC WAR AND THE PREVENTIVE WAR

The actual world situation is inseparable from the preparation for the war. Imperialism is aware of this process. The visit of Johnson to meet Ky in Honolulu, the other visit of Humphrey to Vietnam, have as their object the preparation of a concerted policy for Imperialism. But at the same time, one of the conclusions of these visits has a very great significance. Imperialism is deciding to carry out a policy of loans for economic development to the underdeveloped countries and also South Vietnam.

This does not mean that Yankee capitalism wants to realise a policy of conciliation but that it is preparing itself for the war in a short time. It acts in this way in order to gain authority, to gain the confidence of

the masses of the United States so as to be able to launch the war without internal resistance; it seeks to make war without having to confront all the resulting internal resistance.

It only put on a show in order to gain authority while not prolonging the peaceful competition, while the Chinese are advancing and advancing, and while the Chinese decide that if someone must leave Vietnam it will not be the masses but Imperialism. The Yanks reply with the policy of subsidies in order, not to reply to the Chinese, but to support their policy of war which they will continue.

This is why the Soviet Marshal Zhukov replied to them "The Yankee invasion of Hanoi, is the end of capitalism. . . ." He did not say that this is the end of the world, but the end of capitalism. This declaration strikes directly at imperialism, by saying "Look out, you are going to die, we are going to kill you." This is not Brezhnev who is speaking. Brezhnev says "War is an immense disaster for humanity." No, he says simply; "if they invade; it is the end of capitalism." This is clear, it is the end of capitalism.

Imperialism is preparing itself consciously for the war in a short time. This does not mean that it will take place tomorrow, next month or in a year. But US is prepared to launch it to-morrow. It is prepared at any moment for this. The strike of the transport workers in New York has alerted Imperialism on its great lack of political authority over the masses.

Thus in the middle of the war in Vietnam when Imperialism says "Communism is menacing the world," the American people must defend liberty, freely," and calls upon the American people to serve in the ranks of "American democracy," the transport strike takes place.

The American masses develop their struggles without worrying about the Vietnam war. They are considerably increasing their appeals, their demands for "pulling out of Vietnam." These demands are growing constantly. A little while ago, Lindsay, the Mayor of New York, was asked two days before the elections and after a demonstration of negroes which clashed with police, "what do you think about Vietnam?" He said "I believe that the American people must express itself democratically." Moreover, when he was asked, "What do you think of the war in Vietnam?" he said, "I believe that it is desirable to negotiate." These declarations were made without doubt, to win the elections. But the arguments which he had to take were aimed at the sentiments of the American people, not the sentiments of the majority of the American people, but of a growing number of them. Such conclusions are going to gain authority. And not Imperialism. This expresses the weakness of imperialism on a world scale. Yankee Imperialism has retreated, has received blows, has been beaten in all Latin America. In spite of all its forces, all its money and atomic arms, the masses of Latin America do not abandon the struggle, and the crisis of capitalism continues without ceasing. Never have the conditions been more favourable for a World United revolutionary struggle.

This struggle of the Soviet Bureaucrats against the Chinese, and now the Cubans against the Chinese, has not succeeded in attracting the rest of the workers' states. Not a single workers' state has supported the Cubans against the Chinese. Not even the Soviet Union. If they had felt that the occasion was favourable they would have struck. If they do not, it is because in the workers' states there must be a process of discussion and of political life, very very profound. The crisis in Yugoslavia, the decomposition of the Yugoslav economy, the decomposition towards capitalism in Yugoslavia is demonstrating that this crisis in Yugoslavia is not only economic, but that there is a resistance to the turn towards capitalism. This is the crisis. If it was simply an economic crisis, the bureaucracy would

have solved it. It ignores the people and goes forward. When the bureaucracy has to halt it is worrying, is alarmed, and when it too realises that it is heading for disaster, it is because there is a pressure coming from the base rejecting it.

The recent strike in Hungary in the Czepeel works—one of the most important factories which has generated revolutionary teaching not only in 1956 but in 1919, and is a centre of the proletariat—did not break out to-day by chance, nor did the rapid reaction of the government to stop it. It imprisoned people but it yielded, showing the growing climate of the masses which is preoccupied not only with economic situation but with the world situation. It is the workers' state expressed in Czepeel, in the students, in the strikes in the USSR, in the reaction of the military against imperialism, with their manifest desire to crush imperialism now. It is the Guevarist and Trotskyist tendency in Cuba. It is the 13th of November in Guatemala. It is in all parts the action of the masses in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America; it is the reanimation of the revolution in Algeria. Boumedienne has to throw out, suspend, displace some of the reactionary military who wanted to retreat. In Italy the Socialist revolution advances constantly. The guerrillas in Peru, the crisis of the M.I.R. of Venezuela with the birth of a tendency with the programme of socialism, the splitting of the Communist Party of Colombia with the appearance of a Communist Party in which the programme is that of the socialist revolution, and the movement of Camilo Torres in which the programme is close to that of the Socialist revolution. All shows the loss of authority of the Communist Party and the rising of strong tendencies gained for the revolution.

The Chinese must fix their eyes on this process, have confidence in this process, and make an appeal for a World United Front—to affect the Soviet army and the Soviet masses, for these must feel the world action of the Chinese. They must call, to formulate a programme of the world revolution, for a United World Anti-imperialist front, for a world united anti-capitalist front. They must make an appeal to resolve the problems of the struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy which is leading to a return to capitalism in the USSR, but which will not succeed for the masses have shown sufficiently strongly that they are going to resist the bureaucracy before they can do any harm.

To influence the Soviet masses, one must make them feel the world revolution. They must feel it to-day. The Chinese must make them feel it. All the authority of the Chinese must be utilised to appeal to the masses, from to-day, for the United front; but for this, they must also appeal for Soviets. We call to the Chinese Communist Party to launch an appeal for Soviets and to pose the problem of Soviets in China.

The internal struggle must not paralyse them. It is clear from the discussion that they are preoccupied by their internal fight, and that they are arming themselves more profoundly. But they must seek an alliance with the masses. There are already 200 million militia-men. The Chinese communes are sufficiently powerful and influenced by socialism. If now the Chinese launch an appeal for a functioning under soviet forms in China, this would have an immense influence and would stimulate the struggle of the masses against the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, in Cuba, in Vietnam, and in the entire world and would directly influence the American masses. Even at the cost of the war. And the Chinese are saying, "It is necessary to support the revolution" whatever the consequence. And the consequence is the war, this is the preventive war, Chinese comrades, that is to say, to launch ourselves, the revolution, at the moment of the development of the revolution, and this is the best moment and the worst for Imperialism.

Imperialism must enter the war at the moment when it must confront the masses of the United States and of the capitalist world to crush the revolution. The masses are going to feel united to the revolution. And if the Chinese are conscious that the war is inevitable, they must not wait so it is imperialism that unleashes it. They are the ones who must hurl themselves into organising the best conditions so that the war is the most speedy possible end to imperialism. The quickest way is that for the American masses to be enabled to see that imperialism is reactionary, that the Chinese and the masses of the world are hurling themselves into the war to impel the revolution and that imperialism is trying to crush their revolution. This is also going to have an effect on the Soviet masses. This is the role that the Chinese must play now.

The internal discussion of the Chinese must extend itself on a world scale. They are doing it in a limited way. The publications communicating the internal discussions are brought out to seek the support of the masses, but in a limited way. They make no appeal for the masses to intervene. And the way to call them to intervene is the public discussion within China. This is the way for the masses of the world to intervene; appealing publicly for an open discussion in China so that all the masses intervene openly in China.

THE PROCESS OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

The process of the political revolution is also going on in China. The team of Mao Tse Sung is leading it. The struggle against the conservative tendencies is the political revolution. What does this struggle mean? They are in process of getting rid of the conservative sector so as to be able to go forward. This is the political revolution, which means that the course of the revolution is contained, repressed because of the existence of those conservative sectors who want to subject the process of the revolution which is going towards socialism. The Chinese must understand that this is going on not only in China, but in the entire world. It is necessary to make the masses of the world participate. But the way to do it is not only to publish "Pekin Review" or by making appeals, without making known what is happening in China and the development of the revolution. Everything should be discussed fully, publicly, democratically; all the masses to discuss with equal rights. The progress of the political revolution in China as in Cuba is united to the development of the revolution. One cannot discuss without preparing for the revolution. The conservative forces are going to try to find support on a world scale, even with Imperialism. The peaceful co-existence of the soviet bureaucracy is seeking for an alliance with Imperialism in order to contain the political revolution. Imperialism intervenes in support of Breznev, Kosygin, Ho Chi Min, the conservative wing in Indo-China, to stop the Chinese to stop the revolution. The Chinese must feel that on them the future of the world depends. They must be conscious of this; on them depends the future of humanity on a very profound scale. It depends on them. The more the Chinese advance in their appeal for a World United Front, for the Mass Communist International, with an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme, the more they throw themselves into the organisation of Soviets in China, and call for their organisation in other Workers' States, the more they launch themselves into supporting the world revolution; the more we can prevent imperialism arming itself with more powerful means and avert the greatest damage to humanity.

Without doubt the Chinese are preoccupied by their military weakness. They must feel that the nuclear arms of Imperialism can destroy half of China. They know it, and as they have also said, Imperialism will destroy half of China but what remains will be sufficient for the construction of socialism. This judgment is correct. Apply it. We call upon them to apply it. We appeal

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to them to take this judgment into account and make a call for a public discussion, to the Soviet Union, the Cubans to the revolutionary currents of the world, to the communist parties, to the nationalist tendencies, to the revolutionary nationalist currents and groups to the communist parties of France, Belgium, Italy, to the Trotskyist parties of the world, to the IV International, for a discussion in a united front with the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme on a world scale, with the programme of the land to the peasants, of the worker and peasant alliance, for the armed struggle to overthrow imperialism and capitalism, to discuss on this basis with the Soviet Union and the Cubans, to call for a world planning of the economy among all the workers states, taking into account the common interest of socialist development, the alliance with the masses of the world, unconditional support for the world revolution, planning the economy on a world scale on this basis. The American masses when they see, feel and are present at this activity of the Chinese, their level of understanding, their revolutionary decision, their organising determination, their independent class action will equal 10 years of political life. Within a short time, they will receive an immense stimulus to organise class actions independently of imperialism, of its parties and its trade union agents.

The Chinese must take into consideration the declaration of the leader of the transport strike which took place recently in the US. Quill who has just died was an old bureaucrat and bandit, agent of capitalism. He lived and died an agent of imperialism. But when this agent of capitalism is forced to call such a strike and to declare "I would rather be called a red by the rats than a rat by the reds," this is because he is expressing what the base of the proletariat is thinking. And he was not referring to the strike, was not referring to the "reds" in relation to the strike, but on a world scale, because the masses see the world and feel united to it. The Chinese must intervene to form a united front with the masses. This is the way to discuss, to solve and to by-pass the growing crisis of the leadership of the world revolution. The crisis of growth of the world revolution is the crisis of growth of leadership of the world revolution. The masses of the entire world, including the USA, are close to hurling themselves to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. What holds them back is that the leaderships do not arm them nor take the decision. There is not a world leadership recognising the revolution. This limits the masses. It is necessary to address the masses of each country, of the entire world, with appeals to fight for power, to organise themselves and to support these appeals with concrete actions which the Chinese Workers' State can take, thus showing that it is disposed to support all the revolutionary struggles and above all even at the cost of war. In the actual conditions this would have an immense effect. It is going to shorten the delay. This is the way to profit from the indecision and the weakness of imperialism and to gain historic time so as to put oneself in the best social, political and military conditions to struggle.

THE TASKS OF THE UNITED FRONT DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

This means the nuclear war. The Chinese are conscious that the nuclear war is inevitable. And they must foresee that it is inevitable. The Chinese comrades and also our leadership must prepare themselves and foresee the nuclear war. The Chinese comrades announce that the war is inevitable, but have no programme for during and

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dwelling to meet the housing requirements of the masses, a thirty five hour week, equal pay for men and women, etc. But they must also be convinced that the historic process is proceeding at fantastic speed and under these conditions the masses will learn very fast indeed. Hence the vanguard must prepare not only to unify the shop stewards committees but prepare for the dynamics of the process very shortly to spill over into workers councils (soviets) when dual power itself will be but a short stage on the road to actually wresting power from the bourgeoisie. We repeat that the seamen strike is an historic event whose consequences although they may not show themselves immediately, open the way to the confrontation of the classes where no retreat is possible for either protagonist.

after the war. They don't have a programme. What is their programme. What are they going to do? What is the function of the Workers' State and of the militants of the Communist Parties, of the Chinese masses, in the nuclear war and after the nuclear war? Consequently it is necessary to foresee and prepare the Chinese cadres to intervene immediately on a world scale for the reanimation of the economy, to reorganise it immediately at the outbreak of the war, to launch themselves into taking powers on a world scale and immediately at the same time. To plan the economy it is necessary to prepare the Chinese people at this very time in this respect. However there are still more plans for outside China, they are neither announced nor discussed publicly.

The programme of the Chinese communists, of the government and the Chinese people, during and after the war is necessary. It is necessary to publish them. Imperialism can launch the war at any moment. The visit of Honolulu of Johnson, to discuss with the Pentagon and the reactionary generals and murderers of South Vietnam, shows this. They have gone to discuss the war plans. There isn't any difference between Johnson and the Pentagon. Both of them want the same thing, to try to stop and crush the development of world communism. They differ on ways and on how long to delay. Fear holds them back. If they had wanted to, they would have already launched it. It is fear which causes the disunity amongst them. If they had been sure they would already have launched it. But fear does not divide them on the need to launch the world war. Thus the Chinese comrades must understand that it is necessary for the programme to be present during and after the nuclear war. In this sense, we invite the Chinese to discuss our own programme, preparing cadres immediately.

The war does not mean to say that the struggle is going to begin at exactly the same time, and on all sides at the same time, because the masses are not prepared organisationally. But in certain places the struggle can even start before the first nuclear bombs. And after the destruction commences, the masses are going to come out in every country; in a very little time, in a few hours. The bourgeoisie thinks it will defend itself by shutting itself up in shelters. Capitalism has no other way to defend itself in the nuclear war than to put itself into underground shelters and try to destroy all it can. On the other hand the masses are going to come out, they must come out, because it is the only way to survive by crushing the enemy. It is going to be a social chain reaction and the days which precede the war will also mean a preparation for the masses. In this moment what is important is the identification and the confidence in the ability of initiative of the masses. It is necessary to develop this, not to try to impose on the masses such and such an idea, but to understand the masses and to organise them in what they want to do and need to do. One must foresee that on all sides the capitalist power is going to collapse. The apparatus of capitalism, the police, the army, are not going to support it, are going to flee, they are going to want to save themselves individually. One must organise workers' power immediately, even from restricted bases, without waiting to control a whole country or a whole town. Forming soviets, united fronts, committees,

STOP PRESS

As we go to press the Emergency Regulations of the government have just been announced. This is an inevitable move as the class struggle intensifies and the norms of bourgeois democratic existence are abandoned by the capitalist class. Servicemen will be sent into the docks, fines and imprisonment can be inflicted on militants attempting to extend the strike or preventing the army and navy from strike breaking. These repressive manoeuvres (which are being held in reserve by the capitalists so far) must be fought by the workers by intensifying their attempts to involve other sections of workers, dockers as a first step should be brought in, in spite of the conservative opposition of Jack Dash, and by appealing to the service men to come out in solidarity with the seamen.

communes and acting as the power. But not to impose a government on the masses but to invite them to organise themselves and incorporate themselves into it and to extend it. Begin immediately by taking these measures, and first of all the masses must arm themselves. Everybody must have a weapon. Form workers and peasants militias above all to strengthen the workers' power and crush the rest of capitalist power where it resists. In the same way organise immediately provisions, hygiene, food transport and communications, on the basis of the intervention of everyone deciding in assemblies where everyone participates and where all the initiative is received. The trade union bureaucratic leaderships are going to desert. It is necessary to base oneself on this and call to the trade unions so that they intervene and organise workers' power, prepare to live under a democratic socialist regime where everything is decided communally with assemblies every day, and where the social interest imposes itself against all types of individual interests, through the weight of the political life in assemblies, communes, soviets, and with the support of the masses for all the decisions.

Joined to the organisation of the social life under the power of the soviets and communes, the cadres and militants must realise conferences, courses to draw the conclusions of all the political experiences. They must be made so that everyone intervenes, men, women, children and the so called old people. Militants must defend the programme of the IV International and even if it is not called the IV International, organise the communist Trotskyist vanguard and the masses in a centralised movement. Even before contact has been re-established, it is necessary to act with the consciousness and the confidence of belonging to a centralised International. And to seek to re-establish wherever possible, contact with the centre.

Wherever there are guerrillas, it is necessary that they could act as the power, organising the social activity, convoking the soviets and organising communes, calling for the general strike where organised forms of capitalist power still exist, in order to disorganise them, and replace them immediately by soviets. It is necessary to address the army and invite the soldier to depose their officers and form committees joining up with the workers' power, the soviets.

In the Workers' State it is necessary to re-establish Socialist democracy and without waiting for the war, to immediately begin discussions and take decisions by the assemblies making them function as soviets. The political revolution in the Workers' States will be the result of the war where the political power of the bureaucracy still exists. The bureaucracy is going to oppose the revolution with a ferocious resistance, principally in the Soviet Union where it is organised and has a political structure well differentiated from the masses. But the necessity of the war and the defence of the Workers' State, the need for a united front with the masses of the countries actually dominated by capitalism, the need to crush imperialism and to make the revolution in the shortest delay and in the entire world, will give priority to the initiative and the functioning of the masses and will disorganise all the apparatuses of the bureaucracy. And the immense hatred accumulated by the soviet masses against the bureaucracy is going to come out on every side. The Chinese must prepare the political revolution not only calling upon the soviet masses to overthrow the bureaucracy but giving an example and organising power in China on the basis of soviets and the functioning of socialist democracy; not waiting for the war but doing it now; applying what Lenin and Trotsky spoke of, "The organised control of society over its own State, is the Soviets."

In relation to the American masses an immediate appeal is necessary: appeal to them by radio, or by direct contact, sending people to make contact with them and establishing the same form of government, the workers and peasants government, broadcasting in all directions the successes gained, the defence against radiation, in hygiene and in the reorganisation of the economy, including

the American masses from the first moment in the world economic planning of reconstruction. Make them feel that the war is not against them, but that they are our allies and we appeal to them to support us, in order to suppress imperialism in the shortest possible delay.

Once the war is ended, when the population sees that it dominates through popular assemblies, communes, soviets, a workers' and peasants' government, workers' control, complete democratic rights to discuss and resolve, and the permanent existence of workers' and people's assemblies which are going to resolve and discuss everything, everything is going to advance rapidly. But the development of conscious cadres is necessary to influence the population. The condition to develop this process is that the party, that the revolutionary organisation—whatever be its name at this moment—develops the maximum number of cadres to act among the population; not to protect it, not with protectionism, but so that it appeals to, that it organises revolutionary tendencies and current within the population. But the base for the development is not the party's ability to persuade, to agitate and to make propaganda, but the revolutionary and democratic functioning of communes, of soviets, of area committees, of factory committees, which have full freedom and democracy to discuss all the problems, everything so that distribution is according to the needs of each one.

It is necessary immediately to try to unify the proletariat of Europe, the unification of all Europe immediately, through a single European leadership, planning the economy. The same in Africa, Latin America. And the countries in which this is most advanced must come to the aid of the other countries, not solving things in a single country, but trying to balance and normalise the economy, coming to the aid of the other countries to raise them up and unify the economy on this basis.

EACH ONE MUST PREPARE FOR THE WAR AND THE REVOLUTION

Our sections and our world leadership must prepare itself for the nuclear war. They must take account of the fact that when the war breaks out, our strength does not consist of our ability to organise, but in our liaison with the masses of the world, and in our functioning as their leaders, and their leadership. It is necessary to have the consciousness that the nuclear war is going to destroy all the leaderships. It is going to leave the trade unions, the Workers' States, the Communist Parties without leaderships, because they are going to flee. The masses are going to rise and reject all of these people.

In 1941, in the attack on the Soviet
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WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

VIETNAM

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poor peasants; statification of all the property and planning of the economy, nationalisation of the banks and banks' help to the small peasants; planning of Indonesia and an appeal for the planning of all the states of South East Asia; Socialist Federation of South East Asia, as part of the Socialist Federation of Asia.

The Chinese must be the champions of this appeal. They must make a campaign, agitation and propaganda not only through articles, leaflets and radio programmes: this is good, it must continue, but the effects of this campaign are very limited. It is the direct appeal to the masses to mobilise themselves which has an effect. If the military clique of Indonesia have not dislodged Soekarno, it is because they are afraid of the immense resistance of the petit bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie influences the very movement which supports them, that is the party of the Muslim grandees.

27th January, 1966.

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 control, leading to nationalisation under workers control. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

ENLARGED MEETING OF THE I. S. OF THE IV. INTERNATIONAL

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Union, the Soviet masses showed that in spite of their feeble preparation, they immediately and consciously responded to the attack by Facism in defence of the Workers' State. They did not attack Stalin, even though they had enough reasons to do so. At this stage, the masses will do the two things because they feel sure of themselves and united to the masses of the world.

In Europe, as in Asia, the war once declared, will be the end of capitalism, will be the world fusion of the masses. Our sections must feel that here is the basis of our strength.

The immediate measures to take, the programme, put us in contact with the masses of the world because they are what they want. They will not encounter any opposition or resistance from the old leaderships. But for this it is necessary to prepare.

It is obvious that we don't have the remedies, that we don't have the means to combat radiation. We think that the effects of radiation are less than what they say, much less... But we must look for and find time and place to have general ideas on how to combat the consequences of nuclear radiation. But this is not the fundamental thing, the fundamental thing is the conception that the war will not put an end to progress, but that the majority of humanity have already reached the communist consciousness.

The consciousness, liberated from all obstacles, is going to have an enormous effect, and humanity is going to find the ability and the optimism to rapidly recuperate from all the damage which the war will have caused. Immediately now it is necessary to prepare for this. And it is necessary to feel that the more we understand and elevate the centralised functioning of the International to-day and the individual and collective progress, the more influence we gain now within the masses, the more we will be able to influence, to intervene and decide, during and immediately on the atomic war in order to immediately reanimate the course of humanity.

The fundamental conclusion of this is that we should base ourselves immediately on the communist consciousness of humanity and immediately proceed with the reanimation

of social functioning, with the organisation of committees of militias of communes to resolve the military organisation or the organisation of work.

The preparation of the teams to confront the nuclear war must be made to-day. And to prepare ourselves does not mean to declare ourselves to be disposed to resist it, but to prepare ourselves spiritually, organically and consciously. If there is not an organic preparation of the consciousness and of the will, and the exercise of this will, the nuclear war is inevitably going to influence and to put pressure upon us. It is necessary to prepare ourselves for it and to be where it is necessary to be; and there, where it is necessary, to fulfil the conscious function of organising and directing the revolution, to feel that the strength is not in the individual but in the ability to understand the process, which means the immense force of the masses who want to progress. All the capitalist apparatus, all the bourgeoisie, all the repressive apparatus of the bureaucracy, of the trade union bureaucrat leaders is going to be liquidated. And it is the masses who will have the strength, who are going to tend to intervene. This is the force which our comrades are going to have. For this we prepare ourselves. And for this it is essential in order to prepare ourselves, that the functioning of the party proceeds in an organic uninterrupted way, but also with the constant political spiritual cultural revolutionary elevation in the organic functioning of each one of us. It is necessary to understand that only a very little time remains, not to choose the place where each one wants to work but to go where consciously we see and understand that it is best. Not to put up any resistance but do it. All resistance indicates a degree of incomprehension or immaturity, or even that the links with the revolution are weak. The revolution is as it exists to-day and to be dedicated to it means to accept everything demanded by it.

And if we prepare ourselves for the revolution, if we are disposed to intervene constantly or uninterruptedly, it is necessary to prepare ourselves to intervene in the atomic war. This is the course of the class and revolutionary struggle of this stage of his-

tory. It is necessary to take into account that the limitations, the immaturity, the lack of preoccupation for progress, individualism, subjectivism are the worst enemies, the worst obstacles that any of us are going to encounter in the future to intervene in the atomic war and the revolution.

The masses are going to try to look in an immediate and unanimous way, after a brief delay, for the centralisation which they need. Thus they will seek the way to centralise themselves socially, to concentrate themselves to solve all the problems of humanity. So that each individual, each thought is centralised there. All paternalistic or individualistic attitudes will come into conflict with this, who ever remains a prisoner to this, will inexorably be pushed to one side, no matter what the political or theoretical ability.

The masses learn in a week what we have taken ten years to learn, because it's preoccupation will be to impel society forward. Above all the Chinese will remain, the Soviet Union will remain, an immense part of the Workers' States will be the essential bases on which the reanimation and development of the socialist course of humanity is going to take place. There are thousands of Trotskyists, there are going to be millions of Trotskyists. It is a fusion that we are going to reanimate the functioning of socialism. Fused with them, we will be reorganised in new forms for the future life of the masses immediately after the atomic war.

Imperialism hasn't the arms to destroy humanity or the majority of humanity. We understand the damage which Imperialism and the Soviet Bureaucracy are going to cause. But it is the price which humanity must pay in order to advance. It is a fact of history. We do not have to prevent it. Socialism is inevitable; but there is the price of history to pay, in the same way as the other advances in history have demanded a heavy price, as did the formation of Capitalism.

15th February, 1966

The International Secretariat of the
IV International
J. POSADAS:

EXTRACT FROM

"REVOLUTION SOCIALISTA" ORGAN OF THE MR. 13. GUATEMALA

FRANCISCO AMADO was denounced and betrayed to the police by the PGT

In the first days of March, after resisting, arms in hand, in difficult conditions, comrades Francisco Amado, Chinto and Ismael, leaders of our movement, were captured by the police and the army. To do this the police relied on information supplied directly by Efigenio, a member of the leadership of the PGT-FAR (pro-Moscow communists of the Turcios group) who had been captured a few days before and now is free, after having reached an agreement which included giving information on our comrades and actually betraying a number to the police.

Efigenio will have to render account to the masses for his vile and counter-revolutionary attitude. Earlier he had already declared before many anti-imperialist militants that the way to resolve the opposition of the MR-13 to the policy of the PGT-FAR was the physical elimination of comrade Francisco Amado. In this way, he did not miss the first opportunity to pass the information to the police, which brought about the detention of Amado, Chinto and Ismael.

Efigenio knew comrade Amado perfectly well and through the so-called Information Service of the FAR, which is really an agency for denouncing militants to the police, they found the whereabouts of the house in which the comrades were captured. Moreover, this same detective agency had the numbers of the number-plate of the cars which our comrades used, and all this data was given to the police for the capture and possibly for the assassination of our comrades.

This denunciation to the police is the product of the reformist policy, of alliance with capitalism, which the PGT-FAR follows and by which it has succeeded in isolating itself from the masses both of the city and the town. They have claimed to set up a guerilla front which has been isolated and regarded sceptically by the peasants of the region, who recognise as the only guerilla force the one commanded by Yon Sosa, however much Fidel Castro may try to in-

flate Turcios, as do the agencies of imperialism; with paid propaganda and publicity stunts the group of Turcios tries to appear as a guerilla force. Since Turcios was expelled from the MR-13, his group has not carried out a single guerilla action against the army in the mountains, the only two in its history having been in October 1964.

This same policy, encouraged by the slanders of Castro, prepare new denunciations and aggressions against our movement, for which we denounce it before the masses of Guatemala and the world. Incapable of discussing politically, of fusing with the masses, because its policy of support for capitalism separates it from them (as in its attitude of electoral support for the bourgeois candidate Mendez Montenegro), the only way out of the desperation which afflicts them is delation and slander.

We appeal to the masses to demand account for these filthy betrayals of the PGT-FAR. We appeal to the honest base of the PGT-FAR to demand an explanation from its leadership of the way in which Efigenio was captured and then set free, and to discuss and to reflect that the policy of alliance with capitalism which the leadership of the PGT-FAR is carrying on, as a consequence of peaceful coexistence, leads them to be more and more counter-revolutionary and for being on this road they will be smashed by the masses within a short period.

We appeal to the masses of the workers' states and of Cuba in particular, to demand by every means that the campaign of slanders and defamations which leads to the betrayal of militants to the police, which is being carried on by the Communist parties in the service of Moscow against our movement and in which Castro has joined, be stopped.

We appeal to the masses of the Chinese Workers' State and to the comrades of the Chinese Communist Party, who are fighting against peaceful co-existence, to form a united front with us and with all the world tendencies who are fighting arms in hand to

smash capitalism and liquidate imperialism, for this is the only way to overcome actual contradictions in the world leadership of the revolution, which gives a margin for the existence of individuals deformed by the policy of peaceful co-existence and who act as counter-revolutionaries, blocking the struggle of the masses by every means, even the most vile such as those of betrayal and murder.

With the blow given to the leadership of our Movement, they are trying to dislocate and destroy it. The comrades of the leadership were murdered, because it was thought that this would prevent the MR-13 orientating the masses during and after the elections. The things which most faithfully express the political corruption of the PGT-FAR were that they did not hide their joy and commented that the MR-13 was liquidated and that "Revolution Socialist" would not come out any more. In their frustrated dreams, they have invented that the guerillas are seeking contact with Turcios in his hideout in the mountains, while they have reached the point of wanting comrade Yon Sosa also to be captured and murdered by the agents of the police. All their dreams have come to nothing; neither the denunciations to the police, nor slanders, nor the bestial repression by the dictator, advised directly by imperialism, will detain the MR-13 in its constant raising of the struggle for the socialist revolution.

Eliminating one or another of our comrades is not going to paralyse us, despite the fact that comrades Amado, Chinto and Ismael were cadres of the leadership. The MR-13 is rooted in the masses, they feed it and protect it, support it and impel it in its task of being the conscious leadership of the process of the revolution in Guatemala. There is nothing more stupid than to believe that it has been liquidated. Those who will be swept away and soon, by the violent eruption of the masses, will be the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and its bailiffs of every kind and the reformist and bureaucrat delators in the service of peaceful co-existence.

Communication of the First Guerrilla Conference of the Revolutionary Movement 13th November of Guatemala

During the first fortnight of February 1966, acting on a resolution of the Political Bureau of the MR13 and under the leadership of a commission of the said organism, presided over by Commandante Maria Antonio Yon Sosa, the first Guerrilla Conference of the MR13 was held in the rebel territory of the North East of the country.

All the guerrilla patrols who operate in an ever increasing rebel territory assembled at the conference.

Some patrols took ten to fourteen days to reach this important meeting, avoiding, as they marched, the permanent vigilance and the expeditions of the enemy in the zone. During their march through villages, farms and outlying areas they held meetings and assemblies with peasant committees, militiamen and militants of the MR13. In these meetings the advance of the world revolution, the advance of the peasant war were discussed and the slanders of Fidel Castro on the MR13, on the IV International and the Trotskyists were repudiated.

The marches of the different groupings of the combatants were a preparation for the conference and a reaffirmation of the political authority of the MR13 throughout the guerrilla zone of the North East.

United together in an area of rebel territory, guerrillas and militiamen of the nearest areas filled the conference with revolutionary enthusiasm and a great political preoccupation to prepare, with this event, the tasks which the ascendancy of the revolution demand on a world and national scale, with the advance and deepening of the peasant war.

The political leadership of the Conference was in the charge of the members of the Political Bureau. On the initiative of the Political Bureau for the benefit of the or-

ganisation, commissions of security, of communication and information and provisioning were constituted by guerrillas and militiamen. The normal tasks of the Front were not interrupted, since the Regional Committee continue working, directing the cells of the different peasant committees, and militias continued with their tasks throughout the area near where the conference was held, providing thus a base of security for its realisation.

The Conference began with an opening speech by Commandante Yon Sosa wherein he characterised the historic moment at which the conference was being held within the elevation and perspectives of the impetuous development of the socialist revolution in the world, Latin America and Guatemala. Comrade Yon Sosa rejected the vile attacks and calumnies of Fidel Castro on the MR13, Trotskyism and on the IV International and called upon the masses of the world and especially those of Cuba to demand from Fidel Castro that he rectified his filthy allegations made with dishonest intent, unworthy of a revolutionary leader. Expressing the hope that Castro would change, he called upon the masses to demand honesty and leave aside the methods of calumny of people such as Stalin and discuss openly and publicly in Cuba, Guatemala and the world, the policy, the programme and the activity of the MR13, for what reason Castro said it was bad and what Castro poses instead.

The second part of the agenda consisted of specific reports:

— On the International situation; the advance of the world revolution, the crisis of the leadership of the revolution, the advance of the Chinese comrades towards a united

front with the revolutionary world tendencies which struggle for the socialist revolution in the perspective of the counter revolutionary world war. This report was the responsibility of Comrade Tomas.

— On the national situation; tasks and perspectives of the MR13, delivered by Comrade Yon Sosa.

— On the organisation and functioning of the MR13 as a party to advance the tasks of this stage, delivered by Comrade Everiste.

— On the tasks and perspectives of the Alexander de Leon Guerrilla Front and the functioning of the guerrillas as a party delivered by Comrade Yon Sosa.

Each report was discussed fully in the various commissions which met after the general meeting.

The third part of the agenda of the Conference was the political assessment of the conference with the participation of all those present. Each intervention was an expression of the maturity of the guerrillas and militiamen formed in the course of the daily activity of organising and fighting arms in hands developing an intense political life in every patrol. In their interventions, all the participants rejected the unworthy attacks of Castro on the MR13, Yon Sosa and the IV International. They reaffirmed their belief in the programme, the politics and the methods of struggle advanced by the leadership of the MR13 and by the IV International and Comrade Posadas. They rejected the claim of Castro to name bureaucratically, guerrilla commanders and to seek to yoke the MR13 and its guerrillas to the chariot of conciliation and betrayal of the PGT and of the soviet bureaucracy. They reaffirmed that the MR13 movement is the only guerrilla force which exists as such in Guatemala and they are not a simple band

of desperate terrorists like the so-called FAR, rejected by the peasants for its conciliatory policy at the national level and even in the region where in vain it has claimed to establish itself; a clear reflection of its conciliation and submission to the policy of co-existence which is used by imperialism to massacre the masses of the world and Vietnam.

The indomitable will to triumph of the socialist revolution and the unbreakable decision to push forward all the tasks and resolutions posed by the political bureau of our party, the MR13 vibrated in all the interventions.

The fourth part of the agenda was the voting of the resolutions which on the proposition of the PB were submitted to the consideration of the conference and were approved unanimously.

The final part of the conference was the closing discourse made by Commandante Yon Sosa in which he included the success of the conference and centralised its spirit and decision to push forward all the tasks which were discussed.

The conference closed with a fiesta in which revolutionary songs were sung, some compositions of the guerrillas and the International.

During the conference the most fraternal spirit of comradeship developed and a disciplined collective life.

They carried out defence exercises, such as breaking camp in case of an enemy attack and maintained permanently a political preoccupation to ensure a successful outcome of the meeting.

The Conference sent greetings and supported resolution which we are publishing separately.

March 1966.

The Political Bureau of the MR13.

THE CRISIS IN THE CHINESE PARTY

CONTINUED

FROM PAGE 3

The strength of the Chinese revolution is still not used, it is slow. That can be hastened. The conservative wing has little basis in the face of the millions of peasants being incorporated in political activity and exercising great weight. To elevate the process the Commune should incorporate them quickly, to an active political life, making them live all the world revolution. Help them participate freely, write, preparing agitation; launch periodicals, broadcast, stimulate spontaneous and organised demonstrations and meetings around declarations such as "Down with capitalism!" "Down with imperialism!" Let them hold out the definite slogan "Seize the factories and the land!" "Distribute the land!" for the factories to work under workers' control under state ownership. For the programme of socialist revolution; monopoly of foreign commerce, factory committees. These calls and this agitation are bound to resound all the world over. This should be done, now in China! The masses should take part; the intervention of the organisms is not sufficient, let the whole people intervene and besides, see to it that in the army there are public discussions. Live a cell life. Let the soldier have all the rights of a political partisan. And, as in the Party at any time, a discussion or a rejection of a decision can be demanded, so in the army. The soldier must keep full rights as a member, in the army or elsewhere. The army is merely one form of organisation. As in the union or in the factory, so in the army. Let all the masses intervene. It will have an immense effect. We invite Fidel Castro to discuss and do that. We invite him to announce to the Cuban people that in China they have abolished the ranks and the military salute, and the soldier has the right to judge his leaders. Let them hold meetings for criticism and assessing all this should be done. Those are slogans of the Fourth International. That is how Lenin and Trotsky organised the Soviet army. Those were Trotsky's slogans and conclusions, as well as the programme for the organisation of the Soviet army, which also is the programme and the policy of the Fourth International. That programme includes the appeal to the masses of the world, of the workers' states, of the colonial revolution, to impose on the army such conclusions.

The Chinese army plays a revolutionary

part as no other army in any Workers' State, save Yugoslavia, because the Yugoslavian army organised itself as the Chinese. It was born and organised itself in the struggle for power. Later on, it was spoiled on account of a combination of causes: Stalin's attack and the weakness of the Yugoslavian Communist Party and of its leadership. Its leadership was weak from a marxist standpoint. It would not and could not endure and gave way under the hugh pressure. It gave way under the attack from Stalin and from imperialism. It was spoiled, showing the weakness of that leadership.

The Chinese army has a social composition far more powerful; organically and politically powerful, because it was the army that led the revolution. The revolutionary struggle, the organisation, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, was made in the shape of an army. The development of the army was at the same time that of a party, on the basis of the army. Later on, the Party established the army as a particular organism which has been done by no other Workers' State. The Party imposes itself on the Army.

It is not only in China where this happens. There the way to advance the revolution is resolved more favourably. In the U.S.S.R. the same phenomenon occurs, as a consequence the Soviet bureaucracy of the Party and administration are united with the army's bureaucracy. The army must defend the Workers' State, because there is its source of living, but, at the same time, with the development of the Workers' State, industrial capacity, the economic development, together with the lack of political and revolutionary life in the socialist democracy of the U.S.S.R., the absence of independent union life, the lack of revolutionary socialist life of the masses, have allowed the formation of the bureaucracy in the army, which has an apparatus and a weight more than elsewhere. But at the same time it is weaker than in any other country, because, although it has a solid structure it has to take the soviet traditions of the masses, the weight of the soviet proletariat, which is infinitely superior to that of any other Workers' State. This creates a permanent force which, as soon as it mobilises, carries all before it. The Chinese army is more accessible to the pressure from the government and from the revolution, because its constitution, its lead-

ing cadres developed together with the advance of the revolution, and because the army is permanently an instrument of the progress of revolution, because imperialism harasses China constantly. China is the vital centre of opposition to imperialism. Hence the fact that the army is unable to shelter or develop a conservative wing. That is doomed. We invite the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to draw this conclusion, so that the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party carry on the open, public struggle against the right, conservative wing of the army. The constant pressure from imperialism, the development of revolution in Asia encourages permanently in the Chinese army, revolutionary wings. It is an enormous advantage. The soviet army has very weak links with the revolution on a world-wide scale. In China, the links are much more solid and strong, through the constant necessity of revolutionary life, as they have imperialism in front of them, and it is the vital centre of opposition and struggle against it. On that account a permanent conservative wing cannot develop in the Chinese army. It is doomed. Thus the opposition of the Chinese Communist Party's leadership is delayed and slow. The links of the conservative wing with the Chinese people are very weak, on account of the historical conditions. The links with the revolution on the other hand, are immensely stronger. That is why under these circumstances the attitude of the Chinese leadership is timid.

Although it is a correct and good line, it remains timid and limited. It should be more energetic, resolute and open, calling for the struggle for disposing of world imperialism and resorting to the masses more often, by way of socialist democracy. In the meantime it should call for the establishment of soviets, the intervention of the communes.

It should call directly upon the masses of the U.S.S.R. to discuss, to hold public demonstrations, meetings, union meetings; to approve resolutions in the factories for unconditional support to the colonial revolution and the Workers' States to the masses of the world which struggle to overthrow capitalism and to discuss the Sino-soviet crisis, on the basis of impelling socialist revolution. Not an abstract argument as to who is right, but to impel socialist revolu-

tion and then discuss the crisis as a function of support to the programme of socialist revolution, and to that end, re-establishment of the soviets, of socialist democracy. It is necessary also to call upon the Cuban masses to discuss the disappearance of Guevara. Denounce the murder of Guevara. To be hidden, arrested is to be politically murdered. Let him appear in a public discussion and let the Chinese intervene showing how the soviet bureaucracy and the communist parties, the revolutionary leaderships such as Fidel Castro, who have no confidence in the masses, and in the socialist perspectives, and believe that it is they who decide, the administrative apparatus, are paternalist and opportunist; on that account they coincide with the policy of peaceful co-existence of the bureaucracy; they have no certainty. All this fight and kidnapping of Guevara, this murder, is the preparation to do the same with other revolutionaries. The Chinese should come out to stop that, and support the revolutionary currents and tendencies, as the Trotskyists, who struggle for the public, socialist democratic discussion of all the revolutionary tendencies, denounce these crimes and call the Cuban, soviet, Yugoslavian masses to oppose such murderous and criminal attitudes. All that shows that the Soviet bureaucracy, Fidel Castro, resort to murder to prevent revolutionary tendencies and opposition. Either one struggles against Soviet bureaucracy, opposes its policy, or one is a conscious agent for them, and so eventually a murderous representative of the interests of Soviet bureaucracy. There is no escape.

We call upon the leadership of the Party and the Government of the Chinese Workers' State, the Chinese masses, to organise and launch the ANTI-IMPERIALIST CLASS WORLD UNITED FRONT, the United Front with the Trotskyists, with the Fourth International, to overthrow what remains of capitalism. We call upon the Chinese comrades to organise the COMMUNIST MASS INTERNATIONAL to organise the planning of the economy of all the Workers' States.

27th January, 1966

J. POSADAS.

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

Workers of the World, Unite! RED FLAG

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



NO. 34

JULY 1966

SIXPENCE

TO BENEFIT FROM THE SEAMENS STRIKE

TAKE THE OFFENSIVE FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE ON THE PROGRAMME FOR WORKERS POWER

The seamens strike has continued to dominate the political scene in Great Britain, has centralised the attention of the British masses and will act as one of the most important political experiences that the proletariat has undergone in recent years. It has revealed the enormous will and determination of the British working class, but it has also demonstrated that until the workers perfect their own means of struggle, that is their factory or shop stewards committees which unify all the worker struggles and do not allow one group of workers to struggle more or less alone, the full benefits of these struggles will not accrue to the proletariat and the capitalist class and government can survive and block the aspirations of the masses.

There is no question that the British proletariat is with the seamen in the struggle. Many sectors of workers have expressed solidarity and offered financial aid, and in Cardiff for example there were large demonstrations of miners in support of the seamen, but this support has not found the way to generalise itself into a general strike, although all the objective world and national conditions demand this.

The role of the TUC has been outrageous. It has come out quite clearly as the strike breaking weapon of the union bureaucrats. It has used all its influence to isolate the seamen. "Left" and "right" union bureaucrats have been united in this. Any extension of the strike to other sectors of the masses immediately threatens their influence which largely depends on the fragmentation of the class struggle. And beyond this, the whole workers struggle shows convincingly—never more so than in the seamens strike—that every basic economic demand under the conditions of capitalist weakness and decay implies a political struggle and programme. Here again the TU leaders have no desire to lead a thorough going political struggle which would swiftly get beyond their control. As for the Left MP's, they only give verbal support to the seamen and some like Heffer even wish the seamen had accepted the Pearson report!

The Labour government faithfully carrying out the wishes of capitalism has threatened the use of the emergency regulations i.e. the use of the navy to clear the ports and has done everything to smear the strikers as "pawns" of groups of "communist" plotters. There has been talk of the need for a secret ballot and great hopes were placed in branches where coastal seamen predominated (out in solidarity rather than having a great deal to gain from the strike) to provoke a return to work. In this connection the government has without doubt been dismayed by the enormous discipline and solidarity of the strikers which verges on the Bolshevik. No sooner was there a threat of Irish fishing boats landing goods from Ulster in Scotland than mass pickets have been organised. Further more this is not a question of "volunteers." The strike committee chooses who are to go—disobe-

diance being met by loss of strike pay.

The policy of the government has been determined by the need to gain a "victory" for the incomes policy. The LP leaders have had the effrontery to give increases to doctors, MPs, judges, top civil servants and see to it that the universities are well looked after and then attempt to block the demands of the seamen. But this effrontery is inevitable because capitalism can only save itself and its privileges by intensifying the exploitation of the masses. Sharp international competition in exports makes it impossible for capitalism to give concessions to the masses. This is on top of the fact that the balanced development of the economy is impossible when vast sums are spent on unproductive military expenditures. The LP government provoked the strike, hoping to take advantage of the lack of a workers centre with a coherent anti capitalist programme. Faced with the remarkable intransigence of the workers, it has since tried to hide behind the Pearson report. The latter as has been pointed out in the publication of the NUS Hull Dispute Committee "Not Wanted on Voyage" is a complete hoax which is being used by the government to make it appear that a "compromise" solution had been worked out. A 40 hour week is still denied until 1967 and no increase in the basic wage is allowed (not even the 12s 6d. the employers were ready to give) and in fixing a 48 hour week now, an actual cut in basic wages was to be arranged equal to the 14 days loss of paid leave. This means a 4½ per cent cut in basic rates. This shows the determined efforts of the government to maintain its incomes policy whilst it hopes to exhaust or demoralise the strike. Nevertheless the Wilson outfit is in a weak and dangerous position. Once it had to call upon the navy, the conse-

quences could only be to stimulate the revolutionary current and eventually a struggle involving even larger sectors of the British masses. Thus the government and the "moderates" in the union are hoping desperately for a compromise. And the bargaining position of the capitalist class is not exactly strengthened when one firm, the Townsend car ferry has completely capitulated to the demands of the seamen.

Unfortunately as we have said before, the workers lack their own leadership firmly based on the national organisation of shop stewards committees. Hence even support from the dockers has not been systematically organised. Dash in the Liason committee has veered from right to left but on all occasions has failed to organise. His

veering to the left—after rejecting the idea that dockers should support the seamen—does show that the pressure for united working class action is powerful but lacks a centre which has authority and can lead the workers. Nevertheless we can say with confidence, based on the extremely favourable balance of class forces in the world and the galloping disintegration of capitalism that however the seamens intervention ends, it will have an enormously favourable effect on the consciousness of the masses.

The Wilson apparatus faces insurmountable crises everywhere and its prestige diminishes every minute. Any illusions among the middle class elements who support Wilson are rapidly eroded away. He is a
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DEMAND THE RELEASE OF ADOLFO GILLY AND THE SEVEN TROTSKYISTS IMPRISONED IN MEXICO

STOP THE REPRESSION OF REVOLUTIONARIES

IN LATIN AMERICA

We are making an appeal to all the British working class movement, to the revolutionary vanguard, to the militants in the unofficial committees and the trade unions branches, in the Labour Party and the Communist Party; to the Young Socialists and the Young Communist League and to the Students and intellectuals to show their solidarity with the Trotskyists imprisoned in Mexico, Guatemala and Cuba. These comrades have been arrested in a wave of repression against the IV International which Imperialism and Capitalism with the complicity of the Soviet Bureaucracy and Fidel Castro, have unleashed in Central America.

On the 26th of April seven militants of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyist), the Mexican Section of the IV International, Oscar Fernandez, Teresa Confreta Fernandez, Gilardo Islas Carranza, Ramon and Marta Elena Vargas Salguero, Francisco Zapata and Sergio Garces Estrada, were arrested by the police following the strike in Mexico City University which went

on for 46 days. This important action of the students demanding the removal of the rector included the occupation of several of the faculties. In addition to the Trotskyists, Adolfo Gilly, a revolutionary journalist whose writings have appeared all over the world in the left wing press, was also arrested. Adolfo Gilly has written articles in "Epoca" and "La Marcha" of Uruguay, "Mondon Nuevo" in Italy and is best known in Britain for his contributions to "Monthly Review," the Marxist magazine of the United States edited by Huberman and Sweezy. We have heard that the comrades have been beaten up to extract "confessions" from them, and they are being tried as criminals. We appeal for the sending of telegrams, letters, lists of signatures etc., protesting at the arrest and treatment of these militants and demanding their immediate release. Correspondence should be addressed to the head of the Mexican Government, Presidente Diaz Ordaz, Palacio
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**Manifesto of the International Secretariat
of the IV International on the 1st of May 1966**

PAGE 2

The Manifesto of the International Secretariat of the IV International on the 1st of May 1966

J. POSADAS

MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST OF MAY from the International Secretariat of the IV International. To the workers, to the peasants, the poor petit bourgeoisie, the students, to the masses of all the Workers States, to the masses, the revolutionary cadres and militants, to the militants of the communist parties, of the trade unions of every country who are fighting, who want to fight, for the progress of humanity.

To the masses of Vietnam, of Santo-Domingo, to all the exploited masses of the world, **THE IV INTERNATIONAL CALLS FOR A STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITED WORLD FRONT FOR THE OVERTHROW OF WHAT REMAINS OF CAPITALISM.**

This first of May shows a process where the rhythm of the revolution is constantly and uninterruptedly increasing in vigour and dynamism. The revolution does not only express itself in the conquest of new countries, the overthrow of capitalism in new countries, in the development of the economy, the progress in the nationalisation of property, in the advance of production in the workers states, but it also expresses itself in the progress of the struggle of the masses in all parts of the world. The revolution is not a single thing, but the uninterrupted succession of the revolutionary actions of the masses of the world. As never before, the constant progress of the revolution, in this stage, has shown itself and is showing itself in a global way, synthesised, centralised, concentrated, incessant, from one country to another, in all its forms, from the taking of power in new countries, the advance of the struggles of the proletariat in Europe, the progress of the masses in the workers states, to the strikes of the masses of the U.S.A., to the incessant struggle and the electoral triumph of the British masses, to the impossibility of capitalism to recover (in whatever country it may be), for private property, the property already nationalised.

What marks the permanent, constant course of the world revolution, is that even in those countries in which capitalism has succeeded in putting a brake on the development of the revolution, supporting itself on the conservative forces of the revolution, on the forces which coincided, but which no longer coincide any more with the progress of the revolution, as in Indonesia, as in Algeria, as in Ghana, capitalism has not been able to organise the forces to return to private property. In fact these countries are the weakest points in the progress of the world permanent revolution, and even in these weakest points, capitalism has not been able to return to private property. Bolivia shows the culminating point of this process. 14 years after the nationalisation of the mines, the masses could not continue their progress towards socialism because of the sabotage, of the corruption of the leadership, because of the absence of international support from the communist and socialist parties, and of the Workers States. Nevertheless the masses have been able to sustain the nationalised property and capitalism has remained powerless, without military, material or financial force to be able to return to private property. And after the reactionary coup, of the military dictatorship, after a year and a half of military dictatorship, these people have had to have recourse to elections on the basis of the nationalised property. This shows the immense power of the progress of humanity. It means that the bases of socialism have already entered into the consciousness of humanity in an irreversible way.

THE REVOLUTION IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA, AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE EUROPEAN PROLETARIAT

The coup in Ghana has allowed capitalism to restrain the revolutionary process in the country, but to restrain does not mean to go back. Nkrumah has fallen without there being any demonstration of the masses to bring him back. There has not been a mobilisation of the trade unions, the militias, nor has there been popular demonstrations to demand his return and restrain the counter-revolutionary coup. However the military leadership, the military dictatorship which sought to install itself in power a few weeks ago, has had to declare that it was going to defend the gains of the revolution. The coup was made in order to make a return to

If capitalism had the strength to re-impose itself, to extend itself it would already have done it, because it would count on the desertion it would find among the masses through the absence of progress of the revolution in Indonesia, in Algeria, in Ghana, and the capitalist countries. Nevertheless, the masses, even though sabotaged, slandered, restrained and deflected in their revolutionary struggle maintain themselves intransigently and firm in their aspiration for revolutionary struggle and for socialism. And socialism has entered into the consciousness of humanity. It is not humanity which is afraid for the future of the world, but capitalism, because it must accept the existence of nationalised property in half of the world.

Vietnam and Santo-Domingo show by their incessant struggles the strength, the unquenchable decision of the masses to advance towards socialism. In spite of all the military power of Yankee imperialism it has not been able to eliminate the revolutionary will of the masses of these countries. The military power of imperialism is going to be directed above all at terrorising the masses, paralysing them, terrorising their leaderships. The leaderships are terrorised, hold back, try to conciliate with capitalism, the masses do not. In all the parts of the world where the masses can intervene, they are showing their will, their decision to struggle. They show that this will and decision is beyond, well in advance, centuries in advance of the conservative will of their leadership. In this way the masses seek constantly to advance in the revolution.

private property. And when they must declare that they are going to respect the nationalisations, it is because they feel that the small social petit bourgeoisie base in which they think they can find support, regards them with distrust and does not accept a return to private property. This means that in the consciousness of humanity, nationalised property has already shown its enormous benefit and progress.

In Indonesia, the military coup tried to contain the development of the revolution. And in order to contain it, it must seek the support of Imperialism and capitalism, which is to open the doors to return to private

property, the properties already nationalised. Nevertheless, for the five months that this military dictatorship has been in power, it has had to repeat constantly that it was not going to turn the properties already nationalised over to private property. This is because they do not find a social support for this policy. It is not because they respect the nationalised property, that they do not change its structure.

The masses of Britain have given a triumph to the Labour Party. The petit-bourgeoisie in a much greater proportion than in the last election, have voted Labour, influenced not only by the worker masses, by the exploited masses who vote Labour, but also equally by the world revolution. The petit bourgeoisie resisted voting for the Labour party in the last election. A few months later they have voted for it. Why? If capitalism could reanimate its power, its authority, if it could extend them, the petit bourgeoisie would not have voted for the Labour Party. The programme of the Labour party does not differ much from the programme of the conservatives. The policy and the tactics followed, the policy of Wilson with relation to the masses, was not different from the conservatives. It has repressed strikes. Wilson represses persecutes, condemns the strikers, has demanded of the unions that they must ask for authorisation before applying for wage increases and await the decision of the Government. The masses are against all this, have voted against it, reject it, and decide when to struggle and what salary to struggle for. The British masses are no longer isolated from the influence of the world revolution. Submitted to the conservative and capitalist leadership of the Labour party and the British Trade Unions the British masses have found a point of support not in Britain itself but on a world scale. It is the influence of the world revolution which has given them courage, stimulus, and a will to struggle and to organise in order to bypass the bureaucratic and capitalist leaders of Britain. The British masses have made strikes, have triumphed and have organised courts, control committees to judge the workers who wanted to scab. This is the beginning of dual power. Britain and the United States, are the two countries of the world in which capitalism still can have a great authority over the petit bourgeoisie and support itself on the most numerous and weighty workers aristocracy to maintain the capitalist juridical structure. And it is there in Britain itself, that the workers bypassing

their leaders, organise their own justice among the masses. In a limited way, this means that the masses are not influenced by the capitalist juridical conception, but by that of the world revolution.

Even though the revolution has not yet conquered and they have not yet taken power, they act with the sentiment in which history orientates at this stage, in this definitive course of the final settlement of accounts against Imperialism; that is to say, dual power. Proletarian justice, the proletarian conception of justice and leadership; this is the policy which has influenced the petit bourgeoisie. The strikes of the workers, the determination of the strikers to obtain victory have also been stimulated, encouraged by the world development of the revolution, linked together as in no other phase of this historic epoch.

In this period of history, a wave of strikes has developed in France, Britain, Belgium, Italy—the most developed states in Europe. The masses have occupied factories against the leadership of the communist party; the masses have made strikes and at the same time have supported, as never before, the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties increase their votes. The British Labour Party increases its votes. The programme and the leadership of these parties are conservative and bourgeois. Their programme and their objectives are to sustain capitalism. The Communist party tries to conciliate with capitalism, tries to contain the strikes and to manoeuvre so that the strikes serve the essential policy of the Communist Parties; peaceful co-existence. If the masses support them electorally it is because it is looking for a centre of unification of the class. But in the measure that the masses feel that they can work in an independent way, when they feel themselves on firm secure ground, they break with the leaderships, they resist them, reject them and work according to their own conclusions. The Communist parties oppose the strikes and yet the masses go on strike. And they go on strike in such important sections as steel and car production. In Italy they occupy the factories and begin to exert dual power, workers control. This shows the rise of the revolutionary will of the masses.

As never before, in this stage of history, a certain momentary decline in the advance in the ascent of the colonial revolution is accompanied immediately and followed by the ascent of the struggle of the proletariat in Europe. This is the permanent revolution, this is the unavoidable course of the world permanent revolution.

THE MASSES EXERT AN INFLUENCE INDEPENDENTLY OF, AND AGAINST THEIR LEADERSHIPS

In the workers States, in Hungary, the strike of the workers of Czepele shows that the masses of the workers are also living under the influence of the world revolution. There is not a single part of the world where the ascent of the revolution is not expressed; Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Workers States. The strike of Czepele has an immense importance. No more than three months ago, in Czepele, Hungary, the masses went on strike in protest against their wages, a protest with demonstrations. In the Soviet Union the students demonstrated demanding the right of free opinion. This demonstration, of claiming freedom of opinion is not for the benefit of capitalism. They demand liberty of opinion to fight for communism, to oppose themselves to the bureaucratic dictatorship. In order to be able to advance the revolution and socialism, to protest against the stagnation in the social development of the measures leading to socialism in the Workers States. These are the reasons for the protest.

The writers Daniel and Siniavsky have protested, written books, have given judge-

ments which do not go counter to the communist interests of the Workers State, but against its leadership. Because of this the bureaucracy has not been able to publish a single page which showed that these writers were against communism. They are against the bureaucratic leadership. Capitalism tries to use such protests for its own benefit, the same way as in the strikes, when the workers protest against the bureaucracy who want to conciliate with the boss or betray the strike. The workers protest and claim that this is a dictatorship, that democracy is lacking, and the bourgeoisie tries to say "this is dictatorship, this is the democracy of the Trade Unions." They try to make fun of, denigrate the Trade Unions, using the protest of the workers against the Trade Union bureaucrats. In the same way, in the Soviet Workers State world capitalism tries to gain profit from Daniel and Siniavsky. Because of this the Communist parties of France and Italy, have officially in their papers, published demonstrations of protest against the condemnation of the writers and demanding the right of free opinion. It is

The Manifesto of the First of May

indubitable that the Communist Parties of France and Italy are not doing it to demand socialist democracy; they are doing it to respond to the enormous pressure of their own base their own teams of intellectuals who feel that this condemnation of the writers is an abandonment of communism, of the needs, of the communist relations in the Workers States, and they demand the democratic right, to express themselves, to have opinions to judge, that is to say the beginning of the essential bases for the reanimation of the life of the Workers States; proletarian democracy.

The protest of these writers and intellectuals, and of the proletarian vanguard of the Communist parties of France and Italy, expresses the enormous influence of the world revolution because in the Communist parties of France and Italy, there is no internal democracy, it is not possible to discuss, not possible to express revolutionary thinking. In the recent congresses of the Italian Communist Party, the timid attempts of tendencies, of sectors and currents inside the PCI who have tried to express revolutionary thought, to call the party to fight against capitalism, to call for a united front to overthrow capitalism by means of the revolution, have been repressed, condemned and expelled by the leadership of the party. And nevertheless this same leadership must demand of the Soviet bureaucracy that it allows the writers to express their thoughts, their criticism of the regime. The protest of the leadership of this party is directed at calming, at trying to restrain the pressure of these intellectuals, of the proletarian vanguard and in their turn sectors of these intellectuals, of vanguard workers are expressing the influence of the world revolution. In these parties there is no political life, there is no right of tendency, there is no free discussion of all the problems of the revolution, there is no free expression and discussion of all the texts of the revolutionary teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky. Nevertheless these writers and this proletarian vanguard mobilise to demand socialist democracy. Their force does not come from the internal life of the communist parties, but from the world influence of the revolution, from the observation, from the consciousness, from the understanding, from the effects on them of the constant progress of the struggle of the masses, and the constant decline of the authority and force of capitalism, the constant decline of the political, social, economic and military ability of capitalism to sustain its regime. These are conditions, forces which exert pressure, which influence the militants of the Communist and Socialist Parties, and make them feel united, allied and based on the world revolution. And they feel united in this way because the proletarian vanguard of these countries of France, Belgium, Italy, England see the progress of the revolution by means of the influence on their own parties, on their own rank and file of these parties, on the workers, peasants, poor petit bourgeoisie. They feel that the bases of their parties, that the proletarian, peasant and

poor petit bourgeois base, want to fight for the revolution.

In France an immense quantity of the Communist Party has voted against Mitterand and the 12 per cent of abstentions are the proletarian vanguard who made the call to vote against Mitterand. The CP appealed to vote for Mitterand a bourgeois candidate with a bourgeois programme and in general the masses have voted Mitterand; the 12 per cent, who abstained, were the proletarian vanguard.

This proletarian vanguard had been able to attract, in a few months, the rest of the exploited masses of France to the general strike, as has been done involving nearly all sectors. It is the masses who are maintaining constant, living and permanent, the sentiment, the consciousness, the force of the revolution in France and in Italy. And they are the ones who transmit, through the influence of the world revolution inside all these countries, the force of the revolution. They cannot express themselves directly because they are persecuted, repressed by the leadership, they cannot function in a democratic way to express their revolutionary sentiments, ideas and positions. The intellectuals have more possibilities. They are a wing in which the bureaucracy must allow certain democratic liberties because it believes that it is the least dangerous. It is a safety valve which they maintain to try to restrain the internal pressure and maintain the masses under the influence of the leadership, with the view of using them for its policy of conciliation with capitalism.

The masses of Belgium have just written one of the most powerful pages of their history. The proletarian women have organised strikes, factory committees, have taken hostages among the blacklegs and the trade union leaders they have imposed punishments, have organised pickets, strike committees. The Women of Belgium, distrusted by the trade union leaders, have done this. The Flemish workers, the Flemish miners, are carrying on a struggle such has not been seen in Belgium for several years. To defend their work, to prevent themselves being thrown out of the mines, they have made great demonstrations, and an important sector of the petit bourgeoisie, in this stage, have risen up to protest against the intention of the Walloon sector of the bourgeoisie, which is proposing to pass a number of municipalities over to the Walloon side. In its struggle, it united itself to the miners, leaving the linguistic and nationalist quarrel aside, to support the miners strike. This is to say that the strike of the miners had the power to attract and fuse its struggle with large sectors of the population. This is the influence of the world revolution. The strike of the miners by itself would not have been able to create such a situation. It is on a world scale; in a world content that the revolution exerts its influence and which succeeds in attracting and organising the masses of all the world. This is the permanent revolution.

THE REANIMATION OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS STATES

The Soviet bureaucracy does not have the force to organise the communist parties against the Chinese. In its recent congress the Communist party of the Soviet Union limited itself to some attacks and criticisms of the Chinese. This was not because the Soviet bureaucracy lacked the will or decision to do this. They organised and prepared an attack on the Chinese but did not find the support for it. Two months before the opening of this congress, the strike of the workers at Czepl was an advertisement to all the bureaucracy of all the workers states, making them feel that the masses of these states were receiving the influence of the world revolution. The strike of the Hungarian workers is not a strike of a sector of the proletariat of Hungary, it is not a strike of an isolated proletariat. It is the expression of the way the influence of the revolution appears on the masses of the workers states. Hungary is one of the weakest sectors of the workers states in Europe, where the bureaucracy is weakest. Czepl has shown itself to be the centre, as it was in 1956, which represents the revolutionary desire of the Hungarian masses. And in the process of the development of the colonial revolution in Africa, Asia, Latin

America, and in Vietnam, joined to the struggles in Europe, the electoral triumph of the Labour Party in Britain, the strike of the workers in Czepl made three months ago, is a part of this march, of this course of the influence of the world revolution.

The Soviet Bureaucracy has not been able to attract the communist parties against China and on the contrary the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to return to the post of General Secretary, to increase the control, the power the preponderance of the leadership—which they call the Collegiate, to increase the intervention of the party in the economic and social life, indicates, in a way which is still very indistinct, that the pressure of the Soviet masses demand a return to a preponderance of the party, its political leadership, against the administrative directors, the planners, the factory managers, the workers aristocracy and the army.

The return to the election of a General Secretary indicates an increase in the struggle within the bureaucratic sectors, and not coexistence or harmony. This indicates that the bureaucracy which represents the party feels its own existence to be in danger, that

is to say nationalised property is in danger. As it cannot respond with the revolution, it responds with administrative measures. It does not respond because of itself, but because of the pressure of the masses which see with distrust the changes in the economy of the USSR. In a direct or indirect way, they have made their protests understood, they have made their distrust felt, and they are on the alert. And the bureaucracy, in an indirect and distant way, responds with this measure. In the same way as in a distant manner, the bureaucracy shows the consciousness of the workers state in front of the danger, which the war that imperialism is waging in Vietnam signifies; when the Minister of War said to the Yanks "An attack on Hanoi or an attack on China, will mean the end of capitalism not the end of humanity! "The end of capitalism and the world triumph of socialism." This is a very indirect and distant way of displaying the power of the workers state. A bureaucratic and diplomatic way of doing it, because the direct way is the mobilisation of the masses to overthrow imperialism in Vietnam.

The attack by Fidel Castro against the Trotskyists and the MR 13th of November and later against the Chinese does not show the power of Fidel Castro, or the progress of Cuba towards Socialism but a retreat towards bureaucratic norms. But this does not mean a retreat of the workers state, but that the contradiction between the necessity of the development of Cuba towards socialism, and the bureaucratic and administrative leadership, cannot co-exist for much longer. There is no third way, as Fidel Castro would like, between Moscow and the revolution. There is no possibility for centrism at this stage. The only way to develop the revolution is to make the masses intervene. Fidel Castro's attack on the MR-13th of November, on the leadership of the MR 13th of November, the attack on the Trotskyists and the slanders and denigration against the Trotskyists, the slanders and denigration against the Chinese, show that the revolution despite the bureaucratic leaderships, despite the bureaucratic attempts to restrain it, is progressing in every way. Because the attack on the Trotskyists does not mean the attack on one or another position but an attack on the programme of the IV International. And the programme of the IV International is the programme of the Socialist revolution, which the MR 13th of November are putting forward and the

Trotskyists in all the world are putting forward. It is the programme of the Socialist revolution. The attack on the Chinese is an attempt to also oppose the advance of tendencies, of groups, of currents which are advancing in China towards an understanding of the socialist revolution. It is not an attack on such or such a policy or such and such a position, it is an attack on the programme and on the revolutionary objectives. Fidel Castro has not showed a single line, has not displayed or proposed a single line in opposition to the programme of the IV International. He has not even shown what the programme of the IV International is.

The attitude of the Chinese leadership criticising the Cubans, criticising the Soviet Bureaucrats without opposing a programme, without calling for intransigent struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution, indicates the limitations which the Chinese must overcome. The internal struggle in China, the purges in China, as the purges in Cuba, show that within these two countries there are immense processes of crisis and that the pressure of the revolution is immense. The purges in Cuba are an attempt by Fidel Castro to contain the revolutionary tendencies expressed by the Guevara tendency and the IV International, and at the same time to defend himself against submission to Moscow. There is no third way. These purges show that in Cuba as much as in China, as in the strikes which have been made in Hungary, as in the attempts of the Soviet bureaucracy to establish the predominance of the party apparatus, the existence of revolutionary tendencies is expressed. In the Workers States, particularly in the USSR, there exists organised Trotskyist currents. The Trotskyist currents in the USSR are an expression of the world revolution. From some time ago they have been obliged to refer to Trotsky and to Trotskyism, to the reanimation of the thought of Trotsky and the place of Trotsky in the history of the Russian Revolution. We make this reference to Trotskyism not to reinstate the name of Trotsky, but to give confidence to the Chinese comrades that the permanent revolution, on a world scale, also expresses itself in the Soviet Union, through the reanimation of Trotskyist groups. They are the points of supports for the objective development of the world revolution on which the Chinese comrades must count. The internal crisis in China shows that there is a struggle on the part of a tendency which is the majority of the Communist Party and the Chinese government to go forwards towards the reanimation of the revolution.

THE CAPITALIST PLANS ARE BROKEN AGAINST THE SOCIALIST WILL OF THE MASSES

In Vietnam in spite of all the attempts of the Soviet Bureaucracy, to impose, to force, to put pressure on the leadership of the Vietcong to negotiate with Imperialism, these attempts have failed. In Santo Domingo, Imperialism has been obliged, has been forced to give an electoral solution, and is now seeking to manoeuvre with this electoral solution. It is a defeat for Imperialism not for the masses. In Vietnam imperialism has tried to put pressure on the leadership of the Vietcong. The suspension of the bombing, also the actual attempts to feign a desire for talks, and to invite the Chinese to go to the U.S. are directed at appeasing American public opinion. The masses of South Vietnam as of the North, do not accept any negotiation with Imperialism, but are looking for the expulsion of imperialism. And when yankee imperialism sees itself obliged to allow elections in Vietnam as it has had to allow elections in Santo Domingo, and has to pretend before the American people that it wants an electoral solution, it is because the American masses, expressed mainly by the petit bourgeoisie, students and teachers but also in part by the negroes and the proletariat, are forcing Yankee imperialism to consider, to take into account American public opinion. American public opinion is living in a process of constant expansion of the economy, it is not living in a crisis. This reaction of the American masses is the direct consequence of the pressure of the world revolution. Johnson must pretend hypocritically before the North American people, that he is looking for negotiation in Vietnam, when the interest of imperialism is to destroy by force, to terrorise the masses. The intention of Imperialism is the same as before; to smash the masses of Vietnam. Yankee imperialism does not have any other solution but to try to smash the masses of

Vietnam. Imperialism cannot leave Vietnam because its leaving would mean the loss of morale in what remains of capitalism in South Vietnam.

In Latin America the masses, in spite of not having mass revolutionary parties—those of the IV International are still organically weak parties, their political authority is immense, but their numbers are still small—in spite of the fact that there does not exist mass revolutionary organisms, the Latin American masses also express the world influence of the revolution, in which they themselves are a part. They are a part which generates, impels, stimulates and develops the world revolution.

In Bolivia, after one year and a half of dictatorship, it is the dictatorship which tries to justify itself and defend itself. It has not been able to return the mines to private ownership. Even with scarce resources—it is one of the poorest countries of the world—nationalised property has shown its immense historic influence and ability of attraction and conviction. The first duty of the military dictatorship was to return the nationalised mines to private property. It has not been able to do it and it has had to hold elections, with the nationalised property remaining nationalised. It has had to follow the road of elections, trying to deceive the masses, trying to find the opportunity to return to private property.

In Brazil after two years of military dictatorship there exists a great and most ridiculous decomposition of capitalism. The military who came to power imprisoning thousands and thousands of militant workers, peasants, revolutionaries petit-bourgeoisie and intellectuals, now has to swear by all the saints that it is going to allow

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liberty and democracy. It has had to negotiate with the Workers States and has to constantly free the prisoners which it itself put in prison. The aim of the military dictatorship, which was to terrorise the Brazilian people, has failed. The influence of the world revolution, the decomposition of capitalism on a world scale, the constant contradictions of capitalism on a world scale which are also consequences of the advance of the revolution, have been able to do more than the power of the military dictatorship and capitalism in Brazil itself.

In Argentina, in Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, Guatemala, the development of the revolution is infinitely more powerful than all the military dictators or the attempts at

military dictatorships. Even in those countries which are not Workers States and where there is not a nationalist process of nationalisation of the economy, the influence of the revolution advances constantly. And its form of advancing is the constant struggle and the incessant progress of the masses, the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles, the constant progress of the revolutionary tendencies, the enormous steps of the nationalist tendencies towards the proletarian revolution. This is an uninterrupted progress, constant and ceaseless. The material force of world capitalism increases constantly, increasing its economic and financial power, and its military power. But the force of the revolution is infinitely more powerful than this. And this is what marks the course of history.

Ghana, the success of the military coup, a measure is taken which elevates the historic content of the revolution, because it poses the conditions for the unification of the revolutions in Africa, in the next phase.

The fall of Ben Bella in Algeria could have been followed by a retreat, a limitation on the conquests of the revolution. This was the intention of the conservative group of the revolution. Despite this, it has not been able to hold back the revolution, it has had to respect the conquests and even to advance under the pressure of the masses, as it has done recently when it had to liquidate an important capitalist enterprise, to hand it over to workers management. The Algerian workers also in a recent Congress have shown their intention to make self management the basis of the socialist development of the revolution.

In Indonesia the military group must respect the conquests of the revolution and go at a snail's pace seeking to terrorise the petit bourgeoisie led by Soekarno, to consolidate the military dictatorship and make the revolution retreat.

The attempt to terrorise the revolutionary world currents has failed whether through the attempt made in this sense by imperialism, whether by the soviet bureaucracy, whether by Fidel Castro. Neither imperialism nor the soviet bureaucracy, nor Fidel Castro have succeeded in containing the progress of revolutionary tendencies. On the contrary this short brake in the rhythm of the advance of the revolution, in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America is the consequence of a phase in which the overcoming of the crisis of leadership of the world colonial revolution, has been reached.

But this crisis of growth of the world revolution cannot be resolved by a retreat in the conquests of the revolution. There is not a single country in which property already nationalised has been restored to capitalist power. There is a struggle at the level of the leaderships but nationalised property does not retreat. The force of the world leadership is incontestable, irrefutable. Despite the struggle of tendencies and groups, nationalised property is firm and it is the source, the constant base of stimulus and progress of the revolution. For this reason the crisis of growth—which is not a crisis of the revolution but a crisis of the leaderships, of the organisms of the revolution—in the next phase will lead to a development in the heart of the nationalist currents with the consciousness of taking to the limit together with the nationalised property, the means, the organisms, and the policy which allow the expansion of nationalised property, workers militias, socialist democracy, permanent revolution, unconditional support for the revolution, liquidation of the military structure which stems from capitalism, liquidation of all the juridical structure of capitalism.

In Indonesia the revolution has advanced, nationalising property but leaving intact the

capitalist structure of the army and of capitalist justice and this has been and is the constant base for the reproduction of capitalism. The national petit bourgeoisie of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are feeling and evaluating this experience. Only the IV International has carried forward a campaign and a struggle to carry forward the comprehension and the consciousness of the necessity to liquidate the structure of the capitalist army and to substitute for it the proletarian militias, peasant and student militias; to liquidate bourgeois justice and install proletarian justice, proletarian tribunals; to liquidate police and legislative bourgeois power and impose proletarian power through soviets and communes.

The petit bourgeoisie in these countries are learning history slowly but they are learning and will advance in the next phase because all the conditions are prepared for this. It is not capitalism which will be able to advance in the next phase but the colonial revolutions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, because there exists the base; nationalised property.

It is a single revolutionary process which involves the whole world; the strikes of the proletariat in Europe, the strikes in the United States, the mobilisations in the workers states as in Hungary, the mobilisations of the students in the Soviet Union, the demands for socialist democratic rights, for the rights of criticism in the workers states. This is what the concentrated, centralised course of history teaches at this stage.

In this period of history the events of one week correspond to what formerly took ten years. This has arisen because of the concentration of the crisis of capitalism, of the soviet bureaucracy and of the leaderships of the communist and socialist parties, the enormous progress of the peasants of the world who have already accepted the necessity for the socialist revolution. These factors are those which allow this process, concentrated, dynamic, centralised as it is, which allows an uninterrupted series of revolutionary advances. A defeat, an arrest of the revolution in one place is compensated in another place with a progress which stimulates and propels.

It is not the defeat, the arresting of the revolution in Indonesia nor in Algeria which marks the course of history. On the contrary, the strikes of the proletariat in Europe reanimate immediately the advance of the revolution. Capitalism has no points of support to sustain itself. The bureaucracy of the workers states has no points of support on which it can sustain itself and with which to contain the progress of the revolution. On the contrary it defends itself from it. Also the moderate and conservative tendencies of the bureaucracy who continue to sustain the policy of peaceful co-existence have had to issue warnings to American imperialism. These warnings are used to calm the masses of the Soviet Union to respond to the revolutionary pressure of the masses of the Soviet Union and of the world.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHINESE COMRADES IN THIS STAGE

The masses of the Soviet Union also receive the influence of the world revolution. It is on this plane of history that the revolutionary comrades of the communist party and of the Chinese government must base their revolutionary perspective. The internal crisis in China, the attitude of the Chinese communist party has an enormous historic responsibility. The Chinese comrades must feel that on them depends the course of history in this phase. This is the phase in which the Chinese must base themselves on this course of the revolution, base themselves on this concentrated process and centralised process to be able to advance.

There is an important change in the Chinese. This change means a progress in the revolution. They accept that the war is inevitable, that peaceful co-existence does not exist. But there are still no changes in the elaboration of policy.

The Sino Soviet crisis is only part of this

world crisis of capitalism, of the soviet bureaucracy, of the crisis of growth of the revolution and the crisis of growth of the leadership and the absence of the organisms of the revolution. The Chinese play a most important and fundamental role. On them falls an enormous historic responsibility. Imperialism has no other way out than to launch the nuclear war. The nuclear war is the end of capitalism not the end of humanity. Humanity has already accepted socialism. It is enough to take account of the fact that in the most backward countries as those of Asia and Africa after the victory of the revolution—as in Indonesia, Algeria and Vietnam—the masses proceed immediately to the nationalisation of the land. They do not ask for the development of capitalism but the nationalisation of property to exploit it in a cooperative form and besides, seek and accept the directing role of the proletariat in the nationalisation.

THE BUREAUCRATIC AND CENTRIST LEADERSHIPS OF THE WORKERS STATES SUPPORT WHAT REMAINS OF CAPITALISM

The action of Fidel Castro in denouncing the revolutionaries of the MR 13th of November as agents of capitalism, shows that there is an objective world united front between the interests of world capitalism, of the Soviet bureaucracy and of the conservative sectors of the revolution, which are united before the fear, the uncertainty, and the terror at the socialist progress of the revolution.

The conservative sectors of the revolution have resisted, are opposed to, the theoretical preparation, the theoretical understanding, the marxist understanding of the revolution. They resist understanding and the objective submission to the necessity of the progress of the revolution and in consequence they resist being orientated, influenced by revolutionary tendencies—whatever might be the number or weight—as in the case of the IV International.

The revolution is an objective necessity, the theoretical orientation is an objective necessity. The fear of being eliminated from history, the fear of not knowing how to lead, not knowing how to respond to the necessity of socialist progress forces them to ally directly or indirectly with imperialism as Fidel Castro has done in denouncing, denigrating, insulting, presenting as counter revolutionaries, the worthy revolutionaries of the MR 13. One of the revolutionaries which Castro denounced, Francisco Amado of the MR 13 of Guatemala has now been assassinated by imperialism. Castro presented him as a Trotskyist agent, who (there could be no doubt said Castro) was a paid agent of imperialism.

It is to this state of affairs that a lack of revolutionary responsibility, the lack of marxist preparation to direct the revolution, to understand the revolution, leads. While the conservative tendencies of the revolution inevitably must unite each time more and more to serve as direct or indirect instruments of imperialism, the world revolution continues uniting the revolutionary currents and tendencies. This is the actual course of history.

Capitalism enters into a crisis of ever increasing velocity. The crisis of world capitalism expresses itself in the culminating point, in the crisis between French imperialism and American imperialism. This crisis places in danger, impairs, weakens the capitalist world apparatus, while the objective united front, the attitude of imperialism puts in doubt all the world unification of capitalism. It weakens the world united front of the capitalist forces, who have a centre which is American imperialism.

If French imperialism puts in the first rank its economic interests of competition with world capitalism with the rest of world

THE LEVEL REACHED BY THE WORLD REVOLUTION MAKES IT IRREVERSIBLE AND CONSTANTLY PUSHES IT FORWARD

The narrow margin which still remains to capitalism, its little successes in containing the revolution—as in Indonesia, in Algeria, in Ghana—receive immediately from the masses the reply of new advances.

The coup d'etats will not block the revolution.

capitalism, it is because already within the heart of world capitalism there exists in a preponderant form, a very important current which indirectly expressed through the policy of de Gaulle expresses the historic pessimism of capitalism. The attitude of de Gaulle cannot be considered as a simple struggle through inter-capitalist world competition but as a struggle which is based upon the fact that already within world capitalism, there is a tendency towards historic pessimism. The existence of this tendency does not mean that it will be victorious: it means an enormous weakness of capitalism. American imperialism feels and understands this process and this stimulates it to hasten its intervention with the war, not to weaken it or contain the preparation of the war. Without doubt the attempt of the French imperialism does not have the object of favouring the world revolution. It expresses the world disintegration of capitalism. Both Yankee and French imperialism seek to profit from peaceful coexistence. They seek to gain historic time from the soviet bureaucracy, the Cuban bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of the other workers states, with the exception of China; these give imperialism a gift with the economic reforms, eliminating centralised planning and introducing the market economy.

World capitalism hopes to be able to draw advantage from the consequences of these economic measures. But the advantages which world capitalism can extract from them are very slight and of short duration. Indeed the soviet bureaucracy to maintain itself in power, unable to continue to plan in a centralised way, because to do so, to develop the economy in competition with world capitalism means to support itself on socialist planning, that is on the socialist democratic intervention—seeks to gain historic time with the market economy; but at the same time the advance of the world revolution is infinitely more powerful than the bureaucracy.

For this reason it is of enormous importance that at the same time that they are confirming the programme of reconverting to the market economy they must institute the position of General Secretary and increase the power of the authority of the party on the other sectors of the soviet bureaucracy. This means that shortly in the Soviet Union there will be an intensification of the internal struggle with the tendency towards the participation of the masses and with the direct strikes of the masses.

The process is not going towards a weakening, a retreat of the masses, but towards an ever more virulent reply, more dynamic with a more violent rhythm of the struggle of the masses.

On the fall of Nkrumah the military dictatorship has had to restrain its attempt to restore to private property, the property already nationalised. Nonetheless immediately, the government of Guinea offers to Nkrumah co-participation in the government, saying that Guinea and Ghana are the same. With the fall of the government of

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tion of property. The peasants of the whole world have already broken their isolation, accept the socialist revolution. The historic phase in which hundreds of years were necessary to convince the peasants and gain them to the revolution has already passed.

Just as the IV International has broken its historic isolation, the peasants of the whole world have broken their historic isolation.

For this reason in all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the peasants integrate themselves in the revolution and support the struggle for proletarian power, for the nationalisation of property, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the proletarian militia, for the liquidation of the capitalist army.

The Chinese must base themselves on this historic conclusion. All the exploited masses of the world, proletarians, petit bourgeois are on the road to revolution. These are the perspectives, this is the present course of history. It is on this basis that the Chinese comrades must base themselves on their present struggle. The Chinese comrades must abandon their direct struggle against the soviet bureaucracy in a separate way and include it in the struggle for the programme of the world revolution.

To fight against the soviet bureaucracy, against the policy of Khrushchev of alliance with imperialism, it is necessary to propose the programme of the world revolution. It is necessary to appeal to the workers states, to the communist parties of the workers states, to the unions and to the masses of the soviet union, of all the workers centres of the workers states, to fight for a world united front on the basis of a programme to smash imperialism. It is necessary to expel imperialism from Vietnam. Now! It is not necessary only to give arms to Vietnam but to send millions and millions of militias, to appeal to the world revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America supporting it in an intransigent and unconditional way with money, arms, militias, but above all through demonstrations, committees, mobilisations, of the Chinese masses, of the Cuban masses, of the

masses of the Soviet union, the appeal to overthrow world capitalism.

It is necessary at the same time to appeal to the masses of the communist parties of Europe to take power, to struggle for a programme for the taking of power, to smash down the capitalist system, to struggle for a programme of immediate demands united to the programme to smash capitalism. It is necessary to unite the programme to confront unemployment, exploitation, to the European common market, with the objective of a single European centre with the programme of the sliding scale of wages, sliding scale of hours, workers control, decrease of the hours of work, increase in wages equivalent to the profits of automation, a plan of education and construction which takes account of the needs of the masses, expropriation and nationalisation of the principle properties, nationalisation of the banks, united world front to prevent unemployment in Belgium, nationalisation of all the mines. This is the appeal which the Chinese must make. This appeal will mobilise all the masses of the world, will raise the confidence and in a short period of time the masses will feel themselves integrated on a world scale to fight and overthrow capitalism.

All this instead of creating greater evils for humanity, diminishes them, because it diminishes the historic period in which imperialism can continue to augment their nuclear war armoury. The more nuclear power imperialism will have, the more damage will happen to humanity. The more quickly capitalism is suppressed the more humanity will be spared the loss of human lives, goods and wealth which it has constructed and accumulated.

This conclusion depends on the Chinese. The communist mass international is necessary. The Chinese must appeal for the planning of the economy of all the workers states. They must propose a concrete plan for the planning of all the economy of the workers states, not relating it to the proportional investments from the various workers states, but to the overall interests of the workers states and their advance towards socialism. At the same time it is necessary to appeal to the masses of the world for unconditional support to the workers states and these must support unconditionally the revolution. It is necessary to re-establish socialist democracy in the workers states, in the institution of workers militia, in the liquidation of the regular army whether in the workers states or the capitalist countries and the popular militias must be substituted.

It is necessary to appeal on the other hand for the liquidation of the juridical bourgeois power and for the installation of military tribunals, for the liquidation of the repressive police forces and the erection of popular militia which in the workers states exercise juridical, military and police functions.

It is necessary to make an appeal to the world united front and for a single world

centre with the anti capitalist, anti imperialist programme. All the analysis and the conclusions of this historic phase show that the progress of the revolution and its influence are infinitely more powerful than the power of capitalism in armaments, in its capacity for financial accumulation, because in the last instance the military and financial capacity of imperialism, its nuclear armament are accompanied by a constant retreat of its authority, of its social force and what decides in history are not arms but the masses and the masses are ready to overthrow capitalism.

The fundamental base which sustains capitalism in the world is not the military and economic power of Yankee imperialism. The development of what remains of capitalism is based on the production and on the economy for the counterrevolutionary world war and on the policy of peaceful coexistence and of conciliation with capitalism which the leaderships of the workers states, of the USSR, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Poland etc and the communist parties of the world sustain. Capitalism has not the social strength with which to sustain itself. In Europe it sustains itself fundamentally, in England under the leadership of the Labour party and in France, Italy, Belgium, supporting itself on the policy of peaceful coexistence and of conciliation with capitalism, on the counter revolutionary policy of the communist and socialist parties. In the rest of the world, in what remains of capitalism this is sustained fundamentally because the exploited masses, the revolutionary nationalist currents see, feel that the governments and communist parties of the USSR, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Poland etc conciliate with capitalism permitting it to bombard Vietnam without replying with the revolutionary war. The masses, the nationalist currents see and feel the power of the workers states, perceive it and accept their revolutionary social influence, but at the same time see that the governments and communist parties of these workers states conciliate and permit imperialism to bombard Vietnam, to invade Santo Domingo. This disconcerts the masses and prevents them organising a world centre of revolutionary leadership on the basis of which it can orientate itself. They have no experience, tradition, world marxist revolutionary base from whose influence to depart, to follow their example. The force, the material capacity of the IV International is still weak and cannot compensate the masses of the world for the absence of the tradition of the revolutionary marxist policy of the masses which the communist parties and the leaderships of the workers states do not want, are not able and are impotent to develop, because this goes directly against their conservative and counter revolutionary interests. To apply the marxist policy of the world revolution it is necessary to represent the objective revolutionary interests of the progress of history, the revolutionary interests of the masses of the world and of the workers states of China, of the USSR, of Cuba etc.

assume the historic responsibility to launch themselves into the struggle to be the world centre of the unification of a united world front to smash what remains of capitalism. This not only reduces the evils which capitalism will cause to humanity with the nuclear war; but it increases and can make advance the immense possibility of the development of the revolution and in consequence shorten the war and lessen the destruction which capitalism will cause with the nuclear war.

The future lies in the socialist world not in capitalism. But it is necessary to suppress capitalism. On this first of May history shows that a conscious centre of the world revolution is necessary and this centre must be the Chinese. We appeal to the Chinese comrades to undertake this mission. On the other hand it is necessary that the revolutionary tendencies and currents of the communist and socialist parties of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe, in the PSUIP, in the PCI, in the French CP, in the Belgian CP and SP in the British Labour party, resolve to launch themselves with all resolution and possible consciousness to organise themselves.

The communist parties are in constant disintegration. This disintegration is due to the fact that the pressure of the masses and of the world revolution on the communist parties meets the resistance of the leaderships and the masses do not let themselves be held back. Hence the disintegration of the leaderships.

If the leaderships of these parties succeeded in defeating the masses, this disintegration would not exist and they would feel themselves conquerors and would succeed in maintaining their control on the communist parties. But as the masses resist, reject the policy of these leaderships and show their desire to make the revolution advance, they cause the disintegration of all the leaderships.

It is necessary to gain historic opportunities. But on the currents in these parties, there falls an enormous responsibility. The same as exists in the communist party and the Chinese government. A public tendency now in Asia, Africa, Latin America, in Italy, in France, a revolutionary tendency emerging from the communist and socialist party, the publication of revolutionary papers will have now an enormous effect, because they support themselves in this phase not on the isolation, on retreat, on the arrest of the process but on the uncontrollable development of the world revolution. It is on this basis that the communists, the communist party, the leadership of the Chinese government, these currents must base themselves, to constitute the United World Front. They must stimulate and support this world current. The Chinese communist party must support the objective currents, revolutionary currents who struggle for the progress of the revolution, they must support the revolutionary tendencies, the IV International, the Trotskyists of the world, to seek a united front with them to develop the revolution.

This is the way to advance the world united front. The soviet bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of the workers states have no perspective. Neither has capitalism. The perspectives are those of revolutionary tendencies and revolutionary currents, among which is the IV International. We appeal for a world united front to the comrades of the Chinese government, to develop the world revolution.

This is their historic responsibility. We appeal to them to fulfill it. We appeal to the exploited masses of the world to intervene, to demand that the revolutionary currents, the tendencies of the communist, socialist parties of the world, of the workers states and of the Chinese CP realise their historic mission.

FOR THE

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

J. POSADAS

1 MAY 66

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

ARGENTINA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pölet. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30, Nieuw bruckaai Gand.

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

BRAZIL: *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.

CHILE: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL: *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

ORGANISE THE WORLD ANTICAPITALIST UNITED FRONT

On this 1st May the IV International makes an appeal to the Chinese comrades to take in their hands the historic responsibility of confronting the Soviet bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of the other workers states, world capitalism, making an appeal to the masses of the world for a united world front, to the masses of the communist parties of the workers states and of the capitalist countries to the unions and workers centres of the capitalist states and of the workers states, for a united world anti capitalist and anti imperialist front.

This policy would mean for the Chinese the breaking of links, agreements, diplomatic arrangements with the capitalist countries but in exchange it would mean unconditional support from the masses of the world. The deciding factor in the future is the masses of the world. Thus as on the military plane so also on the diplomatic it is the masses of the world who decide. It is not military and diplomatic relations. Diplomatic relations must not exist at the expense of progress, of the development of the world

revolution but submitted to the necessity of the world revolution.

The Chinese workers state like the other workers states must support itself on the contradictions of capitalism, on inter capitalist competition, but supporting itself on these not at the expense of the revolution but to impel the revolution. Capitalism is weak, enormously weak. It must lean on the soviet bureaucracy to sustain itself just as British capitalism must lean on the British Labour party to sustain capitalism in Britain.

The masses of the world have demonstrated their desire to take power, are unified to the sentiment of the world revolution. For this reason the world revolution can inter influence indistinctly in Asia and Latin America and in the workers states, and the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the workers states mutually influence each other in the process of the revolution. It is on the basis of this objective and of this perspective that the Chinese workers state and the Chinese government must

THE SEAMENS STRIKE

REPLY TO THE "EMERGENCY POWERS REGULATIONS" BY USING THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE AS A BASIS FOR ORGANISING THE GENERAL STRIKE

The passing of the "Emergency Powers Regulations Act" is a logical response of the British ruling class to the seamen's strike. As the class struggle intensifies, capitalism will inevitably do away with the trappings of bourgeois democracy and the right to strike; this is beginning in the whole of capitalist Europe. In Italy the bourgeoisie, unable to restrain the struggle of the working class which today in strikes and demonstrations goes against the instructions of the Communist Party, weighs up the risks involved in launching a military coup, while in Belgium the bourgeoisie recently mur-

To benefit from the Seamen's Strike

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

soner of the international bankers and a dedicated follower of American imperialism. He has no solution to anything. Rhodesia hangs fire despite all manner of efforts to obtain a compromise and a large capitulationist tendency rejects any East of Suez policy because imperialism can barely sustain it. Whilst his government goes from crisis to paralysis, the tendency of the British masses empirically to go towards aspects of the Trotskyist programme becomes more and more obvious. Scottish transport workers demand equal pay for women conductors, Postal engineers demand the nationalisation of those companies producing telephonic equipment, most interestingly of all the NUS Hull dispute committees demands nationalisation of the Shipping industry and full union access to the companies accounts. These tendencies will inevitably grow because it is a social necessity of the proletariat to expropriate capitalism simply because there is no other way to satisfy the necessities of humanity.

We must comment finally on the international aspects of the seamen's dispute. The attitude of the International Transport Workers Federation has been utterly criminal. The enormous wave of strikes throughout the world in America, Canada, Europe show that there is an enormous potential fund of support for the seamen everywhere but this is not used by the putrefying leadership of the TUs because such support could strengthen enormously all the forces wishing to overthrow capitalism everywhere. Similarly the Soviet trade unions have played a miserable role, following as they do the policy of peaceful co-existence with capitalism. They have done nothing. It is a policy of assisting capitalism. The Chinese comrades should also have intervened dynamically in this strike by appeals for world support, etc. This would have further linked the objective alliance of the Western proletariat with the masses of the whole world for the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism. It is not enough to be preoccupied with defeating the right wing in China. It is necessary to provide the world masses with a lead on every question.

The present phase of the class struggle in Great Britain gives enormous encouragement to the vanguard within this country and throughout the world. The imperialists and the counter-revolutionary soviet bureaucrats find themselves isolated in a sea of revolutionary fury. In this country the idiot wealthy spend money like water but the seamen are not allowed a decent living wage. The masses perceive the degeneration of the ruling strata. The parasitism of the latter can no longer be wrapped up in Gladstonian authority. The rich appear for what they are—trash. We are witnessing only the beginnings of a tremendous advance of the British masses but it will be essential to strengthen the basic organisations of the class, the unofficial and shop stewards committees, with the perspective of the General Strike on the anti-capitalist programme.

dered two miners demonstrating against the closing of pits. In this country the bourgeoisie is arming itself with powers to use the forces to move strikebound ships, and at the same time it prepares (if necessary) to imprison and fine workers who try to spread the strike or prevent servicemen from strike-breaking. British capitalism is in a weak position—to give concessions means to further weaken capitalism economically and also to encourage demands, while to continue to resist will mean stimulating the revolutionary current and precipitate a show-down with the working class. This is the dilemma of capitalism.

The world class struggle has entered a new phase. On the day the seamen's strike began, France was paralysed by a general strike, a dock strike started in Canada (later in this strike the dockers set fire to the bosses premises and had a running battle with the police) and a strike of Finnish telegraph workers threatened to cut the "Hot Line" between Moscow and Washington. The struggle is today escaping more and more from the control of the conservative Labour Party and Trade Union leaders, and the united front of Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy to contain the world revolution is being undermined by the struggles of the masses on a world scale.

So far Hogarth and the seamen's leaders have put up a firm resistance to the govern-

Text of a leaflet distributed by the Party in the Docks and throughout the Country

ment and the shipowners but there is no guarantee that they will not call off the strike for some partial concessions on the part of the bosses. In order to wage this strike to a successful conclusion the seamen must form committees which will make contact with all the other sectors of the working class, and particularly the unofficial and shop steward committees where they exist, as for example among the dockers and the building workers, calling them to take strike action in support of the seamen. All the working class must support the seamen actively and use this opportunity to press forward their own demands for higher wages, the 35 hour week, one months holiday per year, nationalisations under workers control etc. The capitalist class is already shaken by the seamen's strike and is unsure how to respond to it (the Emergency Powers have been voted but so far kept in reserve) and so the working class must centralise itself around this strike linking up all the unofficial committees on an anti-capitalist programme. The seamen's committees must call upon the support of the seamen of other countries. Last weekend the French seamen on the cross channel run, struck for 48 hours in protest at the cutting down of the size of crews. This is the same situation as with the British Merchant Navy where the crews have fallen from 50 to 40 men per ship in the last 5 years. Capitalism is increasing the rate of exploitation of the workers and it is necessary to demand that all the profits

which result from the introduction of automation (which means that each worker produces more) must go to the workers. In Europe the sections of the IV International are working to bring the European working class out in solidarity with the British seamen.

British capitalism in common with all the capitalist systems of Western Europe and the USA is in an ever deepening economic, social and political crisis. This social crisis is shown by its failure to win the militant support of the petit bourgeoisie. The resolution of support to the seamen from the Young Liberal Conference, and the formation of a committee of support for the strike in the University of Oxford, shows that sectors of the petit bourgeoisie are no longer on the side of capitalism but are attracted by the struggle of the working class. And this is a great crisis for capitalism. The fact that some Labour Party MPs support the seamen's strike while Wilson calls it a threat to the state, shows that the Labour apparatus is shaken by the weight of the strike.

Conditions are ripe to launch an offensive on all fronts against the ruling class. The seamen's strike can be the basis on which to organise the General Strike not only in this country but throughout Europe. Capitalism is unable anywhere to respond to the needs of the masses, its main preoccupation is the preparation of the war against the Workers States and the world revolution, and a major part of its resources are devoted to this end. Capitalism long ago exhausted its progressive role. Today the capitalist class is still in power not because of its own strength but because of the policy of the Labour and Trade Union leaders, and because of the counter-revolutionary policy on a world scale of the Soviet bureaucracy. Today the struggles of the masses escape the control of the Soviet bureaucracy and Imperialism, and on a world scale conditions are ripe for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism.

The seamen's committees and the other unofficial and strike committees must be linked up on an anti-capitalist programme of basic economic demands and political demands bringing into question the very existence of the capitalist class. In this way the committees can form the basis for the organs of dual power which must emerge in the next state to carry the struggle forward to the overthrow of the capitalist class.

Carry the seamen's strike forward on the basis of the seamen's committees.

Link up the seamen's committees to the unofficial committees of the dockers, and building workers etc.

Strikes in all Industries in solidarity with the Seamen.

Press forward the demands for the 35 hour week, 30 per cent wage increase, one months holiday a year.

Nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of the Merchant Marine, the docks, and all the key industries.

Link up with European workers on an anti-capitalist programme for the General strike to overthrow capitalism in Britain and Europe.

Imperialism and capitalism are weak! With a workers united front on an anti-capitalist programme the workers can precipitate the downfall of British capitalism

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THE MEXICAN
STUDENT
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printed form in
spite of conditions
of repression and
clandestinity

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 control, leading to nationalisation under workers control. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

Long live the MR 13 November of Guatemala

Death to the Counter Revolutionary Leadership of the Guatemalan Communist Party who have Betrayed our Comrades

Stop the Repressions of Revolutionaries in L. A.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

do Gobierno, Mexico DF., Mexico, to the judge who is trying the case, Juez Primero do Distrito en Materia Penal, Eduardo Ferrer McGregor, Bucareli 24, Mexico DF., Mexico, and to the Mexican Embassy in this country at 48 Belgrave Square, S.W.1.

We are also making an appeal for letters of protest etc., to be sent to Guatemala demanding the release of the Mexican student David Aguilar who is in prison, injured and tortured, by the Guatemalan dictatorship. We appeal to all militants to send their protests to the Military dictator, Peralta Azurdia, Palacio do Gobierno, Guatemala City, Guatemala, C.A. demanding also the release of all the guerrillas of the MR 13th of November. (There is no Guatemalan Embassy in this country).

We also appeal for protests to be sent to Fidel Castro in Cuba and to the Cuban Embassy here (22 Mount Street London, W.1) protesting against the new arrest of two of our comrades in Cuba. We appeal to militants to demand the right of the Trotskyists (as of all revolutionary tendencies including the Guevarist tendency) to function as a revolutionary tendency which unconditionally supports the Cuban Workers State, and to demand once more the truth about the disappearance of Guevara.

A campaign of repression in Latin America has begun against the Trotskyists. In this campaign the Communist parties are acting as police spies. The MR 13 of November movement's political leader Francisco Amado was betrayed to the police by a Communist Party member as were some other MR 13 leaders before. We have learnt that several days before the arrests in Mexico Blas Roca the leading bureaucrat of the Cuban Communist Party (who at one time was opposed to the guerrilla struggle of Fidel Castro) had published in his "Cuba Socialista" a criminal attack against Posadas and against the IV International mentioning Adolfo Gilly with his complete name and publishing certain of the places which he frequented.

We urge all the organisations of the working class and the students to do everything they can to prevent this campaign of repression against revolutionaries in Central America. It is necessary to act as quickly as possible.

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

FRANCISCO AMADO - REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTER

Francisco Amado Granados has been the principal leader of the 13th of November Movement apart from Yon Sosa. He was the central figure who gained and impelled the MR 13th to adopt the programme of the IV International. He was the principal political organiser. As a member of the national leadership of the MR 13th he, right from the beginning, pressed for the adoption of the programme of the Socialist revolution and for the organisation of the MR 13th to fight for workers power. He participated with the other comrades in the preparation and the launching of the paper 'Revolucion Socialista' from its first number in June 1964. He was the principal member of the national leadership which led the political battle to maintain and develop the paper, and for the organisation of the guerrillas of Guatemala on the programme of the Socialist Revolution. In the February number of the paper 'Revolucion Socialista,' it declared its acceptance and adoption of the programme of the IV International as its programme. The role of Francisco Amado was primordial in the political evolution of 'Revolucion Socialista' and of the MR 13.

Francisco Amado was from a wealthy Guatemalan family. His father was a general and a minister at the time of Ubico. Amado studied at the Military school of Guatemala before entering the University of Mexico until the moment when he joined the guerrilla struggle. For this struggle he left his studies and his post in the administration of one of the construction companies in Mexico. He was 36 years of age. Since 1961, the date of his incorporation into the guerrilla, he remained the political and material organising centre of all the activity of the MR 13, more especially starting from 1962 when he settled permanently in Guatemala City. All his activity meant daily and permanent danger and risks, and there was the uninterrupted dodging of the police, the meetings and the escapes, arms in hand. There were many assassination attempts and direct battles with the police. He was the man most hunted by the police and the army, and all the police stations inside Guatemala and at the frontiers had his photo with orders to shoot on sight.

He had a fundamental role in the national meeting in the MR 13th of November in December 1964 held in Las Sierras de las Minas in guerrilla territory and where the declaration known under the name of "La Declaracion de Las Sierras de las Minas" which adopted the programme of the socialist revolution, was approved. He was one of the editors and five signatory members of the national Leadership at this moment. Another of the signatories was Col. Augusto Vincente Laorca who fell arms in hand on the 23rd July 1965 at the same time as the guerrilla Roman Najero in Guatemala City. Francisco Amado is the fourth national leader struck down by direct oppression. In 1962 Alejandro de Leon was assassinated in Guatemala City. In 1962 Rodolfo Chacou was killed while in a guerrilla patrol in the mountains. All died in combat.

Francisco Amado was the centre of the attacks of the PGT (The Communist Party of Guatemala) who used against him the most infamous methods, lies and denunciations. Several times he was directly threatened with death by elements of the PGT who had discussed the preparation of his murder.

Francisco Amado was the "merchant, who without any doubt was an agent of Imperialism" of whom Fidel Castro spoke in his foul attack against the Chinese, the MR 13 and the Trotskyists. He knew very well who Francisco Amado was because he had some slight political relations with him and had broken with him not because he "was an agent of Imperialism" but because he had adopted the programme of the socialist revolution and fought to apply it in Guatemala.

As a member of the national leadership Francisco Amado had signed the principal documents of the MR 13 including among them the public manifestos on the occasions of the kidnappings and the terrorist attempts. In November 1965 the dictator issued a decree condemning the guerrillas to death after summary judgement in order to combat the organised kidnappings carried out to obtain funds for the revolutionary struggle. Peralta Azurdia himself announced on television that any guerrilla leader made prisoner would be immediately killed. Francisco Amado and his comrades have not even been judged summarily, they have been murdered after having been arrested.

The revolution which sweeps Latin America and the world and which approaches the final triumph will avenge Francisco Amado Granados and all the dead revolutionaries in the world.

April 1966.

Indian capitalism on the verge of collapse

The present crisis in India is part of the collapse on a world scale of the policy of peaceful co-existence. The food shortage is not the major factor in the present onslaught against the Indian bourgeoisie, it is only the sparking point and for Mrs. Gandhi to go running round the world for handouts and for Johnson to talk gravely of the threat of disaster in India, appealing to the world bourgeoisie to send food is simply hypocritical posturing before the world petit bourgeoisie. The problem of adequate food cannot be solved within the private property relations prevailing in Indian agriculture. Imperialism has always presented India as the model of non-alignment, the alternative to socialism for the colonial revolution. The Indian bourgeoisie has pretended a "middle" path seeking aid from imperialism on the one hand, but also using the criminal policy of peaceful co-existence of the Soviet bureaucracy on the other. At every step they have been assisted by the Indian Communist Party who, in their disgusting rag, "New Age," polemicise, with the Indian bourgeoisie over who are the best patriots before the starving Indian masses.

The fall of Khrushchev was a blow to world capitalism because it marked the collapse of peaceful co-existence and this is making itself felt in India today. With the continuous world class polarisation the Indian CP is unable to contain the Indian masses and can no longer provide a way out for Indian capitalism. The electoral victory of the pro-Chinese comrades in Kerala despite the lack of a concrete revolutionary programme and while they were still in prison shows clearly the crisis of reformism in India. It also shows a high level of consciousness and confidence among the masses of that State. To vote for imprisoned candidates is as good as a declaration of war. When the struggle reaches such proportions it becomes glaringly clear that the Chinese leadership, continuously loses opportunities. As a result of the war with Pakistan and the war budget against China, the Indian masses suffer further burdens in addition to their already intolerable conditions of life. India's foreign currency reserves become precarious. Now they have been forced to devalue the rupee. This year's crops have failed and centralised governmental authority is disintegrating. Besides the food riots which were so violent in Calcutta that the Army was called out,

the Mizo and Naga tribesmen are in revolt. In Bombay there are large semi political strikes. The Sikh petit bourgeoisie have been able to free themselves from Hindu administration in the Punjab, while in Pakistan even the East Pakistan bourgeoisie talk of secession. All these are symptoms of a growing revolutionary tide. As Lenin has shown, under such conditions the masses converge on capitalism from all different sides and the political fragmentation, whatever the initial leadership of the nationalities reflects the crumbling of the Indian and Pakistan bourgeoisie. While this is going on, members of the Chinese government are arming Ayub Khan and the reactionary Pakistani ruling class failing to put forward a revolutionary programme, and not mentioning the seizure of lands from the landowners and the establishment of popular militias. The role of a Marxist revolutionary party is not to take sides in border disputes between bourgeois governments but to appeal to the workers to take advantage of all disunity among the class enemy and to seize power simultaneously in both countries. Repudiate the false bourgeois partisan positions of the leadership of the CPC and the CPSU on the question of India and Pakistan!

We appeal to the revolutionary tendency in the Indian CP to call upon the masses with the clear programme for the socialist revolution.

1. For the establishment of workers councils (soviets) as the basis for the workers and peasants government.
2. Workers and Peasants committees to function regularly with political life. Workers militia based on the committees to defend demonstrators and seize hoarded food.
3. Nationalisation of all Imperialist enterprises without compensation and under workers control.
4. Nationalisation of the banks without compensation.
5. Nationalisation of plantations without compensation, under workers control.
6. For Peasant Communes with full State credits and technical aid.
7. Arms and technical aid from the workers states.
8. Appeals from the workers states for the insurrection of the Indian masses.
9. For the United Soviet Socialist States of India.

The Programme of the Pan African Congress

GREAT ADVANCE IN AFRICAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

On the 24th of June in London, a meeting was held by the Pan African Congress, in which K. Jordaan outlined the problems and tasks of the South African Revolution and in calling for the United front of all the anti-colonialist forces against Capitalism and Imperialism put forward the following transitional programme for the revolution in South Africa.

1. Nationalisation of all key industries, banks and insurance, without compensation.
2. All industries to be placed under workers control.
3. Free Trade Unions.
4. Nationalisation of all the large capitalist farms without compensation.
5. Poor peasants have the right to retain their plots but no right to hire labour or to sell land. State help for co-operatives.
6. To solve the housing problem in South Africa, expropriation of all luxury properties hotels.
7. Commissions of housewives to administer expropriated houses and luxury properties.
8. All schools to have free meals.
9. Student control over the Universities.
10. Equal status for all languages.
11. State monopoly of foreign trade.
12. Free national health service.

We publish this programme because we think it has an enormous significance for the whole of the African revolution. It is an example of the development of a socialist current within the nationalist movement part of the world process destined to overthrow what is left of capitalism and Imperialism.

The Amsterdam Workers Show Advance of the Revolutionary Current in Europe

The violent conflict between the Dutch police and building workers in Amsterdam is not only a reflection of the class struggle within Holland but within Europe and the world. The struggle of the Belgian coal miners against capitalism which resulted in the murder of two miners and the successful strike of the women workers at Liege are certainly immediate influences, but the general mobilisation of the European proletariat, strikes, electoral gains by parties with worker support etc and the steady loss of imperialist and capitalist authority all over the world have all contributed to buttress the confidence and combativity of the Dutch workers and revolutionary youth.

The Dutch government attempted as part of the general capitalist offensive against the masses to reduce the wages of unorganised building workers. This provoked riots and led to the death of a building worker.

However there is no question that these

riots are associated with very profound anti government, anti capitalist feeling which has been directed against the monarchy. To question the monarchy is in reality to pose the question what sort of government?

The bourgeoisie has tried to interpret the riotings as dominated by "long haired" youth but the facts are otherwise.

The dynamism and the combativity of the Dutch workers are part of a process which knows no stopping place and requires a coherent programme and leadership on a national, European and International level.

We appeal to all the British factory committees and trade union branches to send resolutions of solidarity to the Amsterdam workers and of support for the construction of a new European trade union centre based on the anti capitalist and anti imperialist programme. The struggle of the Dutch building workers and the British seamen belongs to the same process—the overthrow of Capitalism everywhere.

CADRE SCHOOL OF THE BRITISH SECTION

A cadres school under the direction of the International, was held in the British section from May 27-June 3.

The courses on dialectical materialism, the history of the Internationals, the construction of the IV International, were given by Comrade Arroyo.

Workers States; Colonial Revolution: Comrade Tran.

International Situation, the War and the Intervention of the IV International: Comrade Richard.

The development of workers struggles in Europe: Comrades Roger and Richard.

The opening speech was given by comrade Roger and the closing speech by comrade Richard.

The school reflected the maturing of the cadres with the perspective of a rapid development of the section. During the school a collective life was led and a spirit of fraternity was in evidence in all the activity of the school.

The reports of the International particularly on the extraordinary development of the free trade unions in Spain acted as a great stimulus to the section.

After the closing speech, a minutes silence was held in memory of comrade Amado and the other heroic fighters among the guerrillas in Guatemala, murdered by the assassins of the Dictatorship with the support of the Guatemalan CP.

Protests against the arrest of the Mexican Trotskyists, against the continued arrest of David Aguilar, against the detention of two Trotskyists in Cuba by Fidel Castro were sent to the Mexican, Guatemalan and Cuban governments and embassies respectively. A decision was taken to accelerate the campaign for the release of all these comrades.

Greetings were sent to all the sections of the International, especially to those working in clandestinity that is in Brazil, Bolivia, Spain and Algeria.

Greetings were sent to comrade Posadas and the International Secretariat.

Special greetings were also sent to the Cuban section working under the direct pressure of the soviet bureaucracy and Fidel Castro.

Greetings were sent to the 13 November movement working in Guatemala; to the gigantic struggles and mobilisations of the European proletariat more and more throwing its weight into the dynamic course of the world revolutionary process.

To the women workers of the FN Liege in Belgium acting as a vanguard of the women workers in Europe.

To the seamen on strike in Great Britain opening the way for a new stage in the class struggle, from both British and European perspectives.

To the Canadian dockers whose destruction of their employers headquarters reflects the maturing of revolutionary currents all over the world.

The School closed with the singing of the International

The School was conducted throughout with the portraits of Marx, Engels Lenin and Trotsky overlooking the proceedings. A large red banner with the symbol of the IV International immediately caught the attention.

Four quotations characterised the pre-occupation of the school.

"Without the party we are nothing. With the party we are everything." (Trotsky)

"The substitution of the proletarian state for the bourgeois state is not possible without violent revolution." (Lenin)

"The nuclear war will mean chaos. The Bourgeoisie will disintegrate. The tendency of the masses will be to take all power." (Posadas to the Cuban comrades. 26 October, 1962.)

"The masses are going to try to look in an immediate and unanimous way, after a brief delay for the centralisation which they need. Thus they will seek the way to centralise themselves socially, to concentrate themselves, to solve all the problems of humanity; so that each individual, each thought is centralised there. All paternalistic or individualist attitudes will come into conflict with this. Whoever remains a prisoner to these attitudes will inexorably be pushed to one side no matter what his political or theoretical ability." (Posadas.)

Sell Red Flag at Your Place of Work

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Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG



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

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

NO 35

AUGUST 1966

SIXPENCE

**FOR A NEW SOCIALIST PARTY
based on the trade unions and
factory committees, and with the
anti-capitalist programme**

The combined struggles of the British and world masses more and more disintegrate British imperialism and publish its hopeless decadence before the whole world. Wilson's declaration of a wage freeze does not take place in a situation where the British working class is defeated or demoralised, but on the contrary in a situation where the class has over a whole period mobilised itself in strike action with some limited success to defend its standard of life, where it has become conscious of its own strength and where it has the opportunity to experience the whole force of the world revolution, centralised particularly in the struggles of the Vietnamese masses against American Imperialism. Even in the case of the Seamens strike where the class suffered a relative defeat, this has not demoralised the class but simply indicated that in the future a new leadership is required and superior methods of struggle. Capitalism has not been able to extract any real victory from the return to work of the seamen.

The resistance of the British masses to unqualified support of American imperialism in Vietnam and their refusal to accept massive cuts in the standard of life means inevitably that the sectors of the trade unions most open to the pressures of the workers must oppose the line of Wilson and monopoly capitalism. The resignation of Cousins from the Wilson government is of the highest significance. This came immediately after the Seamens strike. Cousins realises after that strike that not only is there bound to be a strenuous resistance to the wage freeze policy of Wilson but that larger and larger sectors of workers have no time for the traditional trade union leaderships and that in order to maintain any sort of authority at all he will have to lead some form of resistance to the government.

The TGWU has been well to the fore not only in opposing the wage freeze but the Wilson line of support for American Imperialism in Vietnam. It represents large sectors of lower paid workers. That such a union is opposing all the basic pro imperialist, pro capitalist line of Wilson shows that the conditions are all available, apart from a conscious and decisive leadership for a split from the Labour party. But it is not possible to lead a struggle for a new socialist party based on the trade unions and the unofficial factory and shop stewards committees without putting forward a programme which combines minimum demand with transitional demands for the expropriation of the capitalist class. Cousins has it appears, said, that there is a case for more public ownership, there certainly is, but it is impossible to talk at the same time of raising "productivity" which means collaborating with the capitalist class to intensify exploitation, and to extract advantages for small sectors of privileged workers. Capitalism has shown that it is incapable of expanding production under present condi-

tions. "Raising productivity" means under capitalism to rationalise Production not for the benefit of the masses but of Capitalism. ...The idea of raising "productivity" under these conditions is rather like saying that the trade unions can run capitalism better than the capitalists. It is essentially evading the issue which is simply this, capitalism has nothing to offer humanity but war and destruction, it is incapable of yielding any creative benefit for humanity. Trade unions speak of achieving practical results and what then has capitalism produced now for this country and Europe? Sluggish economy, vast unproductive expenditures, inability to use automation and science for the benefit of humanity, this is Capitalism, any country in Europe shows the same result. The system has to go, and to talk about helping the "national" economy by raising "productivity" is a subterfuge to evade the problem of putting forward the anti capitalist programme.

The recent government measures which presage unemployment, factory closures, wage freeze, no improvement in all the basic social services demand the anti capitalist programme—nationalisation under workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, a national basic minimum wage to be decided by panels of workers and housewives and to rise with the cost of living, equal pay for men and women, not a single worker unemployed (sliding scale of hours), all the profits of automation to the workers, expropriation of all luxury properties to meet the housing shortage etc. Capitalism has no reformist crumbs to give. Some doctors have even been proposing that patients should pay for their food in hospital! As for the big sharks in the car industry, to lower costs they simply merge—but the car worker, he must look out for himself.

Capitalism has shown itself to be incapable

of expanding production, of rapidly expanding the internal market. They have exported enormous sums of capital abroad in the past precisely because they were incapable of such expansion. We repeat our appeal for all the militants in the unions and the LP constituencies to work for a genuine socialist party based on the trade unions and the unofficial factory committees with the programme for workers power.

The need to conduct a struggle to break

from the Labour party apparatus and construct a genuine socialist party has never found better national and international conditions. The policy of peaceful co-existence was terminated long ago and Wilson's visit to Moscow is among the most farcical in diplomatic history. The soviet bureaucracy despite its conspiracy with American imperialism to isolate China can make no serious concessions to imperialism because

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FREEDOM FOR THE MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

**The IV International replies
to the Mexican government**

J. POSADAS

The Uruguayan section of the IV International sent a cable to the Mexican government demanding the release of the Trotskyists comrades arrested in Mexico recently.

We give the text of the reply of the Mexican government and the subsequent reply to this by comrade Posadas, General Secretary of the IV International.

Text of telegram

"GOVERNMENT TAKES NOTE OF THE DEMAND. UNDER SOVEREIGN USAGE MEXICO APPLIES ITS LAWS AGAINST DELINQUENTS AND DOES NOT ALLOW FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT. TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION JUST PETITION AND DEMAND FOUNDED ON MEXICAN LAW AND

IN GENERAL RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORY. YOU ARE NOT MEXICAN OR RESIDENTS OF MEXICO AS A CONSEQUENCE YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO POSE A DEMAND. YOURS

The assistant director general of the Secretariat of the government—
Julio Patino.

And here is our reply. "Monsieur Julio Patino assistant director general of the Government of the Secretariat of the government of Mexico"

In reply to your cable addressed to the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist), The Mexican Section of the IV International, we reject your judgment describing as delinquents our comrades in Mexico arrested by your government, and protest with indignation against such a discrimination. Our comrades have been arrested, detained and tortured for seven days by the police of Mexico. Our comrades have declared that they only struggled for the worker and peasant government against the capitalist system, against Yankee imperialism and for the expropriation of the lands of the landed proprietors and their distribution to the peasants.

They struggle for the solidarity of the working class and of the exploited masses of the world with the peoples of Dominica and of Vietnam and against the intervention of Yankee im-

perialism. None of our comrades, arrested in an arbitrary way by your police, either looked for or pursued personal or individual interests. Delinquents seek their own individual interests. The programme of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) of Mexico is the same as that of the IV International on a world scale, the Trotskyist programme which is to fight for the greatest progress of humanity for socialism against the capitalist system and for power to the workers and peasants.

No delinquent will search for such objectives, or struggle for them. Pancho Villa, Francisco Zapata and in his epoch on a more limited scale, Benito Juarez, called for struggle and had to struggle for these same objectives of human and historic progress which are today those of our party and for which the Mexican Trotskyists struggle. The government of Cardenas supported the republicans in the Spanish civil war, supported the re-

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New arrests of Trotskyists in Brazil

We denounce the arrests by the Dictator Castelo Branco, of 9 members of the P.O.R. (T.) of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro and 5 from Ceara. These new imprisonments which come after the arrests of tens of Trotskyist militants, are not only a new expression of the weakness, of the fear, and of the break up of the dictatorship, but of the development of the activities of the Brazilian Trotskyists whom we warmly salute.

THE STRIKE OF THE WOMEN WORKERS OF F.N. LIEGE, MARKS A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN EUROPE

(LETTER FROM THE BELGIAN SECTION)

Note; although this strike is over we are publishing a letter from the Belgian comrades on the struggle of the FN women workers of Liege for equal pay with men, because we regard it as a fundamental event in the new phase of the European struggle.

"The situation here is truly formidable. The strike of the workers of the FN has continued now from the 16 February and the last assembly of the strikers decided with the same decision as previously to continue the strike to the finish. This has been a very important experience for the whole of the working class and above all for the advance of the independent organisation of the class. The management of the FN had said clearly why it was not able to yield. We cannot create a precedent. All the capitalist managements made a block immediately to exert pressure on that of the FN not only in Belgium but on a European scale.

The principle preoccupation of the trade union bureaucracy, of the Khrushchevian bureaucracy has been to prevent the extension of the strike and of the demands: for equal work equal wages (that is the equalisation of the salaries of the women with the men). They had to use all their forces, all their manoeuvres to succeed. At Liege in many engineering factories, the trade union delegates negotiated with the owners to obtain increases in wages for women and immediately obtained them on the condition that they would prevent the unification of the workers of the FN factory with the other factories. But at the ACEC of Liege, Charleroi, Brussels, Ghent they did not succeed so easily. The workers of the ACEC of Liege made stoppages in solidarity and immediately after, formulated the same demands as the workers of the FN factory. The bureaucrats did not know how to impede their going on strike; on the contrary the workers went on strike un-animously and without warning. The bureaucrats were then forced to follow the movement. Then also in Charleroi, the workers decided to go on strike knowing from past experience that they had been frustrated twice by the manoeuvres of the bureaucrats.

In the assemblies of the FN there was a progressive shift in the relations between the trade union bureaucracy and the leadership which the workers themselves had thrown up to make their movement conquer. The workers constituted a committee of action which

declared the strike and led it completely from the beginning. The leader of this committee was called Germaine an old worker of 59, an old communist militant. In the first meeting there were some bureaucrats at the tribune who scarcely dared to open their mouths, and the committee of action got the workers to reply with the International to the words of the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats referring to their negotiation asked if the workers wished to vote on whether to continue or not with the strike; a general cry and the singing of the International was the reply that met them. But the bureaucrats agitated with great ability in manoeuvring. They proposed in a meeting that workers of "good faith" integrated with the Committee of Action to form from it a Strike Committee. There was no election of these workers and they had the possibility to pacify many workers close to them. Around thirty appeared on the tribune in the following meeting and thus the hard core of the committee was practically neutralised. At this point they began to raise their head and show themselves arrogant; they said that the union organisation had always sustained the workers and would sustain them to the end; they attacked and slandered the pro Chinese and the "irresponsible political groups". But they did not deceive anyone. The workers in the hall said: "they want to put us to sleep. Lets give them the brush off; get up; clear out!"

...The force of the strike is immense and the manoeuvres of the bureaucrats reduce more and more. They have not known how to impede the beginning and the continuation of the strike: they have had to submit to and sustain it. The workers in the assembly would demand a demonstration. Even in that case the bureaucrats would not know how to impede it and would say: we will have it at Herstal (the area of the factory). A first demonstration took place at Herstal. Then the workers demanded to have one in Liege and marched through the city. The bureaucrats were forced to accede to this, but arranged it 14 days after the workers had demanded it.

...The nucleus of the committee of action has maintained itself in functioning. The workers of this committee went finally to Charleroi, to get the workers of ACEC to strike, distributed leaflets produced by themselves and organised committees at the entrance of the ACEC.

THE NEW PROLETARIAN LEADERSHIP IS FORMING

The intervention of the workers of Liege has had a great effect at Charleroi. They carried along the workers of Charleroi to strike spontaneously and to demonstrate in the streets of Charleroi. The trade union delegates disapproved publicly of this stoppage. But the workers of the ACEC have formed among themselves a committee of Action to go on strike.

Finally the day was decided. The day in which the strike was to begin the bureaucrats convoked an assembly to say that it was necessary to postpone the day because the negotiations were proceeding well. The majority of the workers remained at home; the bureaucrats made an assembly composed only of a third of the workers to vote and 63% voted to continue the

strike. Then the TU delegates decided to return to work, because the majority of two thirds to continue the strike were not present. Through the radio and the papers they announced that work would be resumed at ACEC. That day there was a tremendous tension in the factory. A sector of the workers did not resume work, others entered the factory and blocked the door to others, others remained outside the factory to discuss. Furious explanations developed with the delegates and one of them in the course of an argument hit a worker and swore at him. Twenty workers fell on this official and gave him a tremendous beating. He is still in hospital (official cause accident at work). 500 workers of one sector of the ACEC

went on strike to demand his immediate dismissal. It was Friday. On Monday the workers of the committee of action organised pickets from four in the morning because the strike continued. There was a massive concentration of the forces of the police to terrorise them but they succeeded in gaining for the strike 50% of the workers of whom part went home, and the others went to an assembly house to hold a meeting.

The meeting was very impressive. The committee of action at the tribune and in the hall pointed out the shameful actions of some delegates. It was somewhat comic. Monique (who directs the committee) spoke saying "The present delegates are asked to sit in the first row; we will give them opportunity to speak if they wish."

This assembly was like an embryo of dual power between the official representatives of the workers and the new leadership in process of construction. Monique made a complete report of the situation and invited the assembly to intervene on each point. There developed a great discussion between all the workers who intervened expressing their wishes on all the points. Then the delegates were invited to speak. One of them took his courage in both hands, went to the

tribune and said timidly that the delegates were not against the workers, but that it was shameful what had happened to the "comrade" who was in hospital. A worker shouted "certainly it is shameful that we did not finish him off". All the workers laughed and the bureaucrats left the room somewhat downcast.

At the FN the strike still continued. The demonstration at Liege was impressive (it broke out when work had been resumed at ACEC). Many thousands marched through Liege with the slogans "We fight, we lead". There were many old workers who showed incredible vigour. A group also came from Charleroi to demonstrate. In fact the group of Monique had forced the delegates to hire a car. On the other hand the delegates had also promised some placards but they had not done this and did not have the courage to come with the workers of Charleroi to Liege. Then the workers took placards during the demonstration and wrote on them "The workers of the ACEC are here". They made armbands on which were written "ACEC" "CHARLEROI". They also wrote a denunciation "We have an agent of the management in the union. (a jibe against each of the bureaucrats of Charleroi).

THE CREATION OF INDEPENDENT ORGANISM OF THE WORKING CLASS

These strikes have provoked a movement of solidarity in each country in Europe, not only on the part of the working class but also among the petit bourgeoisie. This solidarity has shown itself principally in the enormous quantity of money collected to sustain the strike from many factories of the country, from the schools, from the intellectuals, the clerks, the technicians. This was a limited expression of the unification of the masses to advance their demands. All the messages of solidarity coming from the various countries were received

each time to the applause of the assembly in the FN. The workers had a clear consciousness of the significance of their strike and said that it was necessary to organise a struggle throughout Europe and that a single union was necessary throughout Europe.

Others have also said "We were led to strike because we have seen that it is with this method that the miners of Zwartberg had been able to obtain what they did. This strike is

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF GILLY AND THE SEVEN MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

We are repeating our appeal to all militants to continue the campaign for the release of the Trotskyists imprisoned in Mexico, Cuba, Guatemala and Brazil.

As we reported in previous editions of "Red Flag" 7 militants of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskista) the Mexican section of the IV International were arrested on the 26th of April in connection with the big student strike in Mexico City University. Arrested with them was the revolutionary journalist Adolfo Gilly whose writings on the Latin American revolution in general and on the Cuban revolution in particular, are well known in this country through the "Monthly Review." The comrades who were beaten by the police for three days are accused of "fighting for a Workers and Peasants government."

In Cuba a new campaign against our party has begun with the arrest of two comrades. This is a part of the campaign which Fidel Castro is waging against the revolutionary tendencies of the world.

In Guatemala the Mexican student David Aguilar has still not been seen or heard from since he was arrested last December, and it is thought he is injured and has been tortured and that his life is in danger through lack of medical attention.

We repeat the appeal to all the working class and student movement to send protests and demands for the release of the comrades to the following addresses.

Mexico Presidente Diaz Ordaz Palacio do Gobierno—Mexico F. (Mexico)
Juez Primero de Distrito en Materia Penal.—Eduardo Mc Gregor Bucareli 24—Mexico D. F. Mexico.
The Mexican Embassy 48 Belgrave Sq. W.1.

Guatemala Peralta Azurdia—Palacio do Gobierno—Guatemala City—Guatemala C.A. There is no Guatemala Embassy in this country.

Cuba Fidel Castro—Havana—Cuba
The Cuban Embassy 22 Mount St—W.1.

THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLA IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER

First Part (Extracts)

J. Posadas

The experiences of the guerrillas are not only of significance in Latin America, they concern also Asia, and Africa. In Africa the guerrillas have stagnated. The principal guerrilla forces (those of the Congo, of Angola) have found themselves in an impasse. In Latin America there has been a similar impasse. In the case of the MR 13 in Guatemala the activity of the guerrillas has diminished to the profit of the political activity in the towns. The MR 13 is the only one to maintain an activity as an organised revolutionary movement and one where the guerrillas are a form expressing socialist ideas. All the other guerrillas of Latin America are in an impasse; whether in Colombia, Venezuela, or to a certain extent, in Peru. The cause of this stagnation has not been discussed. In Venezuela in particular where the retreat of the guerrillas is notable, and very important, a decomposition of the guerrillas has taken place.

In Colombia the guerrillas of Marquetalia have retreated in their activities; but at the same time new sources of revolutionary activity have been created which do not originate with the guerrillas. With that of the priest Camillo Torres, there is a new front, a new political movement which has been constituted, not the product of the guerrillas.

In Peru for months there has been a stagnation of the guerrillas. The announcement of the assassination of de la Puente and of Lobaton has not been the cause of this delay. Encirclement by the army and the police imposes periodically on the guerrillas, a partial delay of their action. They return afterwards and during this period of stagnation they look for the possibility of reanimating their activities. But this stagnation has lasted months. The most important aspect reflecting the stagnation of the guerrillas is not the absence of actions. Such periods with total abandonment of actions or limited actions are normal and due to military and police encirclement. The stagnation expresses itself in the fact of the absence of political life, of the absence of contact with the exploited population; there is no reflection as a consequence of the interior life among the guerrilla, expressed in articles, manifestoes, such as those of the MR Nov 13, the only movement in fact where a lessening of military activity has been accompanied by a political action expressed through publications, articles, bulletins, manifestoes.

All the other guerrillas have stagnated militarily and politically. The stagnation of the action of the guerrillas has been total. There are periods where guerrillas must stop actions as a consequence of encirclement by the army and of the police giving them an unfavourable position. They have to hide, retire and make ambushes. But

the present stagnation of the guerrillas reflects the absence of a programme and precise objectives.

The guerrillas, the comrades of the guerrillas must draw this conclusion. The comrade leaders of all the guerrillas of Latin America, Africa, Asia must draw the conclusion that even if for military reasons the guerrillas must during seasons, periods, delay their action, retreat, hide themselves because they are not able to confront superior military forces, this must not be a reason for stagnation and paralysis; yes there may be a military stagnation, but not an internal political stagnation. It is necessary to maintain contact with the population through political activity, by means of militants, tracts, manifestoes and also political actions. Then the guerrillas can feel themselves able to participate in a permanent process having as an objective, the overthrow of capitalism. Otherwise they feel themselves only part of a particular action in relation to the exploited population. They feel themselves separated from the population. In being separated politically from the exploited population, they act in isolation from it and feel themselves as a protector, making a political action for the population. They feel themselves above the population and not part of it and of the struggle of the exploited masses. Hence the stagnation of the guerrillas.

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM

The experience of all the struggles of the masses of the world and those in particular of the countries of Latin America, Asia, Africa has shown that the only way for the masses to obtain democratic rights is to struggle against capitalism. There is no other way. The struggle for democracy, against oppression, against imperialism, against the landed proprietors, for the democratic rights of the population, for the trade union rights of the masses, for the raising of the standard of living, the struggle for the right of the population to organise and to struggle for the improvement of the conditions of existence is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism. There does not exist any neutral power between the masses and capitalism. One leans on one or the other.

Every struggle tending to intervene in society whatever its form, must support itself on the proletariat and the peasantry, or on capitalism. There is no possibility of an intermediate role between the working class and capitalism, between the working class and imperialism. The *raison d'être* of the guerrillas is to support the exploited masses, it must accompany their struggle and serve their design.

For a whole period, as a consequence of difficulties, as a consequence of absence of organisation and experience, as a consequence of repression in the mass movement, the guerrillas can play a very independent role. They can fulfill this specific activity in order to stimulate the beginning of the struggle. But if the guerrillas do not tend to organise, by uniting themselves to the exploited masses of the country and of the town, workers, peasants, students, their action is lost, vanishes, and the militants of the guerrillas do not feel themselves to be fighting for an historic conclusion which it is possible and right to attain. Then they lose confidence and assurance.

The guerrillas must bind themselves to the struggles of the masses. By the struggle, the influence of the world revolution and the struggles of the world masses, from the struggle of the workers states, above all of Vietnam and of Dominica which are the vital points of the anti capitalist struggles, the guerrillas receive a little influence and stimulus. But as it has not an objective, uniting them to the masses of the country, this influence ceases or diminishes, for the world influence

gives them neither objective nor programme.

This is the greatest experience which the comrades of the Peruvian guerrillas must realise. We render homage to comrades De la Puente and Lobaton. We render homage to them as revolutionaries, for they have sought as ourselves, to destroy capitalism. But their road was only partially correct. To launch the guerrillas with the decision which they have taken, was not incorrect. What was incorrect, was to organise a movement of guerrillas, ignoring the existence of the struggle of the masses, as that of the peasant masses in Cerro de Pasco, the masses of the North of Peru. The proof is that in eight months of guerrillas, approximately, they have not succeeded in leading the masses to make strikes, they have not succeeded in continuing the movement of Hugo Blanco, who had a very strong initial support. Why? The guerrillas had proposed, honestly with a revolutionary objective, to try to crush capitalism, to be a centre to organise the struggle in order to overthrow capitalism. All their confidence lay in the action of the guerrillas but to incorporate themselves in struggle, the guerrillas must intervene via strikes, mobilisation, with manifestoes. They must give to the masses a programme, which allows them, in struggling with the guerrillas, to proceed to the installation of forms of social and economic relations with the social and economic organisation; nationalisations, collectivisation, co-operatives. Then the exploited masses see in the guerrillas not only a military instrument but an instrument of

struggle for political power which is exercised under a military form, because there is no other form of expression.

In Latin America, in Asia, in Africa, the guerrillas cannot continue indefinitely their struggles in specific circumstances. But the form of the guerrillas owes itself to the historic circumstances in which they find themselves: in Vietnam it is not a question any more of guerrillas but of a struggle of the whole Vietnam people against Yankee imperialism. If the rest of the Vietnam people did not accompany the guerrillas, the Vietcong would not have the power to triumph, to expel the Yanks, to destroy them as it does, obliging imperialism to send a half million men, it would not have the power to be the centre of influence of the world revolution. It is no longer guerrilla force, it is the military form, the militia accompanied by the intervention of the whole population.

And in a very short delay, the whole population is going to have to intervene even without yet having taken the land, even without an appeal being made, which should already have been done, as imperialism then would already have been overthrown. And the sending of half a million soldiers by imperialism shows that it expects a more elevated action of the guerrillas.

It seems that the extension of the organisation of the militias of the Viet Cong to impel the population is coming. It seems that the intervention of the Chinese will come under the form of the militias.

THE CRIMINAL ATTACK OF FIDEL CASTRO AGAINST THE CHINESE

The attack of Fidel Castro on the Chinese is criminal. If one can say of one attack that it is criminal, it is certainly that of Fidel Castro. In the most perilous conditions for humanity where the Chinese are the vital centre of the world resistance to imperialism, the vital centre which contains Yankee imperialism, and stimulates the world revolution, the attack of Fidel Castro is a direct aid to the counter revolution. This attack does not stem from the naivety of Fidel Castro, it is an attitude which reflects his lack of confidence in the revolution. Never has an attack been more inopportune, more criminal than that of Fidel Castro on the Chinese. Never! He should call for aid unconditionally to Vietnam and for that should call upon the masses to take power in Latin America, call upon them to organise, to occupy the factories, to make strikes, demonstrations, meetings in Latin America and in the United States. The Chinese are the centre which opposes itself to Yankee imperialism, the vital centre of the revolution; anything else is mere delusion.

This does not annul the criticisms of the Chinese for their timid vacillating and to certain extent conciliatory policy. But China and the policy of the Chinese is the vital centre of opposition to Yankee imperialism which stimulates the masses of the world. Vietnam without the Chinese would not continue to struggle. And without the struggle of the Vietcong there would have been no Dominican Revolution. The attitude of Fidel Castro is a service to Yankee imperialism, and to the world counter revolution. If Castro and his team believe it neces-

sary to launch their present polemic with the Chinese, this is due to the fact that they take account and consider that the vital centre of the revolution is the Chinese. When Castro said "Do not come to make propaganda here", he attacks the vital centre of the revolution. If the Vietnamese followed the example of Castro, the resistance of the Vietcong would be finished. If the Vietcong said to the Chinese "Do not make propaganda in the army", resistance would be finished. It is the greatest possible advantage that one might give to Yankee imperialism to say that the Chinese should not make revolutionary propaganda in the world.

If the Chinese did not do this, Cuba
CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

CORRECTION

In the article on the crisis of the Indian bourgeoisie which appeared in last months paper two omissions occurred in the programme. Firstly in the demand for the expropriation of imperialist properties there should also have appeared the demand for the expropriation of Indian capitalist enterprises. Secondly there should have appeared an appeal to the peasants to seize the land preceding that for peasant communes.

The points were raised in the main body of the article but not reiterated in the programme. We apologise for those omissions.

THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

also would be finished. We do not criticise the revolutionary propaganda of the Chinese, we criticise its insufficiency, the fact that they do not do it publicly. That is what we criticise about the Chinese. We do not criticise their propaganda but its insufficiency.

Fidel Castro accused them of making revolutionary propaganda. Why didn't Fidel Castro say, why didn't he have the revolutionary honesty to say what was in the propaganda of the Chinese? What are the Chinese calling for? Are they calling for support of capitalism and imperialism? The Chinese are appealing for opposition to imperialism. And Fidel Castro is opposed to this.

The party which wants to fight to represent the interests of the masses, must appeal for the overthrow of capitalism. What did Fidel Castro do when he fought against Batista? Did he not call for a general strike? Why does he not do it today? Before the Cuban Workers State there were 13 workers states. And each new Workers State—Cuba among them—each new revolution has advanced arms in hand, with strikes, occupations of the factories, meetings, guerrilla struggles. What has changed? What has changed is the mentality of Fidel Castro who has not drawn the conclusion of his own revolution and has come to a halt. As other revolutionaries have done before him, revolutionaries, whose role was infinitely more positive, more in agreement with history, he has gone to the devil as they did a long time before him; among them the team of the old bolshevik party and the communist parties of the world. Even having led a revolution and having fought does not give him belief, and a definite historic assurance.

If the revolutionary struggle does not maintain itself, if it does not expand, it dies, becomes conservative, perishes as Fidel Castro has perished from the point of view of action, of

THE GUERRILLA DISINTEGRATES CAPITALIST POWER

The role of the guerrillas differ according to the country and the historical circumstances. But in every case, this role, whatever the differences between countries, if the object proposed is to smash capitalism, to fight against the oppressing capitalist power, to represent the interests of the oppressed masses, must base itself on a programme which will allow it to arrive at this conclusion; to overthrow capitalism. Because of this it must count on the support of the population. If the guerrilla acts separately from the population, it cannot attain its objective. In the Congo, in Angola, in Mozambique in Guinea, the guerrillas are experiencing stagnation because they are not accompanied by a programme to overthrow capitalist power. If the Congolese guerrillas had proposed a programme to overthrow capitalism, to tend to unite the population to the struggle against capitalism, they would have been invincible.

Today as before, we propose, we appeal to the guerrillas of Africa of Asia and of Latin America to act as we say and as the situation demands; go to the population, organise it, discuss with it, to form a nucleus of the population who intervene with their political life, in the form of agitation, of demonstration, of meetings in the town, by occupying factories, by occupying the land, by making clandestine meetings combined also with public meetings by forming militias in the town to accompany the action of the guerrillas, to weaken and decompose the military central power, while the masses exerts its political function of taking power.

In this sense the guerrilla has as its

leadership and revolutionary importance. Otherwise he would not have attacked the Chinese. The attack on the Chinese is the most filthy he has done. One polemicalises, one discusses with the Chinese, but one does not attack them so as to diminish their role before the masses of the world. To attack the Chinese by telling them not to make revolutionary propaganda, to accuse them of being agents of imperialism, saying they are united to the imperialist bloc against Cuba, is to lend a hand to imperialism by trying to take away their prestige in the eyes of the masses of the world. Why hasn't Castro had the impudence to say to masses of Vietnam that the Chinese are agents of imperialism?

The masses of Vietnam are doing what Fidel Castro never dreamed possible in his life. When the Trotskyists, the Chinese, the revolutionaries of the world were fighting arms in hand to overthrow capitalist power, Fidel Castro was still a bourgeois apprentice who wanted to reform the capitalist regime.

If he has succeeded, it is not thanks to him, it is due to the action of the masses of Cuba who have accompanied him and have been capable of resisting the pressure of capitalism, the repression of capitalism and of triumphing. The programme of Fidel Castro consisted of reforming capitalism but the masses pushed him to overthrow it. It is not the product of his conception, of his programme. This is why in his speeches he ignores Marx, Engels and Lenin, he has't a single text based on them. This is why the essential texts of Lenin are ignored by Fidel Castro and by his party. It is not enough to call a party communist—Stalin also called himself a communist—Communist parties also betray the masses.

What was the programme of Lenin? Lenin called for the taking of arms to overthrow the capitalist system. The Chinese are doing this. Fidel Castro should learn from this, should realise that we fought for this well before him and the Chinese.

role that of weakening, fragmenting the structure of the repressive apparatus. This is the historic function of the guerrillas. Later when the guerrillas advance, towards power, they no longer have to weaken the repressive power but, to organise for the seizure of power. The guerrilla during all this stage must weaken, break the morale, the organisation, the structure, the assurance and the confidence of capitalist power and its means of repression. But this function in itself cannot succeed in determining the downfall of capitalism.

The population must intervene. The guerrillas have existed for 20 years in Columbia and 7 in Venezuela, but they decompose; through lack of a political programme for the taking of power. The population does not intervene because it does not feel itself itself attracted.

We analysed—in its time—the failure of the Venezuelan guerrillas in calling for abstentions in the elections. We posed in articles previous to the elections, that the population could not support this directive, for it did not see in the guerrillas, its political representative. The boycott of the election was not approved by them. On the contrary if the guerrillas had acted by combining the military action which demoralises, divides and weakens the military and police power, of its repressive organs and an appeal to take the factories, to go on strike, to make demonstrations, to make agitation uniting the population with economic, democratic, anti-capitalist, anti-imperial-

ist and anti-oligarchic demands thus the population would have seen in the guerrilla action a point of support for the actions which they could carry out to overthrow capitalism.

Then the guerrillas would be united to the population and would be indestructible. It is possible to liquidate leaders, or a nucleus of guerrillas but the struggle of the revolutionary guer-

rilla which commences with the guerrilla struggle, is extended by the political action of the masses. Today one cannot conceive of a revolution of the struggle of the masses unaccompanied by blows tending to demoralise, disorganise and weaken the apparatus of capitalist repression. The guerrillas are not an organism of political organisation but they serve the political and revolutionary organisation.

THE GUERRILLAS AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE POPULATION IN THE STRUGGLE

The guerrillas can begin with military actions, but they must seek support in the trade unions, so that the trade unions give them not only protection and support; but dynamite and money; this is possible and all the trade unions must do it. But it is necessary above all that the trade unions organise themselves, that the guerrilla supports the action of the trade unions, that it contributes its guerrilla life to the functioning of the trade unions. For example; by repressive activity against the bosses, as the Chinese did when they went into the villages and crushed the mandarins, the feudal landowners, the landed proprietors and the oligarchy. The population saw this and it encouraged them to intervene, for they felt the protection of the guerrillas. But they did not wait for the guerrillas to come and do these things; guerrillas were a stimulant to the political action of the population. And before joining the Red Army, the population was already mobilised and united in this action. It is an error of the guerrillas not to act in this way.

We reiterate our most profound homage, our respect to the guerrillas of the MIR of Peru who have been assassinated and we reiterate our desire that they were still alive. Their action is the same as ours; the revolutionary fight for socialism. But at the same time it is necessary to draw conclusions. The isolation of the guerrillas is a product of the absence of a programme, of political objectives, the lack of links between the guerrillas and the masses. Their programme remains in a void. The programme is not sufficient; it is necessary to apply it and fight for it. This is why we say that there isn't a programme. The programme is not merely the statement of an objective, it is the organisation of the struggle for this objective. It is to unite the population to this struggle. They didn't do this. In 8 months they had enough time to do it. The guerrilla must moreover—before launching the uprising—start from this; organising nuclei, groups, centres which carry forward such struggles. Starting when the guer-

rillas launch the uprising, the nuclei in the town realise their tasks of agitation and organisation of the masses combined with the guerrillas.

With this combination of the struggle, one benefits from military blows of the guerrillas, bases itself on these, on the military successes of the guerrillas, on the panic provoked by the guerrillas in the military and police repressive apparatus, on the blows delivered by the guerrillas which demoralise and tend to show the enormous weakness of capitalism. It is necessary to accompany all this with action in the trade unions, in the towns in the universities; to develop political action accompanying the guerrillas with the same programme. Experience has shown that they did not act this way.

The stagnation of the Venezuela guerrillas, their decomposition is the product of a lack of a programme and revolutionary objectives. There is a process of change going on in the Venezuelan Guerrillas. There is the group tending to support the programme of the MR 13. The leadership of the CP has denounced them. The principal traitors, deserters, capitulators, and police spies, belong to the communist party, as the MIR itself has denounced.

It is the same in Columbia. The Columbian guerrillas are not those of the communist party. Even if certain of these members belong to the communist party, the action has nothing to do with the programme of the communist party. The communist party is against it, it attacks it openly, where as it should do the opposite. The revolutionary party which wants to represent the masses must declare publicly, as we do, that it calls for and will call in every way for the necessary struggle to overthrow capitalism. This is a public declaration which gives no base for capitalism to be able to compromise us with some juridical or diplomatic subterfuge. Besides there is no other way to avoid compromise. A compromise superior to the struggle for the revolution does not exist.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE EXTENSION OF THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION

In every country the guerrilla is a perfectly legitimate beginning of the revolutionary struggle. We reiterate our historic judgement which is that of our teachers; the struggle of the guerrillas is not the most advanced form of the class and revolutionary struggle, but one of the most backward. But backward form of struggle does not mean that it is without importance, without revolutionary importance. At times it can have a very great importance. Forms of struggle such as the guerrillas, which are not the most advanced are produced from the fact that the revolutionary class struggle has not found the necessary organisms for its expression, in this period.

This is directly the result of Fidel Castro, the Soviet bureaucracy, the leadership of the Communist Parties, who have been incapable, who are opposed to and have been enemies of

the revolutionary struggle of the masses. In conditions, objectively favourable for the taking of power, in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia, the Soviet bureaucracy have conciliated with Imperialism through UNO against the masses of the Congo. In revolutionary conditions in Argentine, in Brasil, in Bolivia, in Peru, the communist parties are allied to imperialism. In the condition of the masses moving towards the seizure of power, the communist parties have supported peaceful co-existence and an alliance with capitalism to prevent the taking of power by the masses. From this springs the existence of the guerrillas. For the masses even though the necessary conditions exist, they have not found the organism in order to fight for the seizure of power. The masses feel deprived of ways to struggle. The proof is Argentina. The revolutionary movement of all the Latin America masses has ig-

THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER

nored the communist parties. The exception is Chile where the communist party has a certain strength; but the rest of Latin America, the revolutionary movements pass over, go ahead of, or even against the communist parties. Even in Chile the development of the movement of Frei and of the Socialist party is going against the communist party. An honest revolutionary must draw experience from this epoch and from this struggle.

The fact is, Fidel Castro ignores all this. With the pretension of someone who has the power in his hands, he hurls anathemas against the Trotskyists, the MR 13th of November, and the Chinese without showing his superiority over them, and without basing himself on historical facts, showing that his directives and his attacks against the Chinese were based on historical experiences and truths. The communist parties are doing the same thing. They are the enemies of revolutionary struggle.

The Trotskyists, the MR 13, the Chinese,—even if there are differences between them—are united in the armed struggle for the taking of power. Our conclusion that the guerrilla struggle is not the most advanced form of the class struggle does not mean that anyone who embarks on a guerrilla struggle is backward or that the movement is backward. It means that there is a historic need to organise for the revolution and that lacking any other way, the masses use this way. Our judgement is that starting from this point, it is necessary to raise it; not to stop solely at the guerrilla struggle, but to raise it to the form of the

political organisation of the party, of the programmatic organisation to attract all the population.

Capitalism does not fall from rifle shots. Capitalism falls because the masses organise themselves and following on from this, or at the same time, come the rifle shots. Armed action is the extension of political conviction, of assurance and political organisation and it is only through a programme that the masses can organise themselves. It was the Bolsheviks who first practiced this guerrilla struggle, these are our teachers. But they did not stop at the guerrilla struggle. In 1917, the Bolsheviks did not start with an army, but with small detachments which corresponded to the guerrilla. They organised the militia, in the towns in the factories, in the country districts. And in so far as it was possible they did not limit themselves to guerrilla activity but transformed it into organised war through the Party, which gained all the population. The object of the guerrilla is the beginning of the armed struggle, to shake capitalism and show by its action, the immense weakness of capitalism, to stimulate the population to intervene in the struggle, to draw them into the struggle. And in order to incorporate the population in the struggle, a programme is required which unifies the objectives of the fight for trade union claims, salaries, democratic rights, and the objective of overthrowing capitalism. If all the population could take up arms at the same time it would be very easy. Capitalism would have ceased to exist a long time ago.

entire world. The situations, the periods, or the objective conditions vary, but the objectives are the same. It is because of this that there exists a common interest of the masses of the entire world. This is why they have above all, interests in supporting the revolution. The criticism of Fidel Castro on the fact that the Chinese should not concern themselves with what is going on in Cuba, leads to the position of not taking any notice of any strike which is not in ones own country. He should say to Capitalism that it cannot interfere, but not to the MR 13, or the Chinese or the Trotskyists, who are interested in the advance of the revolution in Cuba, as they are interested in the revolution in the Argentine, in Bolivia, or in Vietnam. Fidel Castro starts from a limited patriotic sentiment, the sentiment of an arrogant leadership which fears the socialist revolution because it feels that the revolution will bypass it.

Instead of attacking the Chinese, the Trotskyists, the IV International, the Latin American Bureau, such intelligent and noble journalists as Adolfo Gilly, and the secretary of the Latin American Bureau, Fidel Castro must learn from them. As they have done, he must make a balance why is the guerrilla still stagnating in Venezuela, in Colombia? Why is it progressing in Guatemala? Why are the Chinese extending themselves throughout the world and why does their revolution remain the greatest fear of Imperialism? This journalist Gilly, the secretary of the Latin American Bureau, the Trotskyists, the MR 13 defend a programme which is the appeal to the masses to fight for power, to overthrow capitalism, to occupy the factories, to make the peasant revolution, to organise the workers and peasant alliance, the workers and peasant government. What does Fidel Castro object to, in this? This is the programme of the MR 13, the programme of the Trotskyists, the programme of the Chinese. Even if the Chinese still do not proclaim it, it is in practice their programme. The internal struggle of the Chinese is leading to this conclusion. The Chinese call for the democratisation of the army and impose on its officers the respect of the democratic rights of the soldiers, so that they can intervene and discuss. Why isn't Fidel Castro opposed to this? He attacks such revolutionary journalists as Gilly and protects reactionary journalists such as the Communists of the paper 'El Popular' of Montevideo who are playing the role of provocateur and who have announced that they are preparing an attempt against the life of Gilly and against the Secretary of the Latin American Bureau. They have said this publicly in their paper. Fidel Castro makes himself a protector of these murderers, but history will not allow him the time to pay Stalins role. History is going to put him in the

place he deserves, since he has already lost his role of revolutionary leader.

The guerrillas are not the most important instrument of organisation of the masses. They are a short-lived transitory action, a centre for impelling the revolution which must become dependant on the organised action of the masses of the towns. The masses are intervening in the revolution not because they have arms, but because they are convinced that it is necessary to use arms. If it was only a problem of having or not having arms, capitalism would long ago have been swept away. We repeat the judgement of Marx that before the use of arms it is necessary to have the arms of criticism. That is to say the population must be convinced that they must join the struggle. Only persuasion and political conviction, political activity can convince them that it is necessary and possible to intervene. When the masses feel themselves unified in action, through the party, the trade unions; then they take to arms.

Castro did not overthrow Batista because he organised the guerrillas but because the masses incorporating themselves in the struggle forced him to change his policy. They took the land against the will of Castro; for as Guevara said "We started from an illusory programme of reforms and on the road the masses obliged us to change, to apply the programme of the expropriation of the land". It is Guevara who said that and they assassinated him. It is Guevara who made this declaration, not Castro, nor Raoul Castro nor Dorticos. In doing this he prepared the reaction which was going to lead to his assassination for he showed that he was in process of learning from history. He said again "I began from a naive attitude, believing that our movement was sufficiently powerful to be able to change and democratise the regime but en route I understood that it is not possible to democratise the capitalist regime and that to impose the democratic rights of the masses, it was necessary to overthrow capitalism."

For the masses to intervene it is necessary to seize the land and give it to them. And when we wished to realise this task without taking the land, the masses took the land and we have been forced to change. Guevara said this and not Fidel Castro. Such an experience, such conclusions have never been discussed by Fidel Castro or by the communist party of Cuba. We appeal as does the IV International that all the problems, all the criticisms of the leaders are discussed publicly. It is necessary to make a balance of each action as the Chinese are in process of doing, in publishing criticisms of the leaders, writers, artists, military chiefs. Why has Castro not made such criticisms public? He is afraid to lead such a process of open criticisms in Cuba because of lack of security and assurance.

FIDEL CASTRO AND THE COMMUNISTS ARE OPPOSED TO THE ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLE

If the guerrillas have not advanced in a more important way it is because the Soviet bureaucracy, the communist parties and Fidel Castro himself, are opposed to the armed struggle of the masses. It is not enough to say 'You must take up arms' it is also necessary to give guns. If necessary to appeal to

the masses but also to help them to organise themselves by paying attention to their struggles. They attack the MR 13 because it is fighting arms in hand against capitalism. They attack the Trotskyists for the same reason. They accuse the Chinese of being agents of Imperialism. But Fidel Castro ignores the struggle of the masses in Argentina, in Bolivia. Not a single declaration of support. Is this the way to call for the struggle against capitalism and imperialism? They only do it to hide behind appearances, behind the appearance of fighting against capitalism. Far from calling for the overthrow of capitalism, he attacks the MR 13 November, the Trotskyists and the Chinese. Afterwards he pretends to call for the overthrow of capitalism. Fidel Castro gives authority to the communist party when he appeals for peaceful coexistence.

The declaration of Fidel Castro saying 'we have taken power arms in hand' does not have any value. What value can it have, calling for a struggle arms in hand, when he attacks the MR 13 November, the Trotskyists and the Chinese who are doing it. What is the Vietcong doing, what are the masses of Guatemala and the MR 13 doing? Why are they fighting, if it is not to smash capitalism. Fidel Castro must start by learning his ABC of these struggles.

History has shown that the leadership of a revolution can be the product of an historical accident whereby it finds itself put there by historical conjunctural conditions. To transform itself into a conscious leadership, it must continue this revolution, and base itself on the struggle of the masses of the world. There is no such thing as Socialism in one country, there is no such thing as the isolation of one country, there are no such things as interests and problems specific to one country. There are problems which in each country present themselves through the peculiar form of the revolution. But the struggle against capitalism and Imperialism, the class struggle is the same in the

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

ARGENTINA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pôlet. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30, Nieuw bruckaai Gand.

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

BRAZIL: *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.

CHILE: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL: *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN COLUMBIA,

VENEZUELA, GUATEMALA

The guerrillas must maintain a permanent activity without ever delaying. Even when they are besieged and action is most important, they must maintain a political activity. For this reason it is necessary to be united to the towns through political action. The guerrilla is the arm of armed struggle against capitalism. Therein lies its legitimate right to maintain itself. The Chinese have triumphed and overthrown capitalism in China not with the guerrillas but with an organised movement, political and revolutionary. Its means of combat was the guerrilla, then the militia, finally a regular army. The same thing occurred for the movement of Fidel Castro who did not triumph as an army but as an army incorporated in the people.

The guerrillas must draw the conclusions after their 18 years of struggle. The guerrillas cannot develop if they do not transform themselves into a revolutionary political movement. Without abandoning the guerrillas, it is necessary to develop the programme of the socialist revolution. This is why the formation in Columbia of a new communist party on the programme of the socialist revolution is very important. It is the programme of the MR 13 of Guatemala which is the Trotskyist programme. In the same way, the guerrillas of de la Puente and of Lobaton are very important.

J. POSADAS

1 MAY 1966

The guerrillas of the MR 13 of November of Guatemala in action

Developing and consolidating the guerrilla front after the Conference held in the first fortnight of February, the patrols followed a programme of marches, weapon training and target practice.

After the Conference the different guerrilla patrols exchanged experiences, discussing military actions in which they had participated in the preceding months. The discussions were very interesting and in them the leaders of each patrol participated. These met with the Commandante Yon Sosa and the other comrades of the political bureau, made their reports and collectively drew the conclusions which would allow them to elevate the combatative capacity of the guerrillas. The conclusions drawn by the leadership of the

front have been discussed with the rest of the guerrillas and have served as a base to elaborate a plan of training which was immediately applied.

The training in rebel territory was done in practical action, with maximum realism since the presence of units of the enemy who frequently make incursions in the territory in which the guerrillas move means that the guerrilla unit in fact lives "integrated with the enemy."

THREE SIMULTANEOUS REPRISAL AMBUSHES AGAINST THE ARMY

Hearing of the repression launched in the capital against the MR 13, the arrest and the murder of the leading comrades of the MR 13 and of other

anti-imperialist militants, the guerrillas decided to effect an immediate act of reprisal against the army. On the 18th March three patrols made three ambushes with complete success in various places of the guerrilla zone of Izabel, inflicting 25 casualties on the forces of the dictatorship. The guerrillas suffered no loss.

STOPPING TRAINS AND GUERRILLA COMMITTEES

The Dictatorship prevented the fact of this action being reported through the press and the radio, which were limited to furnishing confused information on what had happened, because of the fact that in the ambush a important leader of the army was killed. For this reason a guerrilla patrol stopped during the last days of March the country, local and express trains, on the railway running from Guatemala to Puerto Barrios between Montufar and Virginia.

The guerrillas put at the disposal of all those who were travelling in the train, a great number of the copies of "Peasant Voice" and of "Guerrilla" numbers 28 and 29 which refer to the repression of the dictatorship and to the actions of the 18th March in rebel territory.

The trains were stopped without endangering the railway personnel or the passengers who were travelling on it. The guerrillas placed sleepers across the line and placed some distance away some red flags which could be seen by the engine driver. To terrorise the guards who travelled on these trains they placed a number of bottles on the sleepers which looked like incendiary bombs but which in reality contained water. None of the assassins in the service of the dictatorship and of imperialism who are courageous when they beat, torture and take away peasants and defenceless people had the courage to go near the obstacles which they believed were mined. The police chief from the nearest municipality arrived with a contingent of soldiers to draw up the report of what had happened and neither he or those who accompanied him had the courage to go near the obstacles, placed by the guerrillas on the track. They remained there until one of the engineers of one of the trains went closer in sight of everyone — and touched the bottles saying that they only contained water. This caused great laughter and all the people who were around

were not slow to joke and poke fun in a loud voice at the officers who had shown all their cowardice in front of the guerrillas.

The news ran like a trail of gunpowder through all the coastal country and the capital, and copies of "Peasant Voice" and of "Guerrilla" which the travellers and railway workers collected and read whilst the trains were stopped, circulated afterwards, diffusing information on the actions of the guerrillas and their political orientations on what must be done now, faced with the weakness of the dictatorship and the hopes of the reformists and conciliators in the possibility that the PR (party of Mendes Montenegro) can change, even if only in the smallest part, the situation of the exploited masses.

TASK OF ARMED PROPAGANDA

Continuing the diffusion of the propaganda of the guerrillas and of the politics of the MR 13, units of the militiamen journeyed through various districts of the North West visiting provinces and villages and distributing clandestinely and openly where the situation allowed it copies of "Peasant Voice" and "Guerrilla." These operations took the forces of repression of the dictatorship by surprise and were a disillusionment for all the reformists and agents of capitalism of the PGT-FAR who hoped that their delation against our comrades of the capital would have paralysed and destroyed our movement.

The task of propaganda and diffusing information were arranged without any difficulty and the reports from the militiamen who effected this, reflect the optimism and the indestructible faith with which the masses support and struggle for the socialist revolution.

The role of the guerrillas in the fight for workers power

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As regards the movement of Camillo Torres there is not yet a programme of defined action. It is an organised movement, demonstrating the dissatisfaction and the reaction of the population against the landed proprietors, the government and the oligarchy but which has yet neither revolutionary organisation or programme. We call upon this movement to discuss the experiences of Columbia in drawing all the conclusions, in analysing this article, in seeing the conclusions of Guatemala with the object of organising a movement having, like the MR 13, the programme of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to form the guerrillas and call upon the masses of the towns to organise themselves with this programme realising thus a united movement whose centre is an appeal to all the masses for a united front of unification to support the programme of the socialist revolution; it is necessary to lean on this as does the MR 13, as do the Trotskyists. In doing this it will be possible to unite in less than one year all the currents, all the revolutionary currents in Columbia. They are numerous and, unified, they will constitute the bases of a mass movement, capable of rapidly overthrowing capitalism, without imperialism or capitalism having the strength to oppose. On the other hand crises will arise with the lack of perspective and programme, leading to decomposition.

One can have the revolutionary objective of wishing to overthrow capitalism but if the programme of revolutionary action is not the basis, the movement decomposes. It is for this reason that the programme and the anti capitalist objectives must accompany all these movements and their measures of struggle.

The MR 13 has been able to continue and progress, because it has been transformed into an organised movement functioning as a party with the programme of the socialist revolution. Its function has not been only to produce the guerrillas, but to organise the masses who struggle for their concrete demands, specifically transitional demands of democratic rights, of wages related to cost of living, taking the land, trade union rights, to prepare at the same time the conditions for the overthrow of imperialism. To overthrow imperialism in Guatemala is to overthrow capitalist power. There is no national bourgeoisie having the force or the possibility of developing itself.

There is no place for a period of "national democracy" as they say. This

is a deception vis a vis the masses. The communists lie and deceive the masses, and Fidel Castro accompanies them. In Guatemala, the Democratic National Front has already existed with Arbenz and Arevalo. It lasted 10 years and the result was to permit the armed counter revolution. There is the result, Fidel Castro is only a salesman of illusions he does not lean on experience although it is under his nose. No serious revolutionary can ignore such an experience. How can he speak of Guatemala and make romantic propaganda for Turcios as one who has been rescued from the prison of Trotskyism? The experience of Guatemala is there before his eyes. It shows that the ten years of struggle for capitalist democracy to reform capitalism has no other result than allowing the arming and the intervention of the counter revolution with Castillo Armas and today with Peralta Azurdia and company. This is the result.

The MR 13 has reacted against all that. It has shown as the Trotskyists have shown that there is no possibility of a "popular democracy" of the "democratic bourgeoisie". It is for that reason that the guerrillas of Guatemala, the MR 13 have taken into account world historic experience, the world historic experience of the Trotskyists who are the principal centre of this experience. They drew the conclusion that it is necessary to struggle for the programme of the socialist revolution. If the CP of Turcios had taken account of this, they would have had their own forces, they would have been able to triumph.

Castro failed in the Tricontinental conference to find a support to attack the Trotskyists, the Chinese and the MR 13. He had to make some attacks outside the conference and not inside. What greater advantage for him than a conference vote condemning the Chinese the MR 13, the Trotskyists. He has failed. He has lied. The conference has taken no resolution in agreement with his positions. The speech of Fidel Castro was made afterwards before a selected group. Even there he did not find the unanimous agreement upon which he counted. An enormous number of those present showed their disgust, refusing to applaud shouting and leaving immediately after the end of the speech. An example of the lack of agreement which he met resides in the fact that he has been incapable of finding a delegate ready to make declarations favourable to him from the Havana Conference. No delegation made a declaration favourable to his attacks.

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FROM IV INTERNATIONAL PBLCTS.

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F. N. WOMENS STRIKE

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our strike, it is we who have wanted it and the great "leaders" of the unions have not been able to do other than to follow. It is no longer as in 1960 when it was they who controlled things."

At Zwartberg the miners struck for one hour for a strike called by their Strike Committee (which continues to function) to thank all the workers who had shown solidarity with them during their strike and to declare that they would resist all the pressures from wherever they came.

The most important aspect of this strike is a very important experience for the working class; that is the functioning and creation of independent organisations. All these groups of workers, in their rejection of the reformist policy en bloc, have rejected every intervention of the political parties, they do not wish to know of their politics. But this rejection departs from a very positive base: the rejection of the reformist policy and the search for a revolutionary policy. ...In this strike the bureaucrats have

placed as an essential task that of dividing the men from the women, but they have succeeded only in part: in the FN the strike of the women caused the stoppages by the men. There had been no meeting by the men; then groups of workers spontaneously came to the meetings of the strikers, made and looked for ways of expressing their solidarity. The same thing happened in Charleroi; the men did not intervene directly at the side of the women but as soon as they found an element of unification with them, they intervened violently to enforce respect for trade union democracy and to force the women who wanted to work, to leave the factory.

The women have conducted a truly heroic struggle for the unification of the working class and this will manifest itself very soon. In the factory of one of our comrades for example together with many prejudices in relation to women, all the workers expressed their admiration, their pride and said: now it is the women who have given us a lesson on how to struggle. 3 May 1966.

For a new Socialist Party based on the trade unions and factory committees, and with the anti-capitalist programme

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it cannot control the struggle of the world masses. Kosygin no doubt at great length confided to Wilson that he was prepared to sell out anybody, to facilitate agreement with world imperialism, but unfortunately conditions would not allow him, i.e. the soviet masses. Under enormous pressure Wilson disassociated himself from the latest American bombings but reiterated support for American policies. The British proletariat has shown indirectly via the trade union conferences that it does not want the capitalist policy of Wilson. To unite the struggle against the war in Vietnam with the struggle to impose nationalisations under workers control etc provides the strongest possible basis for the struggle for a new socialist party.

The election result in Carmarthen cannot be underestimated as a guide to the reactions of sectors of the radicalised petit bourgeois in particular, seeking a means of expressing their discontent with the government. The Tory candidate had to pay his deposit and Welsh Nationalist won this seat from the Labour candidate. Whatever the programmatic limitations of the nationalist candidate, he afforded the electorate of that region a means of showing their rejection of the capitalist line of the Labour party. It is of some interest that the Nationalist candidate is a believer in workers control. The election cannot be written off as simply a freak—it cannot be divorced from the process towards a massive united mass front against capitalism, imperialism and its representatives, whether they be in the Tory or Labour parties.

As the IV International has pointed out the historic isolation of the British proletariat from the world revolution is over. Similarly the historic isolation of Trotskyism has ended. The collapse of the authority of British capitalism, its total inability now even to find the resources to defend its

own imperialist interests in the Far East, Germany, etc, its inability to intimidate the British masses show that the conditions are maturing for the energetic revolutionary intervention of the vanguard. Furthermore world conditions are a constant stimulus for the vanguard. Strike action of sectors of the Indian masses, the violent attacks on the police by the Greek farmers, the occupation of factories in Italy, the heavy electoral gains for the social democrats in the Ruhr industrial areas in Germany, the incessant struggles of the Spanish masses, the emergence of the revolutionary current in the USA, all these events give confidence to the British masses. It is true that the actions of the soviet bureaucracy in allying with the assassin of the colonial masses and exploiter of the French proletariat de Gaulle, and the stupidity of the Chinese declaration that North Vietnam should fight on its own, create confusion and disarray among the revolutionary currents searching for a leadership, but these are counterbalanced constantly by the explosive eruptions of the masses stimulating the decomposition of capitalism and imperialism. The struggles of the British masses and the various political, social and economic crises in this country are entirely involved in this process. The workers vanguard must mobilise the British proletariat around the anti capitalist programme to centralise the activity of the masses and accelerate the inevitable downfall of British imperialism.

Read the RED FLAG

OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manufacturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers

- control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government. placed under workers control, leading to nationalisation under workers control. 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.

SPAIN

A very interesting event of this period has been the production of a workers manifesto for free trade unions and for the generalisation of workers struggles. This document originated from discussions among the workers own committees.

In Asturias yet again—a traditional centre of Spanish revolutionary and class struggle—150 miners clashed with police at Mieres on 28th June when they demonstrated for trade union liberty. The determination of the Spanish proletariat to push forward despite Franco's terrorism is a convincing demonstration that they have entirely recovered their class confidence and are preparing for a final settlement with the Franco and capitalist regime.

One of the revealing aspects of the disintegration of the bases of support for the Franco regime can be seen in the attitude of sectors of the Falange and the Church. Sectors of the Falange actually clashed with the police re-

The growth of the workers committees and the decomposition of fascism

cently in Madrid and this shows a profound dissatisfaction with the regime on the part of the traditional petit bourgeois sectors previously supporting the regime. All this would be inconceivable without the prior struggles of the proletariat.

Similarly the demonstrations of the priests on May 11th against the police brutality towards the students is symptomatic of the increasing disaffection of the lower clergy in relation to the Franco regime. After the police attacked the priests, Franco himself suddenly appeared in Barcelona to re-established some form of state authority. The Archbishop of Santiago condemned the action of the priests but the hierarchy no longer carries its former authority.

In this situation the CP's emphasis on a "Peaceful Settlement" and alliance with anti monopoly capitalist elements is criminal and counter revolutionary. But the masses ignore such ideas and are finding their own leadership in the clandestine trade unions.

Letter to the Mexican government

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

revolutionaries against Fascism in Spain from 1936-1939. Today the Mexican government still refuses to recognise the regime of military dictatorship of Franco in Spain. During the civil war, Cardenas sent arms, money and organised militia to aid the Spanish people. Without being Spanish, he supported the struggle of the Spanish people against the dictatorship. At this same epoch, Cardenas gave political asylum to Leon Trotsky and it was during his stay in Mexico that the latter founded the IV International, edited and published the "Emergency Programme" of the IV International, which was an appeal to the masses to profit from the inter imperialist war to overthrow nazi and Yankee imperialism and to overthrow world capitalism. It was during his stay in Mexico that Trotsky wrote and published books and articles devoted to the organisation of the struggles of the exploited masses of the world and in particular of Mexico, amongst which one can quote "The trade unions in the epoch of imperialism" and "Workers management of nationalised industries".

Today your own government is still obliged to declare that it supports self determination of the Cuban and Dominican peoples. Without being Dominican it must intervene in the problems of the other countries. In effect the Mexican people force you—even if you do it in a limited manner—to participate in the struggle to oppose the imperialist intervention in Dominica. In the course of its struggle against the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, the Mexican people benefited from the support and from the direct intervention of the Latin American and North American masses.

The Mexican revolution of 1910-1917, of Pancho Villa and Zapata received the support of all the Latin American masses. At the time of the colonial period in Latin America, the struggle for progress, and to expel the Spaniards, the North Americans and the French, received and centralised the varied support and intervention of all the Latin American masses. There was then no question of nationality. The present struggle for progress against the capitalist system and against imperialism receives and centralises the support of the best of present society, in the masses of the world. All those who have supported and support revolutionary struggles do so through

desire for and consciousness of social, historic progress. They are not delinquents. The IV International and the Trotskyists struggle for this progress, for the overthrow of capitalism, for the worker and peasant government and for the installation of socialism. You imprison and torture our comrades, Mexican Trotskyist revolutionaries because they struggle against imperialism and Mexican capitalism, against the landed proprietors, for nationalisations of all the important properties and for workers control. The true criminals are the capitalists who enrich themselves on the backs of the masses, who assassinate in Dominica, as previously when Yankee imperialism invaded Mexico and stole a quarter of Mexican territory and assassinated thousands and thousands of people. These are the true delinquents who prepare the world nuclear war and assassinate the masses of the world (Dominica, Vietnam).

World capitalism and imperialism are the criminals. Those who support them are the delinquents. They with the bureaucracy of the workers states are the essential obstacle who hinder the progress and the advance of humanity. The writers, the politicians and the progressive thinkers of the entire world including Mexico have demanded that the soviet writers Syniaski and Daniel be freed. The struggle for human progress is the most powerful link which eliminates frontiers, nationalities and the particular legal interests of each country. Human progress, like science cannot be stopped by frontiers nor by national juridical codes. The struggle for socialism is the most elevated contribution, the most objective from the collective and historic point of view for human progress. And our demand for the freeing of our Mexican and Argentinian comrades imprisoned in Mexico is part of this struggle for human rights and of the most complete application in this epoch of your own democratic rights.

We reiterate that condemnation and approbrium will be directed at you by the masses of the whole world. Particularly by the Mexican masses for the imprisonment of the Mexican and Argentinian comrades. We renew our demand that you free our comrades and demand that their possessions seized by the Mexican police be restored to them.

For the Secretariat of the
IV International
J. Posadas.

THE LESSONS OF THE SEAMENS STRIKE

THE NECESSITY FOR UNOFFICIAL COMMITTEES LINKED NATIONALLY ON AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The seamens strike was the result of the confidence of the proletariat and of the accumulation of class grievances over a long period. The organisation and discipline of the strikers, reflected in the action of the Glasgow strike committee which instructed members, on pain of losing their strike pay, to picket the Irish fishing-boats, verged on the Bolshevik: a fact which was noted in last months editorial. There can be no doubt that if the seamen's strike had been made the centre of a general strike then we would have seen the rapid disintegration of capitalism.

The NUS officials, as was to be expected, sabotaged the strike by accepting the terms of the employers and government. The seamen clearly understood this when, in red paint, they wrote the words 'Judas Horgarth' on the wall of the headquarters of the National Union of Seamen (NUS) at the end of the strike. We need add little more to what we have previously said about the outrageous role of the TUC during the strike, but they were unable to prevent national and international support, financial and otherwise, from reaching the British seamen. French dockers at Le Havre for example, struck in sympathy.

The strike was seen, by the labour government and trade union bureaucrats, as a direct attack on the attempt by themselves to ease the problems of capitalism by lowering the workers' standard of living. When Wilson called the strike "an attack on the state" he was right! It was an attack on the capitalist state because capitalism has nothing to give and every demand by the workers indicates the necessity for the removal of capitalism.

In attacking the communist party bureaucrats Mr. Wilson shows that he is aware that the traditional leaderships of the unions are discredited in the eyes of the workers. By saying that these CP bureaucrats are the real militants, the real strike leaders he hopes to give them some authority before the workers and take advantage

of the CP policy of peaceful coexistence. Gordon Norris was the first to advise the workers to return to work and Dash, of the London Docks Liason originally advised the London dockers not to give any concrete support to the seamen. It is true that the pressure of events forced Dash to change his mind, but he completely failed to organise anything to aid the seamen. Another instance of the actions of the CP bureaucrats was the meeting organised for the seamen by the Austin Shop Stewards. This meeting was left in the hands of the works committee which has a number of CP members on it. It was found later that very few of the 23,000 Austin workers had been informed of the meeting and when Gordon Norris spoke, the audience consisted of about eighty CP supporters. A couple of Young Socialists (under the influence of the centrist papers "Keep Left" and "Newsletter") also turned up and their sole contribution to the meeting was to suggest that everybody attended a lobby of parliament! Finally, it was announced by the chairman that the meeting would have no discussion, no resolutions and would take no decision. The result was that the meeting had no relevance to the seamen struggle and no effect on anything. It is no wonder that it is now reported ('Guardian' 13. 7. 66) that Mr. Norris has been offered an official position by the NUS.

Wilson's desperate attempt to use the CP bureaucrats is in line with 'peaceful co-existence and the CP's 'British Road to Socialism', but these attempts will fail because the development of the struggle will not allow any possibility for this sort of thing.

The resignation, from the government, of Frank Cousins, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) is a direct result of the heightening of the anti-capitalist struggle since the seamens' strike. Cousins is a bureaucrat, but he is forced, in order to retain any Authority in the TGWU, to oppose the governments anti working class legis-

lation. He has no choice! He is faced with the demand of 190,000 provincial busmen, employed by private undertakings, for double the 3% rise they have been offered. Already, on a demand for a five-day week, the Midland 'Red' busmen have been staging an overtime ban and a series of lightning strikes. A branch of London busmen have demanded that the TGWU "oppose the prices and incomes policy by all means in its power." Cousins dare not oppose the workers at the base of the union, he has to leave the government and send a circular to all branches of the union to explain his position.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), a particularly bureaucratic union, have been forced to oppose the so-called 'early warning system' which is the means by which the government hope to impose a wage freeze on the workers. In the same way as the seamen forced their official leadership into action, so the workers at the base of the NUM force their official leadership into an anti-capitalist position. These officials are still bureaucrats, are still only interested in their own privileged positions, but the situation no longer allows them to play the same role of supporters of capitalism as they have played in the past. The process increasingly is for a section of the unions, TGWU, DATA, ASSET, etc., to draw away from the labour party and TUC. In doing this there will be a pressure to produce a genuine programme for the struggle against capitalism.

The power to destroy the capitalist system and to impose a workers' government lies only with the workers. It is necessary for the vanguard workers in industry to create their own organisation. A new trade union centre with an anti-capitalist programme is essential and must be based on such demands as the nationalisation of all major industries under workers' control. The seamen recognised the latter demand in their publication "Not wanted on voyage" where they demanded nationalisation of their own industry and, in demanding access to the

companies books, indicated the need for workers' control.

From many examples we can see that the workers, have the strength and determination to finish with capitalism. This is shown by such actions as that of the machinists at 'Standard Triumph', Coventry, who, despite the pressure of union officials, management and government, have continued to strike, go slow and ban overtime for ten weeks. Another example is the action of workers at one Midland factory in giving one-weeks pay to the 200 strikers at Newmans Tubes, Wednesbury, who have been sacked. A full weeks pay, some £10,000, from lower paid workers is a reflection of real solidarity.

There was much talk of Trotskyist activity, during the seamens' action, by the capitalist press, but this is not simply the actions of a few party militants. The "Trotskyism" is the inevitable tendency of the class struggle at this stage.

The programme of the IVth. International is the only programme which answers the needs of the present situation, nationalisation under workers control, all wages to rise with cost of living; equal pay for men and women, expropriation of luxury buildings to meet the housing shortage, all the profits of automation to the masses, etc.

The outbreak and experience of the seamans strike is of enormous significance for the vanguard. Although the strike was betrayed by the leadership, the seamen went back furious but defiant, prepared to deal with their rotten leadership. The capitalist class led by bumbling Wilson is rushing to its own funeral. The vanguard has now the most favourable opportunity to extend and centralise the class struggle in Great Britain, at a time when Vietnam centralises all the world masses against Imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy, and the European proletariat, particularly in Spain at the moment, prepares for even bolder mass mobilisations than hitherto.

New arrests of Pan Africanist Congress members in Azania

We have learnt from reliable sources in this country that between March 26th and April 2nd this year 74 PAC activists have been sentenced to a total of 174 years of imprisonment by magistrates in the Union of S. Africa. (Azania). The 13 men who were sentenced in Pretoria were accused of setting up a branch of PAC inside Bavianspoort Jail where they were already serving sentences for "other crimes." A statement of one of the accused which was read out in court stated: "Our aim is to overthrow white domination or Baaskap and replace it with a Socialist government."

54 men were sentenced in Port Elizabeth having been found guilty of organising a take over of the country town of Steynsburg as a first step towards linking their activities, calculated for the overthrow of the S. Africa racialist regime, with the activities of other PAC activists in other parts of the country.

In Humansdorp 7 militants of the PAC were found guilty of similar offences to those above.

We publish this news to bring to the notice of the British working class and the anti-Imperialist movement these facts which the bourgeoisie and the pro-Moscow Communist Parties and their allies the Anti-Apartheid Movement are doing their best to suppress. We appeal to all working class militants to refuse to manufacture and handle arms or war materials which will be used for the suppression of the Africa masses.

We also appeal for funds to help the arming and organising of the S. African masses to be sent to Pan Africanist Congress (the principal organiser of the struggle for Socialism in S. Africa) 374, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

A march to release Gilly and the Mexican Trotskyists

The United Libertarian and Socialist Defence Committee organised a small march and demonstration to the Mexican Embassy on July 24th to demand the release of Afolfo Gilly and the seven Mexican Trotskyists. A letter of protest was handed in to the First

Secretary in the Embassy, protesting against the arrests of the comrades and demanding their immediate release. We thank those left wing militants who took part in the demonstration.

News of the world campaign for the release of Trotskyists in Mexico and Guatemala

ARGENTINA

The San Martin section of the textile workers association, and a group of the personnel of the Municipal Hospital "Diego E. Thompson" of San Martin have demanded of the Guatemalan government that it immediately frees the Mexican revolutionary leader David Aguilar.

At public meetings organised by the Argentine section for the 1st of May, in San Martin, Monte Chingolo and Berisso, the freedom of David Aguilar was demanded, and the murders of Francisco Amado and Francisco Arce were denounced. Signatures were collected from those present.

An assembly of 1000 students of the faculty of Architecture of Buenos Aires University demanded the release of the students and Adolfo Gilly imprisoned in Mexico.

The TRADE UNION OF MEAT WORKERS from the town of Berisso have sent a resolution to Peralta Azurdia, demanding the immediate release of David Aguilar.

Also the following organisations have sent similar resolutions. THE ARGENTINE FEDERATION OF NEWSPAPER WORKERS (adhering to the CGT). THE STUDENTS OF AGRICULTURE AND ZOOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TUCUMAN.

BELGIUM

A group of Greek workers around the paper "WORKERS DEMOCRACY" have sent a telegram demanding Peralta Azurdia, demanding the immediate release of Adolfo Gilly and the Mexican Trotskyists, and also demanding an end to the repression of Mexican revolutionary militants.

MEXICO

The following item occurred in the newspaper "EL DIA" of Mexico on the 30 April 1966 "Defend the TROTSKYISTS"

"The students socialist party, the Executive Committee of the national school and the Alliance of the Revolutionary Left of the Economic students, make public their condemnation of the repression carried out against the revolutionary Workers Party and denounces the agreement which exists between this repression and the student movement which we consider as a preparation for an open repression against the students and their revolutionary organisations.

More news of the world campaign will appear in next months paper.

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LIBERTY FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN TROTSKYISTS

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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

NO 36

SEPTEMBER 1966

SIXPENCE

FOR A NEW TRADE UNION CENTRE AND A NEW SOCIALIST PARTY ON THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The determination of British imperialism to solve its crisis at the expense of the masses has been again thoroughly demonstrated for all to see in the latest package of government measures. These are directed at preventing any increase in wages and encouraging unemployment. Factories in the North East have closed down, others as at Vauxhalls are on short time. The price freeze does not exist, food prices stealthily increase. The capitalist class shows no dynamism in relation to investment, because it prefers to solve its market problems by a war economy and export of capital abroad. The narrowness of the home and international market gives it no stimulus for large scale investment and modernisation. Capitalism cannot produce for human use in itself but only for profit. Hence more and more whole areas of social needs which require investment are abandoned to chaos and dilapidation. Transport, schools, research, hospitals all suffer. Imperialism prepares for war against the workers states and the world masses. It cannot meet the needs of the masses for a civilised standard of life. It cannot compete with the workers states.

This total decadence in the sphere of production is matched by total decadence in the sphere of political institutions. Parliament is now a grotesque farce. The real struggle is clearly waged elsewhere.

The cracking of the imperialist monolith has shown itself as we have argued in the serious struggle between certain of the unions and the LP apparatus. The crisis has also reflected itself in the abstentionism of the left MPs. It is not a gesture which signifies an aggressive attitude but the fact that even this modest way they have defied the government, shows the depth of the crisis for British imperialism and the LP apparatus. As with the opposition of the TGWU and other unions to some degree it will encourage the masses and presages much more serious conflicts at a later stage.

The decrepit nature of British imperialism becomes more and more evident. The empirical and blind fumbling of the LP apparatus was clearly shown in the panic response to the economic crisis and the laughable changeabout in the cabinet. Brown having failed in everything connected with incomes and prices, is promoted to foreign policy. His failure is guaranteed there because peaceful coexistence is finished. Nevertheless despite the obvious decadence of British imperialism, the absurdity of its postures and the enormous weight of the world revolutionary process, the workers vanguard still experiences difficulty in advancing the revolutionary process in Great Britain, because of the lack of a sufficient centre and programme. To a limited degree a centre of opposition is taking shape with the various unions such as the TGWU, Asset etc, but quite apart from conciliatory formulations is the ridiculous "productivity" line of the TGWU, this centre has not proved capable so far of developing an anti capitalist programme capable of relating the day to day struggles of the masses with the most elevated perspectives of overthrowing capitalism. These unions ex-

press opposition to the incomes and foreign policies of the government, but they do not suggest how these policies can be smashed.

It is clear that the union leaderships are under increasing pressure to reject the wages policy of the government. One union after another has come out against the line of the government. The vanguard must redouble its efforts to intervene in this dramatic process. The union bureaucracies are not acting against the government because they rejoice in defending working class interests, but because the masses will not sustain capitalism, and the bureaucracies in order to maintain some authority have to reject the government policy. But mere rejection of the governments policy is not enough. In Italy the CP opposes formally the actions of the government but refuses to lead the masses against the bourgeoisie with the object of overthrowing them, in fact it tries to paralyse the masses. The vanguard must demand that government policy is fought with anti capitalist perspectives, that is with the programme of expropriating the capitalist class and planning the economy on this basis. The demands must be put forward that the whole war economy must go, that all British troops must be withdrawn from base overseas, that NATO and support for the Vietnam war must be abandoned. A new trade union is necessary in which the officials must receive no more than the average workers wage and be open to immediate recall. Such a trade union centre instead of breaking strikes as did the TUC in relation to the seamen, must be the centre to coordinate, to assist workers actions.

We appeal for a total break from the LP apparatus. The majority of the MPs are profoundly hostile to the line now being imposed by the masses on the unions. The LP constituency parties must support the struggles of the workers against the policy of the government and putting forward the anti capitalist programme. must break

from the LP, and unite with shop stewards committees and union branches for a new party with this programme. They must appeal also for a genuine democracy within the unions. The situation requires the maximum audacity. The struggle will impel the masses to smash the capitalist offensive and give them a clear and precise perspective.

It is not only British capitalism that is collapsing but world imperialism. The incredible resistance of the Vietnamese masses to American imperialism which has resulted in heavy air losses for the Americans with no compensating gain for them, the advance of the revolution in the Middle East shown in Syria, Egypt and Iraq against the imperialist base in Israel, the failure of the right wing forces in Indonesia to impose themselves shows that the process of the world revolution may be interrupted but the world counter revolution lacks solid social

support and cannot sustain itself. All this does not enable British imperialism to maintain what little authority remains to it. The fact that Bertrand Russell demands that the Soviet Union sends in aircraft to defend the North Vietnamese is an indication of the increasing radicalisation of the petit bourgeoisie in Great Britain.

The anti capitalist united front in this country could be enormously accelerated but for the totally passive attitude of the soviet bureaucracy which refuses to mobilise the European masses directly with the anti capitalist programme. Even this could be largely compensated for if it was not for the timidity of the Chinese leadership who also have been incapable of appealing to the European proletariat. The pro Chinese groups have largely concentrated on attacking the Trotskyists and throughout Europe reflect little but

Continued on page 7

EXTEND THE SHARDLOW STRIKE TO ALL INDUSTRIES FORWARD TO THE GENERAL STRIKE

The strike of the AEU workers at Shardlow is not only an attempt to enforce a wage demand but has the object of rallying workers support for an all round repudiation of the governments prices and incomes policy.

It is the first sign of what must be a total mobilisation of the workers against the capitalist offensive. The workers at Shardlow who are among the higher paid workers are campaigning to gain support from other workers with the slogan "Shardlows strike for the rights of all workers", in the strike, members of the TGWU, the NUGMWU and the ETU are involved, besides the members of the AEU. As one might expect the strike is unofficial and goes against all the cherished hopes of the various union bosses for a quiet life. This strike, one of the most advanced so far, reveals the strength of the working class, shows that the relative defeat of the seamen's strike has in no way demoralised the workers.

The strike again demonstrates that all the conditions are mature for the launching of the general strike to smash capitalism

the monarchy and the LP apparatus.

The interview on TV between Cannon the boss of the ETU who is now thoroughly embarrassed by the pressure of the electricians to repudiate the governments policy and the shopstewards at Shardlow was revealing. Cannon bitterly attacked the nature of the unofficial strike and said the strikers were trying in effect to bring down the government. He said they should wait until the next election to express their grievances!! He carefully left out of account the fact that the government had not said it was going to try to subject the unions and the workers to a policy entirely favourable to the capitalist class. The shop stewards put forward a general class standpoint but the limitation of the Shardlows strike is simply that the general class appeal needs a precise programme. To smash the incomes and prices policy requires nationalisations under workers control, wages to rise automatically with the cost of living and the organisation of the general strike on the basis of the shop stewards committees.

Womens participation and workers control in the functioning of the trade unions

J. Posadas

WOMEN MUST INTERVENE, AND FORM PART OF THE LEADERSHIP OF ALL THE ORGANISMS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

It is necessary to include, in the struggle for demands relating to the functioning of the trade unions, the right of the women to intervene and form part of the trade union leadership. Joined with this it is necessary to include the struggle for womens trade union demands; the conditions of work, three rest days a month for her natural period, time off to rest before and after maternity, equal pay for equal work etc. In general the leaderships do not permit the free intervention of women. For example in Italy, in spite of the advanced state of the workers movement, the women intervene very little, and in the trade union leadership, even less. They are not allowed to, they are kept out.

The woman has to be included, in the trade union leadership, proportionally to her weight in the industry. Not as a concession to the women in particular but as a part of the workers movement in which she has particular demands which at present are not attended to, and also because she is paid less than men for the same work. Women have specific natural conditions and specific demands which are not attended to, and their weight, and will to struggle is not used in industry. For these reasons and because of the social weight in industry they must be in the leadership.

The leaders the trade union militants do not take into account the social weight of women even though they have an influence and are many times more resolute in the struggle than men. The unification of women in industry, has to be done through their leading and militant participation. "Cultured" men, the "cultivators of culture" proclaim the liberation of women and believe that this liberation is reached when the State gives her liberty. They lie. The liberation of women comes when they no longer feel terrorised and subjected by the capitalist state, either by matrimony or by the husband. Then they are free. The liberation of women begins in the trade union. The party extends it, because it makes them feel the equality of conditions to think, direct, decide, accept reject and create. The liberation of women means equality, that is she has the same rights to be able to act, to create, and to lead as the men. No capitalist state can give this. Even if formally, women's freedom exists in the bourgeois code, under capitalism she feels inhibited, restricted. There will never be equal economic conditions between women with men, under capitalism. Not only because they depend economically on men. Inevitably in the constitution of the family in capitalist society, the women has to occupy herself with the children. This puts her in inferior conditions. When the woman works in the trade union she feels free and tries to work as if she were free, feeling herself capable of speaking, suggesting and thinking. But the freedom of women must not be solely in the trade union, but also in the house as a proletarian mother. Capitalism prevents it. Only under socialism will the woman liberate herself. Her liberation begins in the workers state, because it allows the proletarian woman to intervene in all the problems without being subjected to the necessity of looking after the children. The Workers State begins to create the conditions in order that this becomes possible. That is to say, it creates the conditions so that; looking after the children, washing clothes, preparing the meals become collective tasks which others can do. Then the

proletarian mother has time to intervene. No longer will she develop as a child producer, nor as a washing machine for the childrens clothes, nor is she subjected to permanently caring for the lives of the children. Then she will evolve in a spirit of equality.

In the trade union it is necessary to impose conditions which allow the woman to exercise her rights. It is a necessity for the workers movement; to use all its forces. The woman must lead in the trade unions equally with the men. She must be listened to and taken note of, and have the same opportunities of discussions, of opposing and proposing. She must have equal rights to those of men. And moreover one must struggle to put forward proportional representation for the women, and to condemn and expel from the trade union all those who treat women as their inferiors, or try to use them as objects, or try to corrupt the women who are intervening in the workers movement.

This full intervention of women is an important part of the struggle for demands relating to the functioning of the trade unions.

IMPOSE WORKERS CONTROL ON THE FINANCES OF THE TRADE UNION, AND GIVE ONLY AN AVERAGE WORKERS WAGE TO THE TRADE UNION LEADERS

One of the essential conditions for which it is necessary to struggle, in trade union functioning, is that the trade union leaders should earn no more than the average wage of a worker. It is necessary to impose this. The average salary of a worker, no more.

If for reasons of necessity because of his activity, the official needs a car, or travelling expenses or better clothing, or other expenses, then the union should pay this under strict control: imposing workers control over the trade union finances. One must finish with first class hotels, plane trips for reasons which have not been decided as absolutely necessary by the workers, and with the permanent use of cars. It is necessary to eliminate this, and also the high salaries. Alonso for example earns thirty thousand pesos a year in the CGT, (equivalent to the T.U.C.) and another ten thousand for expenses. Many times the trade union bureaucrats pretend to go to first class hotels and in reality go to cheaper places or stay at the house of a friend, and the trade union pays out for a first class hotel. One must demand accounts and moreover the trade union must establish previously the approximate necessary amount for each trip, activity etc.

Trade union activity requires certain expenses, for travelling, lodging we agree with this. But it is necessary to pay the least possible and always under strict control. The expenses, including those for the food of the trade union bureaucrat when they are doing trade union activity must be the common, the normal expenses, of any member of the workers movement, nothing more. Workers control must reject all which exceeds this.

It is necessary to reject the permanent expenses which the trade union bureaucrats enjoy. And the same with the expenses for receptions and particular visits for the leaders. The trade union leaders must eat, dress, live in the same conditions as those of the workers with an average wage. They must travel by bus and only go by car when it is necessary. When they go to the ministry of Labour, for example, they dont have to go by car. They have

enough time; with the activity the leaders actually do, it could be done in one hour each day.

Moreover the premises of the CGT must be modest. It is necessary to eliminate all the sumptuousness which actually exists. The premises must be plain and simple. New premises must be made plain and simple, not enormous as they actually are, looking like Greek mansions. Premises should be big enough for meetings, for discussions, but no more. A CGT building is necessary or a house which has a sufficient number of rooms to be functional, big enough for meetings but not more than 35 feet high, with one or two bigger rooms to use as halls for bigger meetings.

It is necessary that the clerks of the CGT are not considered as servants of the leadership. They must conserve all their rights as trade union militants, they must not lose their rights to discuss and criticise. The employees of the CGT are not employees of the

leaders. The trade union bureaucracy, through the trade unions, the federations of the trade unions, of the CGT, form a structure and an apparatus on which thousand of employees depend. The bureaucracy tries to keep them subjected, manacled by this economic dependence on the bureaucratic apparatus. It is necessary to break with this dependence, so that the employees of the trade unions, of the federations, of the CGT, have the right to discuss, criticise, work, the same as in the workers movement.

It is necessary to impose that all the leaders of the CGT and of the trade unions be recallable in any moment. Leaders and delegates, representatives of the workers movement must be recallable at any moment. It is necessary to impose this.

This is one of the points of the programme in relation to trade union functioning, with which it is necessary to develop our activity as a party in the workers movement.

The only "Productivity Agreement" must be all the profits of automation to the workers

The T.G.W.U. as part of its opposition to the incomes policy has put forward the monstrous idea of raising "productivity", — its contribution to help capitalism survive its inevitable doom. This particular demand goes against the class interests of the mass of British workers and against the interests of the members of the T.G.W.U. When they vote against the capitalist "incomes" policies and against the Wilson administration over Vietnam, they do not expect pro capitalist policies to be pushed through the back door. But this is in fact what the union bureaucracy is trying to do. It gives an increase in salary to Cousins and proceeds to try to find an old fashioned "reformist" solution for British capitalism; that is, giving a new lease of life to the large aristocracy of labour by putting forward "productivity agreements" The Confederation of British Industry welcomes as "constructive" the idea of "productivity agreements" which allow certain wage increases to small groups of workers in return for no opposition to new machinery though this in fact eliminates workers.

Two recent cases show how the T.G.W.U. leadership is trying to establish a social base for itself independent of the poorer unskilled sectors in the union.

At Tilbury dock an agreement was negotiated behind the backs of the men and provoked a strike. The latter was basically a strike against the union leadership. The agreement gave about 16 men an average wage of £27 for a 40 hour week, plus overtime and productivity bonus. This was to double the speed at which packaged timber was normally discharged. This obviously means more and more redundancy over a period. The officials made no attempt to consult the mass of the workers, for obvious reasons.

In an attempt to settle the long standing dispute at Hull the T.G.W.U. has again opted for the pro-capitalist method. Instead of uniting workers around an anti capitalist programme involving workers control, all profits of "automation to the workers, etc., it has negotiated a reorganisation based

on the introductions of labour saving machines to handle cargo carried on the run between Hull and Gothenburg, Sweden. Naturally there is a great decrease in the number of men and hours required for the same job. The privileged workers on this work get from £26 — £34 for a 40 hour week plus opportunity for overtime. The average dockers wage is £18. Four dockers! attended the negotiations. This type of agreement is a complete sell out of the basic interests of the proletariat. It is a transparent attempt to find a social support for the union bureaucracy. All the profits of any automation must go to all the workers, not a slice of the profits to a handful. Incidentally the fantastic profitability of this new scheme to the bosses can be seen in the fact that under the new system 46 men can unload and load a ship carrying 2,000 tons of cargo in eight hours. It would normally have taken up to 80 men three times as long.

NECESSITY FOR GENUINE WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE UNIONS

The T.G.W.U. is feeling the enormous pressure of the proletariat. Cousins's resignation plus the fact that he has asked for more nationalisation of transport undertakings, shows the anxiety of the bureaucracy. With his productivity drive he is facing both ways, that is calling for nationalisations and also favouring capitalist rationalisation. The proletarian vanguard must take advantage of the weakness of capitalism and the bureaucracy to put forward their own demands, nationalisations under workers control, all profits of automation to the workers, union officials to be open to immediate recall etc., on the basis of their own indispensable organisations, their unofficial committees linked up on a national basis. The T.G.W.U. would not dare to doublecross the workers if there was a genuine workers democracy within the union, or a powerful organisation of unofficial committees.

News of the world campaign for the release of Trotskyists in Mexico, Guatemala, Cuba

Japan

A group of left wing revolutionary workers and students in Japan around the paper "World Revolution" have published an appeal to the Japanese masses for a campaign for the release of the Trotskyists and Adolfo Gilly in Mexico, and denounced the murder of members of the MR 13 of Guatemala.

Peru

Lima, 7th June 1966. Resolution of the Federation of Students of the National University of Engineers.

To the President of the Republic of Mexico, Gustave Diaz Ordaz, Mexico.
For the attention of the Judge premier de Distrito en Materia Penal.
Mr. President,

The Federation of the National University of Engineers (A.C.U.N.I.), protests against the detention of students among whom figure militants of the Mexican Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist): Gilardo Islas Carranza, Ramon Vargas Salguero, Marta Elena Vargas Salguero, Leocadio Zapata Murquiz, Sergio Garces Estrada, Oscar Jose Fernandez Bruno, we also protest against the arrest and detention of the well known journalist Adolfo Gilly (Adolfo Atillo Malvagni) who has written in "Monthly Review", "Marcha", "Epoca", "Mundo Nuevo", and other journals and reviews in other parts of the world. These detentions were carried out by the Mexican police last April.

In the name of the historical tradition which has been left to all the peoples of the world and Latin America by the Mexican Revolution, by the peasants and students with the social struggle of liberation of the guerrillas of Villa, and Zapata, we demand the immediate freedom of all the students and all the political, social and trade union prisoners.

Signed. Cesar Manuel Aller Torres,

President de L' U.C.U.N.I.

LIMA (Peru).

France

Paris 22nd July 1966.

Resolution from a group of Lawyers

Eleven Lawyers of the Bar of Paris have just demanded the liberat-

ion of the Trotskyist militants arrested in Mexico and condemned the repressions and tortures which have been carried out against revolutionary militants.

We publish below the text of the resolution which they sent to Mexico.

J. STUL
J. J. DE FELICE
REIN CLEMENT
LOMBRAGE-BOUDIER
TCHANG-CHEVALIER
WILLARD

NAHORI-LEWKOVITZ
WEILL-RAYNAL
GOMEZ
VALLE
DIDNER-SERGEANT

Lawyers of the Paris Court of Appeal

Express their great emotion and indignation concerning the imprisonment of revolutionary militants:

Oscar Fernandez, Adolfo Gilly, Teresa Confreta Hernandez, Gilardo Islas Carranza, Ramon and Martha Elena Vargas Salguero, Francisco Zapata, Sergio Garces Estrada: arrested on the 19th of April 1966 for their participation in the university strikes and the strikes of the workers.

They denounce the search made in the houses of these militants, and the seizure of material and money.

They protest against the tortures inflicted on them, contrary to the principles of human and revolutionary dignity which were the foundations of the Mexican Revolution itself.

They demand the immediate setting free of the prisoners, the restitution of their seized belongings, and halt to the repression.

They take the decision to follow the development of the case in the eventual trial which will proceed, to give information on it to the Magistrates and Lawyers of the court of Appeal of Paris, and to intervene in all appropriate ways.

Paris 22 July 1966

ACTION OF THE FRENCH SECTION

The Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (Trotskyiste) the French section of the IV International has launched a collection of signatures and money as part of the campaign for the release of Gilly and the 7 Trotskyist militants in Mexico.

The petition to be signed was circulated around factories and schools, and was addressed to the judge in charge of the trial in Mexico,

to the presidents of Mexico and Guatemala, and to the ambassadors of these countries in France.

The first signatures which the comrades have succeeded in collecting are as follows: Degremont Enterprise 29 signatures; Lycee de Neuilly 10 signatures, 35 francs collected; Lycee de Creil 15 signatures, 13 francs collected; Lycee de Puteaux 17 signatures.

All resolutions and telegrams of protest should be sent to the following addresses.

For MEXICO: Juzgado premier de Distrito en Materia Penal Licenciado SR Juez Eduardo Ferrer Mc Gregor, Mexico DF.

The Mexican Embassy, 48 Belgrave Square, S.W.1.

For GUATEMALA: Peralta Azurdia, palais du Gouvernement, Guatemala City C.A.

For CUBA: Fidel Castro, prime minister, Havana, Cuba.

The Cuban Embassy, 22 Mount St. W.1.

Resolution of Nottingham Young Socialists

Text of a resolution passed by Nottingham YS and sent to the Mexican Embassy, to the President of Mexico, and to the Judge.

We, Nottingham Young Socialists demand the release of Gilardo Islas Carranza, Ramon Vargas Salguero, Marta Elena Vargas Salguero, Leocadio Zapata Murquiz, Sergio Garces Estrada, Oscar Jose Fernandez Bruno, and Adolfo Gilly, and demand that these persons be allowed to continue their lives without state persecution. We warn, the Mexican Government, that your actions earn you the enmity of the British proletariat, and that we shall fight for these persons release.

A resolution in the same terms, to Fidel Castro, demanded the release of the Cuban Trotskyists and also demanded to know the whereabouts of Che Guevara.

Mexico

We are translating an article which appeared in the paper "El Universal Grafico", one of the principal dailies of Mexico which is reporting the action of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Mexican section of the IV International, and the arrests of the comrades in Mexico. The paper "El Universal Grafico" confuses the P.O.M. (Pro-Chinese) with the P.O.R. (Trotskyist).

The new offensive by the Mexican Workers Party (Trotskyist) to reanimate the conflict in the autonomous national University of Mexico has been made the object of a penal procedure by the Attorney General of the Republic.

In federal police circles, the possibility of being able to announce some arrests on this subject cannot be ruled out.

The student fraction of the P.O.M. constitutes the instrument of penetration of the National Mexican autonomous university (U.N.A.M.). It aims at convincing the University Council of students to regroup all the pupils of the country with the view of forming a single student Centre.

Some leaflets abundantly distribut-

ed by the P.O.M. uphold the view that for the triumph of this perspective in the U.N.A.M. it is indispensable to link up with the other workers and students organisations. The trotskysts think that this is realisable because 'the desire to struggle is very great in very large section of the population' and because 'the bourgeoisie of the country has shown itself incapable of

resolving the fundamental problems of the masses'.

In police circles, it is reported that the P.O.M. has addressed the Work Congress (an organisation which regroups 29 trade union Centres and workers organs) and the high school students Congress so that they support the student movement in the university. The appeal states "the working class and the peasantry must support the students struggling while struggling for their own demands and those of the exploited masses".

According to our own information, the P.O.M. states "that world public opinion is attentive to the development of the students struggles, but also to the police repression by imperialism and by the police of the Mexican bourgeoisie against democratic rights. This repression has begun with the arrest of 7 militants of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) the Mexican section of the IV International and of the revolutionary Marxist journalist Adolfo Gilly. This blow—they added—is directed against all the revolutionary tendencies, pro-chinese and trotskyst to terrorise the exploited masses".

They equally insist on the fact that "a union between the police leadership of the faculty of Law and the Stalinists for repression in the university against the striking students, the pro-chinese and the trotskysts", exists.

On the other hand we are informed that the lawyers defending the 7 members of the P.O.M. will make an appeal sometime against the act of imprisonment taken by the judge Eduardo Ferrer Mac Gregor."

Protest against the brutal murder of David Aguilar and his wife

We have learnt that the Mexican Trotskyist student David Aguilar who had been held in prison in Guatemala for months, has been murdered. His wife Eunice Campiran, who had gone to Guatemala to try to find him, has also been murdered. The New York Herald Tribune reported that her body and that of Iris Yon Cerna a niece of Yon Sosa,

had been found in a shallow grave and that both comrades had been beaten to death.

We appeal once more to the working class and students, the trade unions, the Young Socialists and Young Communist league, and to militants in the L.P. and CP. to protest to the Guatemalan government, against these sickeningly barbaric crimes.

Demand the release of the Mexican Trotskyists

THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER

J. POSADAS

Part II

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PERUVIAN GUERRILLAS

The comrades of the MIR of Peru must base themselves on the previous experience of the country. The attempt of Hugo Blanco to form peasant unions isolated from the rest of the country, isolated from the struggle of the proletariat and from the objective of the struggle to overthrow capitalism, has ended in making the unions, instruments of reform of capitalism and not the struggle to overthrow capitalism. This was a failure.

The struggle which in itself was a bridge, a lane to develop peasant actions with those of the proletariat to overthrow capitalism, has remained limited. In remaining isolated on a programme for themselves alone it failed. It was not able to go further because the struggle for the peasant union has a limit. Capitalism could not tolerate the organisation of the peasant unions without reacting at a particular stage, and the peasants could not then advance without overthrowing capitalism. It is in this, that limitations of the movement of Hugo Blanco rested. He wished to make a limited, isolated experience and it is impossible. An isolated community functioning in isolation is impossible. The world experience is conclusive on this. The will, the capacity for organisation, the revolutionary fervour of the peasants and Hugo Blanco were however enormous. But the possibilities were not so great.

It is necessary to draw the conclusion that this initial impulse should be accompanied by the extension of the struggle to organise the revolutionary party. The errors of Hugo Blanco were, amongst other things, to limit himself to the peasant unions and not to see the experience made by the Trotskyists in the world, and not to ally himself with them, to remain cut off by himself.

All this results from the failure of the Communist Party. If the leadership of the CP, the Soviet bureaucracy, of the CP's of all Workers States, had been revolutionary, they would have flooded the world with this experience. Now, the Communist Parties aid the bourgeoisie to retain, to contain and to crush the masses of the world. The latter obtain no experience from the CP's, inherit no tradition and socialist experience, but on the contrary a reformist experience.

At the same time that De la Puente and Lobaton proceeded with their revolutionary programme, in spite of certain limited conciliatory aspects, but on a revolutionary basis, they did not base themselves on all the previous and necessary experience. At the same time that one calls upon the guerrillas and the people to arm themselves, it is necessary to explain how to organise and on what programme. It is necessary to call for the organisation in the cities, for the formation of militias, to base themselves on the unions, to appeal to them to support the guerrilla struggle for the socialist revolution. It is necessary to appeal to the masses to organise themselves to intervene in the struggle for the socialist revolution. The guerrillas of De la Puente and of Lobaton still remain isolated because their movement has not yet gained the confidence of the Peruvian people.

The guerrillas cannot obtain an immediate support of the masses. That is impossible. If it was thus, it would only suffice for an armed uprising to finish with capitalism. The masses must see and feel that the possibilities of struggle are effective, they must see their possibility to intervene, to feel political comprehension and unite themselves to the political necessity to

fight. They must see in consequence that their incorporation into the movement allows them to decide, to intervene. They must feel that their struggle is a means of realising their aspirations. The masses of Peru have seen that their instruments of struggle are the trade unions. They have seen their progress and development in Peru. Even the peasant masses, those of the sugar plantations, for example have just made great conquests, with the organisation of the unions. They have shown their spirit of invincible struggle. However they have not united with the guerrillas because they have not felt that the problem resides in the fact of going to the mountains to struggle, but in the organisation of the struggle in the place where they work. It is necessary to organise the unions and the struggle in the towns. The peasant masses are conscious of their experience and capacity. From their social organisations, they feel themselves unified and centralised, in their places of production. There, they feel strong and powerful, whereas outside they feel weak. They have gone through the experience of organisation in their place of work, and there they feel themselves invincible.

The sugar workers have led a struggle for two years to gain their right for trade union organisation. It has cost them dozens of dead. But they have triumphed. It is not from lack of interest, revolutionary feebleness or cowardice that the masses have not reformed the guerrillas, as the communists say, but because they have felt that this is not the important way. It is the guerrillas who must go to them and not the other way about. And that, they will never be able to do, so long as they do not have a programme of revolutionary struggle, which takes into account the experience, the organisations and the conquests of the masses of Peru.

The problems of the struggle in Peru is to unite the peasant masses, the agricultural workers, the sugar workers, the mine workers, the workers of Callao. And this struggle cannot be replaced by the guerrillas. At the same time that we repeat our admiration for the dead and assassinated comrades among the guerrillas, we call for reflection on these conclusions, this experience. If De la Puente, Lobaton, if their team are still living, they must draw this conclusion.

The peasant masses do not see themselves united to the guerrillas. They feel that their union with the miners, the workers of Callao, with the peasants of Cuzco is realised through revolutionary struggle, through their organisations.

What significance has it to call upon them to incorporate them among the guerrillas? Is it to ask them to abandon their organisations and to believe in new ones which they see are inferior, because they have not had any great success? What the guerrillas must do, while maintaining armed struggle, is to understand that they must go where the workers are. Their struggle must be accompanied by appeals to the workers, to the unions to form revolutionary centres with the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme, against the oligarchy, the landed proprietors on the programme of the struggle for the demands of the worker, peasant and petit bourgeois masses. Under this form, the struggle of the guerrillas is going to stimulate the mine workers. It is necessary to call for the constitution of a class party, of a worker party leaning on the unions capable

of intervening politically, whilst pursuing guerrilla actions. In the present departmental elections, the guerrillas must stimulate the masses to intervene on the programme of the revolution, without abandoning the guerrilla struggle. That would allow the concentration of the masses, the unification of their class front to advance towards more important actions.

It is necessary to have a discussion on the experience of the guerrillas in Peru, on the basis of determining what should be the next step. There must be a decision for an appeal for the independent organisation of the masses. The comrades of MIR of the Peruvian guerrillas have made no appeal for the independent organisation of the masses. That is an error.

They have not felt themselves capable of doing this and have only confidence in the guerrillas, wishing to identify them with the example of the Chinese. They have deceived themselves, for the example of the Chinese is not like that. The latter were organised in the Communist Party, with a revolutionary objective although coinciding with the programme of the four classes. But their objective was the armed struggle to overthrow feudal power, the power of Chiang Kai Chek, the power of the Japanese. This was the programme of the Chinese. They did not base themselves on the guerrillas and then arrive at the party. They were a party developing guerrillas. This experience was not that of Fidel Castro. It has not been taught by anyone else.

The guerrilla in itself is a conquest. It is for the third time that there has been in Peru an important experience of this type, for the revolutionary movement. The movement of Hugo Blanco has shown that the peasant base is disposed to struggle.

THE EXPERIENCE OF AFRICA AND THE COMMUNES

There is also the experience which Africa and Asia provides us with. We repeat: in Africa the stagnation of the guerrillas is not due to the fact that imperialism has been successful. In part, it is because it received the aid of the soviet bureaucracy hindering the unconditional support to the guerrillas. But the essential reason is that the guerrillas lacked the revolutionary programme, stemming from the experience produced by the first impulse of the revolution. In part, also because of the absence of revolutionary tradition, the African guerrillas have not been able to continue the movement. The cycle of advance and retreat of the guerrillas in Africa is absolutely logical, because in the same way as the party, the guerrillas receive the consequences of the world process of pressures, stimuli, obstacles. And the principal obstacle and delay, comes from the policy of conciliation of the communist parties and of the soviet bureaucracy with capitalism, the limitation of the revolutionary action of the IV International from lack of numerical weight and of material means, and the lack of experience of the guerrillas, based on the population recently incorporated in the revolution and who struggle now for power. Such stagnation in these conditions was logical.

But such stagnation from lack of experience of the masses of one organisation, does not explain sufficiently the stagnation of the guerrillas. In Africa already there has been constituted ten states independent of European Capitalism and which advance towards being worker states. There is a lack of influence of a polarising centre on the Congo, Angola, Guinea,

His guerrillas found a certain echo. We hope that these comrades are alive and that the guerrillas continue. But their essential task is to support the action of the masses to constitute themselves in an independent class organisation. The most important task in Peru is to find support among the peasant unions among the miners, workers of Callao to present a class alliance, to form the mass revolutionary workers party to overthrow capitalism, expel imperialism, expropriate the landowners, occupy the land and return it to the peasants. Such is the task in Peru.

The guerrillas are an impulse for that, not a substitute. The guerrillas cannot replace the peasant unions of Casagrande, for example. That is impossible. It would be stupid to believe it. On the contrary, the guerrillas must go to the farms and understand that they cannot win the majority for the guerrilla actions because the masses are organised in their own movements.

The guerrillas must take the land and support the peasants with appeals and organisations of strikes, demonstrations, occupations of factories and the Workers United Front, with peasants and students to overthrow capitalism arms in hand. But the guerrillas must act as a political organism. The appeals to the guerrillas of Lobaton do not play this role. Where can the masses unify themselves? The political organism must be this worker party supporting itself on the unions, on the peasants and on the programme of the anti capitalist revolution, of the socialist revolution. It is this experience which Peru provides us with and which must serve Columbia, Venezuela. These countries must also learn from the experience of Guatemala.

Mozambique masses, of the whole of Africa of Rhodesia, of Nigeria. The masses have no world historic experience, a world stimulating centre. The Chinese do not compensate for the absence of an organised political force. It is an error that they have not demonstrated the experience of the communes.

In order that the guerrillas can triumph, forms of organisation are necessary, which allow them from the beginning to organise socially and to go from this social organisation to obtain the possibility and the security to triumph. These forms are the communes; immediately the guerrillas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America should organise themselves in communes. This is a deficiency of the Chinese comrades. They must show the rest of the world, their experience of the communes. The communes are more particularly important in Asia and in Africa, because of the level from where they depart, for example in a country such as Mali. The Chinese do not generalise the experience of the communes on a world scale. They must do it, through propaganda and calling upon the guerrillas to organise themselves in the form of communes to surpass tribal organisations, passing from the latter to the communes; in Peru particularly because they have traditions of a communal life which is a social organisation superior to that of the tribes. We recall our appeal to the Chinese that they make this agitation with bulletins, radio reports, campaigns of agitation, propaganda and appeals.

The guerrillas must be accompanied by the forms of social organisation which allow the population to incorp-

THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS

orate themselves, as in the town, the militia, unions, the fused organisation of the workers, peasant, student organisations, in order to struggle for the anti capitalist programme and forms of the communes in the country.

It is necessary to maintain the struggle of the guerrillas, but in developing them in the conscious anti capitalist struggle. The way to elevate themselves is not to acquire the anti capitalist consciousness which they have already, but to acquire the forms of organisation of which they have need; above all the organisation which combines the communes with the militia and the union organisation and at each stage and in each country the independant political organisation of the workers, its independant political functioning. In Colombia, in Peru, in Venezuela, in Mexico, in Brazil, in Africa, in Asia, the masses organised in a political party, in an independant political class organisation can only attract the peasants and students with the anti capitalist and anti imperialist struggle. It is the programme of the working class which legitimately represents the other sectors of the exploited masses. This is the fundamental experience which arises from the guerrilla struggles; the transformation of the guerrilla struggle into the organised anti capitalist revolutionary struggle. Inevitably whatever might be the period and the process, after an initial impulse, a certain time of struggle, the guerrillas transform themselves into a movement organised by the people or stagnate. In as much as the struggle is purely guerrilla it has a limited time. Afterwards the centre of the guerrilla must be in the great centres, in the towns. And how can they lead the masses, how can they interest them? The experience of the guerrillas in Cuba confirms this. The movement of Fidel Castro developed because it involved the masses of the towns through mobilisations, demonstrations, meetings. When it wished to mobilise the city without a programme which attracted the masses, the latter were not interested. When the masses saw that the triumph depended on them, they intervened and there was the general strike of January 1959. The masses maintained constantly their struggle against capitalism, which allowed Fidel Castro to base himself on them to advance. It was the masses who maintained constantly their strug-

gle against capitalism allowing Castro to base himself on them and advance. It was the masses who incorporating themselves in the movement of Fidel Castro, gave him the bases for a regular movement with centres of struggle, seizures of land, occupations of land. This is an example for the whole of Latin America.

In Columbia there is a great tradition of mass struggle. Twenty years ago there were guerrilla struggles and attempts to form small republics. The duty of the Cuban revolution and of the Cuban workers state, its historic obligation is to make an assessment, to draw the conclusion of why in twenty years, these tendencies have not been able to extend themselves nor found the way to extend themselves. It is possible to make of Marquetalia a small republic. But one cannot continue to make other little republics to unite themselves afterwards. Marquetalia must be a point of social support, an example to stimulate the other revolutions. But Marquetalia has stopped where it is, has not extended itself by trying to unite with the action of the whole country.

Hence the importance of the new communist party which has a programme close to that of the MR 13, of the socialist revolution and which tends to generalise the struggle throughout the whole of Columbia.

The historic conclusion to be drawn from the guerrillas is that while being a point of departure and of initial stimulus for the struggle it has need of and must count on the support of all the exploited population, it must be a point of support to extend the action of the masses so that they organise themselves into a political party, into an independant revolutionary class organisation and political action to overthrow capitalism, to continue the action of the guerrillas in order to destroy, to crush, to demoralise the organs of capitalist repression and to create on the way, during the process itself the organs for replacing capitalism, the organs of dual power.

The advance of the guerrillas must be measured by the advance of the organs of dual power of the masses against capitalist power. The object of the guerrillas is to overthrow the constituted power, capitalism. In its advance it must show that its power must have an effect. They must create organs of dual power and this means; to take the land and cultivate it; to control the factories, make them function; control the regions and make them function. That is dual power.

For this it is necessary to create the organs which are regular in the town and the country, whether public or clandestine. But the appeal which unites all this is that of the struggle to destroy capitalism. Only in this way will the guerrillas have a constant process of extension and mobilisation.

We invite the Chinese, the leadership of the Cuban revolution, the nationalist, revolutionary organisations to draw the experience of the guerrillas, to base themselves on this experience. It is the essential duty of a serious and responsible leadership to base itself on the experience through which the class and revolutionary struggle develops. The experience of the guerrillas is clear and determinant. For the Trotskyists, for the IV International, the Latin American Bureau of the IV International it is the most clear experience. But at the same time this experience shows that the guerrillas are already a form of struggle involving the population which is going to have recourse constantly to them. It is necessary to consider that there cannot be a movement of struggle without the guerrillas. The guerrillas are not a spontaneous form of struggle;

it is on this fact that it is necessary to base oneself, so as to utilise the guerrillas as an instrument, transitory or permanent to support the revolutionary struggle, to attain new levels and superior degrees of struggle, massive organisation of the masses, revolutionary political organisation. These are the conclusions of this stage of the guerrillas.

At the same time, the guerrillas must receive the unconditional support of the Workers State in order to be able to triumph and advance. The guerrillas of Vietnam show this, as do also the later guerrillas of Santo-Domingo. But, so that the guerrillas can have the necessary success, so that they have points of support which are solid and powerful to extend themselves, it is necessary to create organs of power with a centralised and collective form, with a socialist form for the organisations are those which give understanding and consciousness, to the population, of the forms of social relations, which allow them to see the superiority of the nationalised forms of property and of the collective way of production as opposed to the capitalist regime. One can already do this, in those places where the guerrillas are taking power. It is possible already to install statified forms of production, socialist co-operatives for production. This gives an immense basis of support, organises the military and social power accompanying the decomposition of the repressive apparatus and of the social organisation of private property. These are the two bases on which the guerrillas must base themselves.

Every guerrilla, in this stage above all, must base its estimate of its struggle on a short perspective. The guerrillas cannot have an indefinite goal. They must give itself some 'timetable' for the struggle. The guerrillas without objectives and without a timetable weaken themselves because the guerrilla militant does not see a goal in the struggle and therefore develops a way of life which ends up by making those revolutionary sentiments with which he began, disappear. The guerrilla must have objectives, showing itself capable of winning. We invite the guerrillas of Columbia, of Peru and Guatemala to have an objective in their struggle; to take power within a determined period. It is necessary to fix the timetable for the fight in order to gain political authority, to organise the workers, the peasants, the students, the army. It is necessary to win over the army, to address oneself to it, to influence it with propaganda to attract it and give it plans for the struggle in a short period, thus promoting the decomposition of the capitalist apparatus and passing from individual action to the action of the masses, passing from individual attempts, individual settlements of account, partial occupations of the land, of small factories, to massive actions. It is necessary to extend the organisational activity of the unions into the countryside, occupying the fields of the big landowners, of the big and small companies, of the big and medium landowners: holding meetings, holding small revolutionary schools of several days a week, for several weeks, retreating afterwards to gain time and prepare for massive actions. It is necessary to occupy the factories, and some small centres previously reconnoitred, making a campaign of agitation settling necessary accounts, expropriating all that is needed for the activity, making agitation and propaganda and then leaving. It is necessary to leave to escape the army, above all the planes but also at the same time, it is necessary to prepare new action.

The guerrilla must always at the same time raise the level of its ac-

tions. On the other hand the struggle to settle accounts lasts for a very short time. It is limited, as in Columbia, where there have been some attempts at individual settling of accounts. They have an importance, but they are very limited; they don't have a political effect. Every settlement of accounts must be accompanied by agitation and political organisation, by mobilisations, demonstrations of such a type that the population feels that its mobilisation is united to that of the guerrillas and is supported by them. Then they feel that they can attain higher objectives and can overthrow capitalism.

So that the population can feel the possibility of conquering, it must exert its power in each action. For example, the students must make demonstrations, occupying the universities and making them function under their direction. In this way the mobilisation has an objective goal, to establish power and to develop power. For example, dominating the factories, occupying the factories, it is necessary to make speeches on, how the factory must produce, why it must pass into the hands of the workers, why it must be nationalised, and at the same time prepare the conditions for a general strike later. It is necessary to occupy the factories to prepare these actions, taking hostages, making the factories function and selling the products, calling upon the students and the peasants to support the workers; calling for the nationalisation of the banks. It is necessary to do it in this way so that when the masses are called to mobilise, they see a logical and possible goal. And then they are prepared to intervene and see the possibility following on from this to exercise dual power, in a limited transitory way, but which prepares for power later.

All the experience shows that this activity is the only one which can assure the security of the guerrilla even if its force and its development commence as a guerrilla force. But without the organisation as a party it is reduced to nothing. And without a revolutionary united front which fights to overthrow imperialism, capitalism the oligarchy, the big landowners, without this fight it either dissolves or founders. The guerrilla must give themselves a very short timetable, three or four years, because imperialism is preparing the war in such a timetable. This does not mean that imperialism is going to wait two or three years, before launching the war, it can launch the war even today.

The actual crisis in South Vietnam shows this, Johnson went to Honolulu not to speak with general Taylor but with the Pentagon. He went, to control the Pentagon, but at the same time to affirm that they are going to continue the struggle, and he has restrained them so that they do not bombard China now, at this moment. For they think they are in the best conditions, they are waiting for the biggest divergences and the most favourable circumstances for imperialism. of the conciliatory policy of the soviet bureaucracy, of the conciliatory policy of Fidel Castro and his people, of the criticism, the repression, and the terrorism of Fidel Castro against revolutionaries, in order to be in the best conditions to be able to support themselves and launch the war with the greatest possibility of surviving.

But at the same time Johnson expresses the demoralisation of Imperialism. If they were sure, they would already have launched the war. They are not sure, they are frightened, they feel that the Chinese are going to intervene and that their true enemy, that is China, is forming, impelling and stimulating the revolution. The attitude of Fidel Castro is most criminal, the attack of Fidel Castro against the Chinese and the accusation which he made of their being agents of imperialism, and the repression which he is carrying on against revolutionaries within Cuba, are services to the world counter-revolution.

TO BE CONCLUDED
IN NEXT MONTHS PAPER

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

ARGENTINA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pölet.

Die Arbeiderrijd, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30, Nieuw bruckaai Gand.

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

BRAZIL: *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.

CHILE: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL: *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

GUATEMALA

The action of the guerrilla front

"Alexander de Leon"

In reply to the criminal repression unleashed by the dictatorship against the masses of the country and against the militants of the MR 13, of the workers movement, against the students and the peasants, the guerrillas of the "Alexander de Leon" front carried out three ambushes on 18 March last against various units of the army of the dictatorship.

At the same moment that it makes the pretence of entering upon the "democratic road", the dictatorship has dedicated itself to assassinate en masse militant and anti imperialist workers. On one day alone of the election, 26 anti imperialist workers were assassinated by the various police forces of the dictatorship.

This is a hard lesson for the conciliators of the PGT and of the FAR who have faith in the electoral process. The masses as such did not vote on the 6th. More than a half remained at home and did not vote. Another large percentage spoiled the ballot papers by writing on them the slogans of the MR 13. The greater number of those who voted, voted against dictatorship and imperialism. We assert quite responsibly that almost all the worker and peasant votes received by the PR (the party of Mendez Montenegro) were votes for the armed struggle for the socialist revolution. The campaign of the PR indeed consists in making believe that it is in alliance with the guerrillas. Nothing could be more false. Its alliance was with the FAR and the PGT (communist party of Guatemala). Actually Mendez Montenegro and Marroquin Rojas have dedicated themselves to negotiate with the army and with the Americans to arrive at an agreement on how to maintain the capitalist exploitation in Guatemala.

In front of the recent crimes of the dictatorship the candidates have maintained a cowardly silence. They have not said anything about those who have been killed by the punitive police, of those who are dead in the torture cells, of the imprisoned worker leaders, of the repression against the students, of the assault on the interior villages, of the peasants beaten and shot in the region of Izabel. They have said nothing about the seizures of the land realised against the peasants who at this moment are being hounded by the bayonet from dozens of villages. They are silent when the police arrest the students. Are these the leaders of democracy? They are only comedians capable of protesting because an electoral urn has been broken or some other triviality.

Since the peasants have no full right to work freely the land, since there are no direct trade union rights, rights of meeting, of demonstration, there will be no democracy. As the MR 13 has said, **democracy can exist only on the support of the guns of the workers and peasants.** Everything which disputes this principle is a vile trick or simple delusion.

AMBUSH IN THE AZTEC FACTORY AT 11 AM.

At 10,45 am on the 18 March a patrol of the Alexander de Leon Front awaited a military truck. At that hour the truck passed with only two special agents on board. The patrol opened fire against them but we do not know with what exact results because the truck continued on its path. The patrol calculated that the shooting would have attracted the troops from the detachment in the farm "El Pilar" of the United Fruit Co and decided to await this unit so as to attack it. The comrades were not mistaken; indeed 15 minutes after another truck of the United Fruit arrived which was transporting an platoon of the army. As

soon as this arrived at the place, the guerrillas opened fire killing the officer who commanded the platoon and the machine gunners who were carrying on the truck a machine gun of 50 mm calibre. Having obtained these results the guerrillas withdrew without having sustained any loss.

AT 11.30 A DETACHMENT OF THE MILITARY POLICE OF QUIRIGUA WAS ATTACKED

A small guerrilla patrol of the MR 13 lay in wait on the same road to cover the retreat of the patrol which was fighting against the forces of "El Pilar." While it accomplished its mission, it saw that the detachment of the military police of Quirigua was drawing close in a truck to go to help those who had fallen in the ambush. The guerrillas opened fire beginning an exchange in which a military policeman died and various others were wounded. Then this small patrol left unhurt from the action.

216 meters above the Atlantic road an ambush was arranged against a convoy of sixty soldiers coming from Puerto Barrios.

At 5.10 pm on the same day another patrol of the Alexander de Leon front was arranged at a height of 216 meters above the Atlantic road. A military jeep came with corporals and officers on board. Intense fire was concentrated on this vehicle and some of those on board were hit. An army truck came behind with around 60 soldiers. The driver of the vehicle was wounded; the truck stopped and fire was opened against it. Losses were estimated at six dead and several wounded. The guerrillas withdrew without loss despite the heavy fire of the enemy.

These actions like those which were effected by the MR 13 have as their objective, the development of the peasant war united with the worker and student masses and with all the poor of Guatemala to finish with capitalism and imperialism.

The struggle of the workers of Guatemala, of Escuintla, of Quetzaltenango, of Puerto Barrios etc the struggles of the students the strikes of the doctors show that the masses of the country do not expect that the elections will resolve their problems. Also the majority of those who have voted for the PR are seeking the way to impel the struggle directly through their own action.

These guerrilla actions are part of the revolutionary development of the country. None of the crimes committed by the military dictatorship and by their police will be sufficient to terrorise the masses. However bloody the losses inflicted on the masses and the militants of our party they will not succeed in containing the struggle.

We appeal to the workers, peasants, students and to all the poor to intensify the struggle for the programme of the MR13. It is necessary to stop the repression of the Dictatorship. We defend the democratic rights of the masses! We appeal to the peasants not to pay rents to the landowners, but to seek contact with the MR13 and to extend to all the country the struggle which the peasants of Izabel are conducting against the landlords, against the Imperialists and against the dictatorship, occupying the land and defending it with arms.

WORKERS, STUDENTS, PEASANTS,
ARM YOURSELVES.

Rebel Territory 20th March 1966.

P.B. MR13.

"Unita" organ of the Italian Communist

Party claims murdered Trotskyists

as C.P. members

When "Unita" becomes sorrowful, the assassins wish to make use of us. (We take this from Lotta Operaia, newspaper of the Italian section. "Unita" is the paper of the Italian communist party).

Because their policy of conciliation with capitalism and imperialism, the soviet bureaucracy together with the communist parties which follow them like Fidel Castro and the Guatemalan workers party (communist party) have followed with great preoccupation the development of the 13 November movement of Guatemala. The acceptance of the programme of the socialist revolution, on the part of the 13 November movement and its stimulus to the process of passing from a guerrilla organisation to a revolutionary mass organisation which now influences other movements in Latin America, is seen as a mortal danger by conciliatory and bureaucratic leaderships. They have made and make a thousand manoeuvres, utilising their powerful apparatuses to smash the November 13 movement.

The liquidation of dozens of its best militants, among them Trotskyist militants, cadres of the IV International like Francisco Amado Granados, Francisco Arco, known as "Chinto", assassinated by the Guatemalan police during March, was the work of the delation of the PGT (PC) and of Turcios who have failed in their attempt to impede the development of the guerrillas of the November 13 and the programme of the socialist revolution.

It has been the Moscow communists who have denounced to the Guatemalan police, our comrades, because they were communist militants, because they carried forward the programme of the socialist revolution. For the same reason Castro first and Turcios later, after the Tri Continental conference, denounced Amado and the IV International. The comrades who were denounced died as heroes because they had fought as revolutionaries for the programme of the proletarian revolution.

But now "Unita" of the 19 July publishes a note under the title of "Horrible massacre of 28 communists in Guatemala" in which they pretend that the assassinated comrades were members of the CC of the communist party.

The cynicism goes to an extreme when we read in "Unita" that the murdered men were militants known internationally. Yes that is true. Amado himself had published articles and declarations in "Mondo Nuovo" for example as a leader of the 13 November and against the reformist line of the pro soviet communist parties. Amado was one of the editors responsible for the central organ of the 13 November "Socialist Revolution". We have published his biography in Lotta Operaia, no 96 (27 April.) Known on "the international plane"! Yes he was well known by "Unita" and the Guatemalan communists, by Castro and the soviet bureaucracy. For this reason they liquidated him.

For the same reason they denounced to the Venezuelan police a few weeks ago, Fabricio Ojeda and the police assassinated him in prison. Ojeda, member of the Left communist group who had accepted the programme of the Socialist revolution of 13 November, had opposed the cessation of armed struggle and broken with the communist party. Naturally the pro soviet communists or those who conciliate with Moscow, with Castro at their head proceed to honour him!!

All this confusionist campaign which masks betrayal with lies, is waged with

the corruption which still facilitates the power of the apparatuses and is continued in Guatemala with the intention of liquidating the Nov 13 movement which carries forward the programme of the socialist revolution. Pressures continue. "Unita" was "informed" about a month ago that Yon Sosa had united himself to the FAR, the phantom outfit of Turcios and the communists, which for more than a year has not made one armed action. But the bureaucrats are forced to retreat. Radio Havana on the 15 June attacked the "Trotskyists agents of imperialism and the commandante Yon Sosa who allowed himself to be influenced and guided by the Trotskyists. On the 19 June the review "Success" published, in Mexico city (financed by the Cuban embassy) an article and an attack on Yon Sosa as an adventurer "influenced and directed" by the "Trotskyists agents of the CIA".

All this shows the immense force of the Guatemalan revolution, of the programme of the socialist revolution, shows the immense force and influence of the IV International.

The Guatemalan revolution as part of the permanent revolution in Latin America and in the entire world will open the way, despite all the obstacles all the betrayals, all the lies, of the IV International because it represents the most elevated objective necessity in history, a necessity, fused with the revolution itself. The masses who more and more mobilise themselves will finish by breaking through all the lies, all bureaucratic methods and in conquering, they will bury all the bureaucratic liars and assassins. And this form and this revolutionary process on the other hand, obliges today the communist party of Guatemala and Turcios to manoeuvre, to embrace the left in respect of the government of Montenegro in Guatemala with whom they have sought with all means to conciliate.

Despite the massacres of dozens of militants, among whom were the best Trotskyist cadres and revolutionary cadres (cadres of the political leadership), massacres which the communists in their role of betrayers have caused, they have not diminished the will of the November 13 movement who maintain flying the banner of the socialist revolution. This is the reason for the criticisms which the communists make now against the government of Montenegro.

Read

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6 ISSUS 3/6

12 ISSUS 7/—

FROM IV INTERNATIONAL PBLCTS.

6 MONMOUTH ST.

W.C.2

The exclusion of the Pan Africanist Congress from the Tri-Continental Conference showed that the Conference was organised to further peaceful coexistence

We are publishing a document issued by members of the Pan Africanist Congress in Havana giving an account of the exclusion of the delegates of PAC from the Tri-continental Conference, because it shows, quite clearly and concretely, the totally rotten procedures followed by the Soviet bureaucracy and their instrument Castro in order to control the "Conference" in the interests of peaceful co-existence. It was after this conference that Castro made his shameless attack on the IV International which indicated that imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy were collaborating in an attempt to terrorise revolutionary currents developing towards Trotskyism. The collaboration offered to the dictatorship of Peralta Azurdia by the communist party has resulted in the betrayal and assassination of several Trotskyists in the MR 13 movement.

At the Tri Continental Conference, the principal object was to block the expression of revolutionary currents and to present mere generalised statements of support for anti imperialist movements but with no concrete programme of action. Peaceful co-existence was the watchword. Hence Castro's attack on the Chinese, the IV International and the exclusion of delegations such as those of PAC who might prove unamenable to the discipline of the Moscow line.

The puppets of the Moscow line have actually had the effrontery to say that there was "comradely confrontation of independent views" (March 1966 World Marxist Review). The document of PAC shows what lying nonsense this amounts to. As the

theoreticians of the Tri continental would have it "splitting tendencies were neutralised" (you do this by simply shutting out those who disagree). The magicians of this conference apparently allow that violence to obtain "national liberation" need not conflict with peaceful coexistence. What of course these gentlemen do not repudiate is that such violence is used in the service of alliance with the nonexistent "revolutionary bourgeoisie". The activities of Turcios in Guatemala are a shining example of occasional violence in the service of preserving the status quo. He has no programme and is merely interested in blocking the revolutionary MR 13 movement and betraying them to the police.

Today the followers of the Soviet bureaucracy, whether they be Longo in Italy or Waldeck Rochet in France or Castro in Cuba submit everything to the line of "peaceful co existence" and "unity". The latter means unity with the non existent progressive bourgeois in Imperialist countries and with the non existent "national bourgeoisie" in the colonial revolution. It means unity of the apparatuses against the revolution. Longo wants a dialogue with the decrepit Catholic church. He is incapable of anything but creating obstacles for the revolution. Unity for the bureaucrats means unity on their programme of class collaboration with imperialism. In this country the CP helped the bureaucracy to call off the seamen strike and in the Tricontinental Conference the Moscow "CP" excluded with their usual gangsterish authority any one unlikely to submit to their line of "peaceful co existence".

to new heights hitherto unattained and also act as a morale booster to Freedom Fighters to the chagrin of imperialists and their lackeys.

3) We have been refused accreditation to this conference on the grounds that (1) we are not members of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO).

4) Why the P.A.C. are not members of the AAPSO was due to that organisation's constitution which required that new militant and revolutionary organisations should first obtain approval of older rival (almost always moribund) organisations before they could be admitted to membership. This of course has not been possible since many older organisations have fear of being eclipsed and of being relegated to the limbo of the shadows. The P.A.C.'s membership in this instance has been blocked by the ANC, an organisation commanding 54 years of existence to a day-yesterday January 8, 1966.

5) At Winneba, Ghana, through bitter struggle this position was changed and the constitution was duly amended to allow membership to new militant organisations on their own merit; thanks to President Nkrumah of Ghana who set the tone for that conference by pointing out that AAPSO harboured moribund organisations and that popularity of all political parties fluctuate and that other popular organisations should not be barred from membership because of the existence of an older organisation.

6) An Ad-Hoc Commission was set up to admit new militants to this body with the following terms of reference:—

(i) to become a member of AAPSO, an organisation must apply to the criteria defined by our constitution, i.e. to have a popular base in the country it represents and have an anti-imperialist line of action in conformity to the objectives of the A.A.P.S.O.

(ii) When an application for membership comes from an organisation belonging to a country already represented by another organisation, the latter should be asked to give its opinion. But the commission has the right to decide in cases when the criteria defined by the constitution are fulfilled.

(iii) In the case of plurality of representation for the same country an effort should be exerted to ensure the constitution of a National Committee

comprising the organisations concerned. It is only when formation of a National Committee proves to be impossible then a popular organisation would be represented in AAPSO.

7) After hearing the case for the P.A.C. the AD HOC Commission gave the following report:—

SOUTH AFRICA

The commission regrets that the PAC is crossing presently a leadership crisis which hinders it from being validly represented, despite its militating basis and its anti-imperialist line of action. Therefore it is impossible to pronounce judgement on the PAC application in the present state of things. The commission is recording the goodwill demonstrated by the member ANC at the Winneba Conference as regards the possibilities to associate the PAC to its activities in the AAPSO. Such an eventuality has been made impossible, namely by the leadership crisis of PAC.

8) With regards to the finding we made the following comments to the AAPSO Secretariat:—

a) that the AD-HOC commission gave a decision outside their terms of reference (falling under item No. 5 in this bulletin);

b) That the AD-HOC Commission had no mandate to discuss the internal affairs of the party. The PAC is undergoing less leadership crisis than certain parties within AAPSO that have purged very top leaders.

c) That the so-called goodwill demonstrated by the ANC is false as their document opposing our membership was a dirty scandal.

9) The so-called PAC leadership crisis is a fabrication of the Ad-Hoc commission. To confuse issues they make an allegation without substantiation. The truth is that a member of the Executive Committee was expelled for gross misdemeanor in accordance with the provisions of our constitution and disciplinary code. This did not constitute a leadership crisis then, nor does it now. In any event this would be a matter falling within the administrative structure of any organisation and AAPSO has no mandate to interfere in such internal affairs of parties. They have not interfered in the affairs of parties in the AAPSO Secretariat who have purged top leaders.

10) There are other groups from South Africa whose members are attending this conference as delegates

Continued on page 8

1) We are a delegation from the PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS to the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana, Cuba.

2) As an Organisation coming from one of the three Continents (Africa), having a popular base and an anti-imperialist orientation, we thought that was enough credential to enable us to participate fully in this conference which we believe has great potentialities for the development of solidarity among peoples who are engaged in the bitter struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the intensification of the struggle against the three-fold evil in all three continents. It is our firm belief that this conference could raise the tempo and tone of the struggle

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OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manu-

12. State monopoly of foreign trade, Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
21. For a workers government.

For a new trade union centre

(Continued from page 1)

disintegration and paralysis in front of the world process.

Despite the failures of the leaderships of the workers states to give a centralised lead to the world and British masses, the vanguard can easily see that the process flows ever more strongly in its favour as we have said. The situation gives large opportunities for interventions within the LP and the trade unions in particular. The TUC and LP Congresses must be prepared for, with this in mind. It is not enough passively to reject the wage freeze. The struggle for a break from the LP by LP constituency parties and by the unions must be made in coordination with the demands for the anti capitalist programme. To meet unemployment there must be an all round reduction in hours for all workers with no reduction in pay. Workers control must be implemented with the whole policy of nationalising all key industries and the banks. There must be equal pay for men and women. Workers and housewives must decide a basic minimum wage to rise automatically with the rise in the cost of living. Factories about to be closed

should be occupied by the workers, run by the workers and their products sold commercially by the workers. The land must be nationalised and the farms run by the workers committees. All the profits of automation to the workers. Arms for the colonial revolution. Workers must demonstrate against the war in Vietnam and link their support for the Vietnamese masses with their own demands to finish with British capitalism and imperialism.

Long ago in editorials we predicted that the process was the final crisis of British imperialism and all the evidence shows this to be true. The rapid spread of the world revolution-it is not just a revolution in this country-is going to be interrupted by the world war before it spreads over the whole surface of the world. It is necessary that the vanguard fully comprehends the process which is taking place and basing itself on this knowledge intervenes with maximum force in places of work, factory committees trade unions, to mobilise all the vast accumulated anti capitalist hatred in the country and give it a clear programmatic expression.

CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM IS SHOWN IN THE U.S.A. BY THE GROWING STRUGGLE OF THE NEGROES, THE WHITE WORKERS AND THE STUDENTS

The crisis of American Imperialism both economically and socially is shown very clearly at the present time. The war that the U.S. is waging in Vietnam is costing millions of dollars; last year the U.S. spent £19,000 million on defence and this amount is increasing. But the Vietcong militia outmaneuvers the yanks. The Americans engage several thousand men to enclose some imaginary Vietcong, only to find women and children, and the headlines appear in the newspapers "more Vietcong captured!" According to a North Vietnamese news bulletin "a whole U.S. battalion opposed orders to carry out a sweep or to go out as reinforcement troops; this was the First Infantry Division stationed in Thu Dau Mot who mutinied on April 24th 1966. others indignantly shot dead their mates who, obeying officer's orders, had gone after them. This happened in Thu Dau Mot on May 14th 1966." With this degree of disintegration in the U.S. army, and the fact that on average 100 U.S. troops are killed and anything between 500-1,000 injured each week, army morale is very low. In America there is growing unrest amongst the University students who risk being drafted into the army—quite recently an English student had to leave the country or he would have been drafted—the interest these students have taken in the draft, shows just how unpopular the Vietnam war is. As students they are to a certain extent privileged, they get draft deferments and it is mostly the poorer educated, and the negroes who are being sent to fight in Vietnam. Several students have ripped up draft cards, and are now in jail, and on 13th May a University was occupied by students protesting against the war. There have been very big marches and demonstrations through the U.S.A. and in one, a train taking soldiers to Vietnam was held up. It is becoming more and more obvious that the war will never be won on the ground and that it is only a matter of time until the final encounter.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE NEGRO MASSES

The social and economic crisis in the U.S. is shown most clearly in the Negro riots this summer. These riots are not racial, but are the results of the most exploited, poorly paid, worst housed, section of the American proletariat showing their hatred for U.S. Imperialism, and struggling to overthrow it. Johnson would like to make concessions to the negroes, and keep them quiet. Only last year he was making promises to them and rushing new laws through Congress giving them new civil rights, but this summer when asked about the riots he answered that the negro population only made up 10% of the nation. Johnson is in fact admitting that he has no solution.

The riots started this summer when James Meredith, a former pacifist, was shot whilst on a small civil rights march to Jackson. When the news of his shooting reached other activists in the civil rights movement, they all took up the march, during which there were some very violent clashes with the police and reactionary whites. The speeches at the end of the march were very significant, and mark a change in the civil rights movement. Meredith, who started the march carrying a bible and an ivory handled walking stick said that next time he would carry a pistol and shoot back if someone menaced him with a gun. Students who have worked for some time

in the Civil Rights movement in the South, in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee encouraging negroes to register for elections have carried pistols for the past two years. It was during this march that the new cry of "Black Power" was heard, and this cry has been taken up by Stokely Carmichael, and a group known as the "Black Panthers". Their cry of Black Power is a demand for negroes to win electoral power in areas in which there is a negro majority of the population, but Carmichael is quoted as saying that they are not a protest movement, and are out to take power, pure unadulterated political power, and if need be they will fight for it as the Americans fought in the Civil War. It is easy to see why this cry of Black Power is so popular, when the negroes have been suppressed for 200 years, and until now the civil rights movement has been led by such bourgeois conciliators as Martin Luther King. The Deacons for Defence and Justice were also at the final rally, riding behind the white highway patrol; they too were equipped with telephones in their cars, and when asked by reporters if they were armed, their answer was "just try and pull a gun and you'll find out." The Deacons movement was formed to give protection to the negroes which the white police did not give, and all this shows that the way is being prepared for revolution in the United States.

It is clear to see that the negro struggle in the United States, the struggle of the most exploited sector of the American proletariat—is influenced by the whole world revolution. At the time of the Korean war, there was very little unrest in the United States, but now, with the Cuban Workers State practically on the door step, the eruption of the African revolution, and the vicious war in Vietnam, the negroes are all the time gaining more and more confidence in their own ability to fight U.S. Imperialism and struggle for socialism. It is not only in the northern industrial cities that they are fighting—at times arms in hand—but also in the southern states, where traditionally they have been savagely repressed. This summer there have been some extremely violent clashes both with sectors of the reactionary whites and with the police force and National Guard. In Chicago a force of 4,000 National Guards was brought in the quell riots, and patrolled the city in armoured cars, with orders to shoot to kill if fired upon. Since these riots, in an attempt to retain control of the movement, Martin Luther King, has led some idiotic civil rights protest marches through "white" areas of Chicago. Such marches are irrelevant. The vanguard negro workers need a programme, organised militia, and joint struggles with the rest of the American proletariat, not the hypocritical postures of Luther King. But already he is a has been.

GANGSTER T.U. LEADERS FORCED TO ACT BY RANK AND FILE PRESSURE

The class struggle in America is not confined to the negro sector of the proletariat, large sectors of white workers have been on strike not only for higher wages, but in most cases they have been demanding free health insurance, and pension rights. The success of last year's New York transport strike where the workers won a 15% rise, has given confidence to large sectors of the working class to struggle for more pay and better conditions. In New York city alone since

the transport strike, there have been strikes by printers, taxi drivers, airport busmen, and public health nurses, and now throughout America members of the International Association of Machinists (airport mechanics) struck for a rise of 3s.10d. per hour to bring their earnings to £1.5.6d. an hour, (a rise of about 15% against Johnsons called for 3%-3½%). In spite of Johnsons appeals for an early settlement, this strike lasted for six weeks, bringing 4,000 daily flights to a stop. In America this union represents about 60% of the workers in domestic air traffic. With stronger workers organisation at the base, the support of other unions, and international support, the struggles of the workers could be raised to a higher level, and all flights to the U.S. could be brought to a stop. In Great Britain the seamen's strike was betrayed by the leadership, partly because of lack of the workers organisation at the base, lack of support from other unions, and lack of international support. It is significant to note that even with the gangster bureaucracy of the American unions (such bureaucrats as Hoffa, the president of the Teamsters Union earns as much as £35,714 a year,) the unions are forced by the pressure of the workers, to demand high wages and fringe benefits.

The Socialist Workers Party which was once Trotskyist and has degenerated to a liberal democratic party (this was shown amongst other stupidities by its telegram of condolence to the widow of President Kennedy at the time of his assassination) has failed completely to orientate the strug-

gle of the working class in the United States. The civil rights movement, the anti-war in Vietnam movement of the students, and the increasing struggle of the white working class show how favourable conditions are for the building of a revolutionary Marxist party in the U.S.A. But the S.W.P. has not built, it has trailed behind the petit bourgeoisie leaders of the civil rights movement just as it has trailed behind the petit bourgeoisie nationalist leaders of the colonial revolution. It has idealised Fidel Castro, and echoed his attacks on the IV International.

The conflict in the American ruling class between the so called doves and hawks, demonstrates the fear and lack of confidence of Imperialism in the face of the advance of the world revolution. There is no peace tendency in the American ruling class. Robert Kennedy who recently toured S. Africa preaching pacifism and meeting all the conciliatory petit bourgeoisie African leaders, was simply trying to preserve a "liberal" face for Yankee Imperialism before the petit bourgeoisie masses of the world. The hawks and doves simply disagree over tactics. The doves want a more conciliatory front, but are equally committed to the nuclear war against the Worker States and the world masses. More and more with the difficulties of the American army in Vietnam, the anti-war student movements, the struggle of the white working class, and the riots of the negro masses, the hard line of the hawks becomes the dominant one; the doves talk but the hawks act.

The exclusion of P.A.C. from the Tri-Continental Conference

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though they are not members of AAPSO, we refer i) to the Indian National Congress, a racist organisation whose membership is exclusively Indian, ii) and to an expelled member of the Coloured People's Congress. These have been brought in through the backdoor by the ANC and AAPSO, despite the latter's standards for invitation.

11) Organisations from Africa and Asia are judged by standards set by AAPSO while Latin American organisations enjoy different standards. The contrasting yardsticks employed cannot but have detrimental effects upon the peoples engaged in the fight against imperialism.

12) It is clear that we have been barred from the conference not by the Tricontinental Conference itself but by prejudices and preferences imported from the huge brief cases from certain quarters. It is however amazing to note that representatives of the people who indisputably belong to one of the three continents are kept out even from the lobby of the Habana Libre Hotel whereas the conference is being attended by several observers from Europe.

13) The P.A.C. for its part thought that it was joining the family and the fraternity of fighting peoples from the three continents, but instead we find hefty bouncers at the door where pals are brought in and others kept out. We thought this type of behaviour was limited to nite-clubs. Further we thought these attitudes were confined to imperialist manipulated organisations like U.N. which keeps proper representatives out and puppets in. Where must one draw the line between imperialist intrigues and those from our own ranks.

14) If these intrigues reflect the qualitative nature of this and other conferences then the P.A.C. would not grieve for being left out. The P.A.C. which is a majority organisation in South Africa and which is the vanguard of the struggle cannot afford to waste its time and that of the people of South Africa in corridors, pavements and with "progressive" janitors of this world.

15) The P.A.C. delegation to this conference experienced great difficulty in coming here. In Cairo a member of the delegation was refused a visa to come to Havana, but we do however wish to place on record our utmost appreciation of the hospitality extended to us by the people and the Government of Cuba.

16) History shall absolve true revolutionaries and militants but the imperialists, neo-imperialists, and their lackeys shall stand condemned in the dock of history.

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF
THE AFRO-ASIAN AND LATIN
AMERICAN PEOPLES!

Issued by:

A.B. NCOBO

Treasurer-General and Leader of the
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (S.A.)
delegation.

DAVID M. SIBEKO

Secretary to the External Mission and
member of the PAN AFRICANIST
CONGRESS (S.A.) delegation.

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



NO 37

OCTOBER 1966

SIXPENCE

Build the united front between the factory committees, T.U. and L.P. branches, and the student organisations on the anti-capitalist programme

The effects of the attack launched by the government against the working class, are now beginning to make themselves felt. Short time is now being worked in most of the car firms and in some other industries, while unemployment has risen to 340,000 and is expected to keep on rising until at least the end of the year. The Labour government has said, both in the person of Wilson and Gunter, that it is opposed to work sharing, and that redundancies are necessary in order to release labour for employment in other labour starved export industries. What are these industries? Now that the "squeeze" is beginning to take effect, there are no industries crying out for the semi-skilled workers made redundant from the car industry, and the car industry is a major exporter anyway. The real explanation is that the government in the interests of British capitalism wants to increase unemployment, wants to increase the rhythm of production of those workers remaining in employment while at the same time freezing wages. In this way capitalism seeks to reduce the cost of production to make its exports more competitive in a world market which is already saturated. Having failed to keep down wages by agreements with the T.U. bureaucrats, the government now embarks on a policy of deliberately creating unemployment because it has found the enforcement of a wages policy impossible in conditions of full employment. At the same time it holds in reserve, laws passed in the last session of parliament, to fine or imprison strikers who try to break the freeze.

At the time of going to press, the working class has not been able to organise much resistance to this policy, although there have been some local strikes, including one at Shadlows of Sheffield, where the workers tried to involve other factories. But simple strikes in this period when factories are on short time will not hit the employers very hard. It is necessary to formulate a concrete programme to resist this policy; a programme to impose by widespread simultaneous strikes and factory occupations, the principle of work sharing without loss of pay and workers control over the conditions within the factory.

The Trade Union leaders are paralysed in front of this crisis, they are not prepared to organise any struggle against it. They content themselves with criticisms of particular aspects of the policy and have discussions with members of the government hoping to keep the whole affair an administrative matter between bureaucrats. Nevertheless as the crisis develops these T.U. leaders will be forced (even though they will always do as little as they can) to oppose the policy of the government more strongly and because of this we can predict more crises in the Labour and Trade Union apparatuses. If Cousins and Co. were really determined to wage an anti-capitalist struggle, the T.G.W.U. would use his position as M.P. to put forward an anti-capitalist programme. But whatever the intentions of Cousins, etc. the process demands and will impose this programme.

Because of the weight of the Labour and Trade Union bureaucracies, built up over years and years of British Imperialist strength, because of the rottenness of these leaders, the working class today finds itself (despite the favourable objective national and international situation) without a political centre, without a leadership to resist the attacks of the capitalist class. From this stems the apparent and transient passivity of the class in the face of the latest sackings and short time workings. Even the shop steward and unofficial committees, which are the main strength of the working class at this time, suffer frequently from the fact of being led by communist party members like Dash in the docks or Etheridge at B.M.C.,

who consciously in the interests of peaceful co-existence and the Soviet bureaucracy, try to resist the development of the struggle and to divert it into reformist and parliamentary channels. And to-day the Soviet bureaucracy is doing all it can to support capitalism, not only by giving it contracts to build car factories in the workers states, but by its links and contacts with the Trade Union bureaucracies of the west. The latest visit of T.U. leaders to the USSR is an example of this conscious alliance of conservative bureaucrats against the working class.

As a result of these factors, the lack of leadership and organisation, the working class will inevitably suffer, in fact already has suffered, some partial defeats in the struggle to maintain their jobs and their standard of life. But a repetition of the 1930's is ruled out today. Now it is not a case of the demoralisation of the workers after enormous betrayals and defeats to the revolution, but a lack of organisational means to respond quickly to a capitalist offensive. And this period will not last long. The working class must now overcome the weakness in its own organisations, purge them of their conciliatory leaderships, and take once more the offensive against capitalism.

From now on all strike actions will be against the government, and the class nature of the state will be forcibly brought home to all worker militants engaged in struggle. The politicisation of the struggle, which up till now has been largely around economic demands, will be greatly accelerated in the next period despite all the efforts of the bureaucrats to keep the struggle at the level of economic demands.

The Labour government is becoming more and more cynical in its defence of capitalism. Crossman (a one time left-winger) had the impudence to say that Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Bill (this is the part which gives the government power to enforce by law, a wage and prices standstill) was a necessary "socialist" measure. Socialism, he said, was planning, and it was impossible to have a socialist society with at the same time, a wages free for all. There was no mention of nationalisations, aboli-

tion of private property, the monarchy, the finishing of imperialist rule; to the Labour leaders, Socialism means statutory controls over the wages of the working class in the interests of maintaining capitalist economic stability.

But in spite of the trend towards a more authoritarian regime, of which Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Bill is an example the capitalist class lacks a firm social base to carry out a full-scale anti-working class repressive policy. A large sector of the petit bourgeoisie is with the working class. This is not only shown by the alliance of working class and petit-bourgeois sectors that put the Labour Party into power, but has recently been dramatically demonstrated by the Liberal Party conference. The conference showed that the Young Liberals in particular are open to the influence of the world revolutionary process. The Young Liberals had expressed (at the time) full support to the seamen's strike, and now at this conference they rejected the executives call for support for NATO, and fought very hard and only just lost a resolution calling for workers' control of the nationalised industries. This conference cannot be underestimated as an indication of the attitude of a sector of the petit bourgeoisie; it shows that facism is dead for ever, the petit bourgeoisie cannot be mobilised as a fighting force by the capitalist class to smash the organisations of the workers as it once was. That was a different period, a period of counter-revolutionary despair.

Without a social base, without the possibility of building up mass fascist currents, capitalism and imperialism have only one other defence; the counter-revolutionary world war which it is preparing against the workers states and the world masses. But at the same time it is frightened to use this defence and it hesitates. The recent speech of the Pope in which he addressed the world leaders in a passionate appeal for peace, condemning racialism and the "obsession with revolution" showed the fear of the bourgeoisie that the war which is coming will mean the end of capitalism. The Catholic Church which is a capitalist apparatus closer to the masses than any other organisation of capitalism is full of pessimism, it has no historical perspective. Only the masses, in spite of all the damage the war is going to cause, has a perspective. The working class, despite its corrupt leadership which allows capitalism to gain temporary advantage, will overthrow capitalism and build a socialist society.

We call upon all the workers unofficial committees, the students organisations including the Liberal students who profess themselves to be anti-capitalist, all the organisations of the working class who want to fight against capitalism, for a united front with us on a programme of struggle against redundancies, for work sharing without loss of pay, for workers control, for the organisation of a new workers centre and the unification of the factory committees to carry the anti-capitalist struggle to a higher level.

The course of the political revolution in China

As the IV International has argued, particularly in the documents of cde. Posadas, the struggle now taking place in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is of fundamental importance for the acceleration of the course of the world united front against Imperialism and the Soviet Bureaucracy, and the centralisation of the world revolution. The course of the political revolution in China has been long and protracted because of the absence of a conscious Marxist leadership. It has been tortuous and confusing because of the many conciliatory aspects of the ideas of the Chinese leadership, such as the policy of the bloc of four classes. But this phase is drawing to a close, rapidly.

The struggles which have taken place in the Chinese leadership, the continuous uninterrupted crisis therein, the dramatic interventions of the Red Guards have again entirely confirmed the analysis of the IV International, that the struggle taking place in China reflects the need of the world revolution for a centre and the need for a world united front of the IV Interna-

tional with all the world currents, such as the Chinese, fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, imperialism and the soviet bureaucracy.

The IV International has based its analysis of the Sino Soviet dispute on the fact that the Chinese leadership whatever its failings and limitations, has developed against a completely different background from that of the soviet bureaucracy. The latter developed at a stage when the world revolution was at nothing like the elevation which it has reached today, when it had suffered enormous defeats. The soviet bureaucracy has developed over a period of nearly half a century and has become a profoundly conservative stratum with deeply entrenched counter revolutionary interests. This is not the case with the Chinese leadership, it led a revolution, has constantly responded to the masses, as in the communes. It is true that much of its ideological baggage consists of hangovers from Stalinism, but this is an historical limitation not the expression

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The course of the political revolution in China

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of conservative social interests insensible to the process of the revolution. Therefore it is quite ridiculous to regard the Chinese comrades as following in the steps of Stalin. In the past it is true they have defended him, but that is in the past. Their views have shown a definite advance and now they ignore him just as they deride increasingly the policy of peaceful coexistence. Marxism makes its analysis not by examining the surface features of phenomena but laying bare the basic historical factors which have conditioned the development of the Chinese leadership and have now led to the profound historical crisis in that leadership which is of inestimable stimulus for the revolutionary struggle of the world masses and will have great consequences for the European and British masses.

Imperialism for obvious reasons is profoundly disturbed by the process in China. Recently the Economist had an article quite simply called "This is the Third World War". It recognised the turn to the left and explained that Imperialism could not afford to leave Vietnam because communism would spread further and therefore in a sense the world war had already begun. Everywhere, particularly in Great Britain, the bourgeoisie in order to maintain authority over the petit bourgeoisie has attempted to ridicule the process in China. For this they have quoted some of the more extravagant praises of the thought of Mao, only one and among the least important aspects of the phenomenon developing in China. However the real significance of these events cannot be concealed and they will shortly have shattering effects on the whole world arena, effects which will make the course so far of the Sino Soviet dispute appear as a placid stream.

THE STRUGGLE IN THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP WILL INTENSIFY

The IV International has long ago predicted that the Sino Soviet dispute was irreversible. The struggle has been more and more characterised by violent attacks against the soviet bureaucracy by the Chinese and more and more defensive attitudes by the soviet bureaucracy and its allies in the bureaucracy of the CP-s. The aggravation of the struggle is caused essentially by the world necessity of the revolution to advance. It cannot stop still. It must find a means of expression. This means that a struggle is necessary between the conservative and revolutionary wings in the leadership of the Chinese workers states. The revolutionary wing in the Chinese workers states does not only lean on the massive weight of the Chinese revolutionary masses, the workers and the masses organised in the communes, but is sustained by the vigour and uninterrupted process of the world revolution. The lack of a secure social base in China for the rightist forces means that they are quickly forced on the defensive and beaten. Furthermore the process cannot remain at a centrist conclusion, that is accepting revolutionary ideas but not giving them concrete programmatic form. Necessarily the struggle will continue to the end until the revolutionary left dominates. Naturally imperialism will not allow the process to reach its complete conclusion for this would give the workers states the highest possible advantage in the coming third world war, that is a completely functioning socialist democracy in a workers states.

The necessity for socialist democracy in the workers states found its most direct expression recently in the democratisation of the Chinese army and militia. And inevitably this has accelerated the struggle for democracy elsewhere. The army in the person of

Lin Piao has erupted quite dramatically into the Political Bureau as number two, next to Mao. Liu Shao Chi, an old member of that august body has slumped to number eight. In effect with whatever limitations in the struggles against the rightists, the army has in effect struck at the more conservative elements in the political bureau. As a matter of general interest, in the sphere of foreign policy, Liu Shao Chi had been particularly involved in the alliance with Pakistan. This is not to say that Lin Piao now represents the most advanced elements in the Chinese workers states. The crisis remains unresolved. The Red Guards in many ways have played the role of vanguard. They have been calling for the end of interest rates on personal savings no private property at all, no private savings, a return to eating in communes all of which is tantamount to calling for the end of all alliance with the remnants of the bourgeoisie in China and the end of the bloc of four classes. They have spoken in general terms of their desire to intervene on the international plane and have called for the taking of Hong Kong and Macao. The appearance of the Red Guards points to the masses seeking an avenue to express themselves outside the communist party. The Red Guards have been associated with the cult of Mao, but moderate circles perhaps to be connected with Chou En Lai are clearly afraid of the extent of their influence which goes beyond that of the party bureaucracy. Without question they represent a current going towards the completion of the political revolution in the Chinese workers state.

In the report of the CCP Central Committee meeting at the beginning of August, the Chinese party placed enormous emphasis on the overall weakness of the Imperialist camp and the necessity for the united front of all Marxist Leninist forces against imperialism and the soviet revisionist alliance. It mentions Marx, Engels and Lenin but not Stalin. By and large it marked in general outlines the advance of the political revolution in China, towards the positions of Trotskyism. This was clear above all in the emphasis on the role of the masses. It was essential, so said the Central Committee, to rely on the masses, to rely on the creative will of the masses, to allow the will of the masses, the most dynamic expression. The strength of these assertions were an advance on all previous positions, and reflect the gigantic pressure of the Chinese and world masses. Similarly in the sixteen points the emphasis on the immediate revocability of officials (in the cultural committee) points directly to the emergence of soviets within China. The latter advances rapidly to the most complete expression of a socialist democracy in a workers state. The existence of the communes, the democratic reforms in the militia have all prepared the way for the eruption now taking place.

The Mao tendency may be said to reflect a centrist tendency in the Chinese leadership, that is it is entirely open to and sensible to the great mass pressures within the workers state, but tries to restrain them partly by means of the cult of Mao but principally by refusing to reach out to the full implementation of the necessary revolutionary policy, ie. the world programme for the revolution, preventative war, appeals to the world masses, the Eu-

ropean masses etc. But, as in the case of Castro, a centrist position is untenable for any length of time in the epoch of the final encounter of imperialism and the world masses. The appearance of articles on the Paris Commune recently in "Peking Review" point to a left tendency seeking for the genuine Marxist tradition. The reference in the last CCP Central Committee to "left opportunists", points to the sector to the left of the official leadership.

The communist parties following the Kosyguin line of class collaboration with imperialism and capitalism, preserved a shocked silence for some time, inwardly petrified at this new advance of the world revolution. Finally of course as was particularly notable in the case of the Cuban communist party, they stated that the Chinese were bringing the international communist movement into disrepute!! But such repudiations count for nothing in the eyes of the world masses. They only point the more clearly to the corruption of the existing pro Moscow parties. Within such a party as the Italian communist party, we can confidently predict severe crises as a result of the actions of the Chinese political revolution. The crisis in the Japanese and North Korean parties also shows that these bureaucracies who have hitherto allied with the Chinese parties can no longer do so, because the process becomes more and more leftwards and means the end of the traditional party bureaucracies.

THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP STILL LACK CONFIDENCE IN THE MASSES

The Japanese communist leaders, in artful dodger style, have taken advantage of the limitations of the Chinese leadership in relation, to Vietnam, to propose in effect a new united front with the Kremlin. The Chinese leadership have correctly refused a united front with the soviet bureaucracy because such "unity" is to undermine the whole nature of the struggle which they have been waging. On the other hand their most recent line has been simply to say Vietnam must go it alone. This plays into the hands of the revisionist elements, who say hypocritically, that it is necessary for soviet aid to go to Vietnam in the interests of international solidarity. Why are the Chinese putting forward their incorrect position? Clearly they know that the soviet bureaucracy in giving aid to the masses of Vietnam seeks also to restrain the struggle, ie to use influence in Hanoi for agreement with the American imperialists. But the Chinese leadership still lack confidence in relation to the struggle against the soviet bureaucracy, and even in relation to the American imperialists. The strongest card that the Chinese leaders have, is the power to make an appeal to the soviet masses against the soviet bureaucracy. They still do not fully understand the dual nature of the soviet state, that it is a workers state politically controlled by a reactionary bureaucratic stratum. The Chinese leaders have nothing to fear from soviet intervention in Vietnam, provided they give a correct orientation to the Vietnamese masses. It is this failure of understanding among the Chinese leadership — which inevitably will be corrected — that plays into the hands of the revisionists and thereby the im-

perialists also. It also facilitates the policy of the conservative elements in the North Vietnam leadership.

Furthermore the reluctance-so far-of the Chinese to intervene more powerfully and directly in Vietnam, reflects that even though increasingly they have scorned peaceful coexistence and openly prepare for the third world war, their hesitancy to appeal to the world masses with the concrete revolutionary programme to smash the imperialists' and for a genuine socialist democracy in the Soviet Union gives time to the world imperialists and does not allow the full benefit of the struggle of the Vietnamese masses to be felt by the world masses.

In this situation the IV International through its documents and through its concrete militant intervention in the various revolutionary currents throughout the world, seeks to influence the Chinese comrades. It is they in particular who possess the material means to centralise the world revolutionary process.

In Great Britain, the CP has openly condemned the Red Guards, clearly showing their fear of what the Red Guards represents. It is part and parcel of the whole CP role in Great Britain to obstruct the revolutionary process. Totally conservative and degenerated, the CP apparatus seeks to operate as a bureaucratic intermediary between the masses and the bosses.

We appeal to the vanguard workers in this country to publicise the importance of the process in China which will greatly encourage the masses in Great Britain to crush imperialism and take power.

The crisis in the car industry

from back page

he made no reply. This attitude of the part of the Austin works convenor, reflects the CP policy of conciliation with capitalism. It is the same policy that allows capitalist firms like Fiat of Italy and Renault of France to build factories in the Soviet Union. The desire of the workers is to destroy capitalism, not to allow it means of survival by building factories in a Workers' State.

Recently a mass meeting of Austin workers was called by the Austin joint shop stewards' committee. At this meeting, although a large number of workers attended, the works committee refused to allow any proposals from the body of the meeting, and, as many workers commented, this meeting was a complete waste of time. The works committee called for a lobby of the Labour Party conference and for support in their campaign against the proposed redundancies. Such a proposal reflects the interests of the conservative sectors of the workers movement. Demonstrate, yes, with anti-capitalist slogans, but lobbying is farcical. The L.P. apparatus is an instrument of capitalism.

For the workers in the car industry, as in other industries, the only answer to the present crisis is to organise on a national scale the shop stewards committee, the only organisation that answers the needs of the workers at this time. This national combined shop stewards committee must put forward the demand for a cut in the working week without loss of pay. This demand is, of course, simply a very immediate demand. The demand for nationalisation, without compensation and with workers' control must also be put forward.

The supporters of capitalism, the labour government, the communist party, the union officials and the rest must be swept aside and the workers organised on a national, industrial basis. A new workers trade union centre with an anti-capitalist programme would be an enormous impetus to the struggle for workers' power.

We call on the workers of the car industry to intervene in the struggle now with the slogans of Nationalisation of all major industry under workers' control and without compensation to the former owners. For a new trade union centre with an anti-capitalist programme. For a Workers' Government.

FOR THE RELEASE OF THE TROTSKYISTS

More news of the world campaign to release the Trotskyists imprisoned in Mexico, Cuba and Brazil will appear in the next issue. We will also be publishing Bertrand Russell's letter to Mexico and statements of the MR 13 of Guatemala pledging support for the programme of the IV International.

VIETNAM THE UNIFYING CENTRE OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE ROLE OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

J. Posadas

The revolution has concentrated itself in a few months at a new level which one cannot ignore. He who does not see this is lost. There can be no doubt about this. Capitalism, the world counter-revolution do not lean on their own bases in the United States but on world conservative relationships which spring in their turn in certain determined phases, from the fact of the synchronised and dialectical process. Algeria, Indonesia, are vital centres where the counter revolution has not been able to advance, where it has failed. In Indonesia now, even if the military succeed in killing all the communists, even if they succeed in imposing their domination and liquidate Soekarno, they have failed. They have failed because progress has already entered into the consciousness of men under the form of nationalised property and the social intervention of the masses. And this consciousness henceforth, no one will ever be able to destroy. This indicates the immense possibilities which exist in a short delay for the IV International.

Greece equally shows the influence of the IV International. Greece has been the theoretical centre of the IV International; it has known two revolutions. And it was this group which had been the most loyal support for Pablo, the most remote from the life of the International. Now that the revolution is again on the march in Greece it has come to us. What is the significance of this fact, it means that Trotskyism is accepted within the heart of the vanguard of the world. That is what Trotsky fought for, the reason for which he died, is already accepted within a world scale. A world acceptance does not mean to say that it is complete; the process only expresses itself through symptoms, indices, certain events or action, as in Greece. This means that the International is in process of unifying the maturing of cadres, teams, of tendencies, of groups which seek to concentrate themselves in the comprehension of the global process of the world revolution. It is the International which unites them.

IT IS THEORETICAL CONVICTION WHICH ALLOWS ONE TO LIVE IN UNITY WITH THE PROCESS OF HISTORY

Such a role demands of the team more qualities than it has, but it can develop them. It is the only guarantee to prevent our being overwhelmed, pushed on one side or confounded by the process of the revolution, this process is empirical, but regulated internally and its central motor is the necessity for the unification of the world revolution. We are the ones who understand. And without theoretical comprehension everything is lost.

The Chinese try to comprehend this process but they feel surpassed by it. The Chinese are afraid of history. This is not a physical, personal fear, the Chinese are among the most courageous. But they do not know what is going to happen tomorrow. They are still intimidated by the nuclear war, by the consequences. They make great progress. Two years ago they were saying the nuclear war would be the end of the world. Now they accept that the war is coming. This is a great progress. But they lack the theoretical assurance, they feel in the same way as the Bolshevik team in 1917 when it escaped the control of Lenin. They ask "And what will happen after the nuclear war". They experience a sensation of the void before history, they do not feel united to it. The factor that unites one to history, from the beginning of the world until now is theoretical comprehension. It is that which maintains unalterable security in every way. It is for this reason that the human spirit through culture, science, technique maintains the continuity of the best achievements of humanity. The Chinese are not complete Marxists; their marxist comprehension is very limited. Hence they fear tomorrow.

The most important aspect in the internal struggles among the Chinese is not the victory of the left tendency, but the victory of the marxist tendency. It is important to see that this struggle unrolls, without the Chinese waiting for its outcome in order to advance in their external policy. It is changes in their internal policy which allow one to follow the physiognomy of this internal struggle, the changes which are produced within. The battle is still bitter, they have to smash the right, because it is still strong, but the most conscious sector, the sector which de-

sires the revolution, has gone forward without awaiting external events, in the search for a world support.

It still does this in a timid fashion, but when the Chinese call for the taking of power everywhere, when they speak as regards the Soviet Union of the DEGENERATED DICTATORSHIP of the PROLETARIAT, when they say that (peaceful coexistence) cannot exist and that it is necessary to make the revolution arms in hands it is the most conscious sector which is expressing itself in the search for a world support. If this sector still appears timid it is not because it has not yet gained the party, it is because of lack of marxist assurance. If they had this assurance, they would have lent on the marxist bases within China itself, they would have published all the works of Lenin. What stronger support could they have than the works of Lenin? If they run to the works of Mao, this does not stem from respect for Mao nor to conciliate with the other wing nor from fear; it is because they still lack theoretical assurance. For this reason, we are preoccupied with addressing ourselves to the Chinese, with writing articles which are aimed at them. Some of these articles are not yet necessary for our daily activity, for our daily struggle. But from the historical point of view, they are necessary because they are addressed to the Chinese. It is necessary to elevate our understanding, it is necessary to surmount, eliminate all secondary preoccupation. This is the manner in which we must direct ourselves, we must centre our minds on that. It is in this way that we can see the best way to treat the comrades, how to elevate them because when one feels a strong team, everything is done.

I repeat the judgements on which we have worked for many years. The historical process; that is the objective necessity for progress, this is the basis. And it is the struggle of the masses which is the instrument of progress. The masses have already accepted socialism and this conquest is irreversible. The masses have accepted socialism on a world scale. In the thought and preoccupation of the masses it is socialism which orientates their ac-

tions; the masses have already decided to overthrow capitalism. This has been in the consciousness of humanity for several years.

Some years ago we spoke in error of the communist consciousness of the masses. What we intended to say was the revolutionary consciousness of the

masses. We speak more precisely today. It is in function of this revolutionary consciousness that men act. That is why one can see two, three, five workers speaking of a football game and pass suddenly to a conversation on Vietnam and suddenly all other discussion stops.

THE IV INTERNATIONAL AS A UNIFYING CENTRE, AND THE ROLE OF THE CHINESE

The rhythm and dynamic concentration of this process is enormous we have little time to lose. The Chinese as well as the majority of our team do not feel yet the responsibility and necessary assurance to reply with the historic responsibility which is incumbent on us.

In the entire world, no other leadership, no group, tendency, Marxist team, is prepared consciously for this task. That is why none of the other teams, Chinese, Cuban tendency or team in process of developing in the workers states, will develop itself with the assurance and the confidence necessary to act consciously during and immediately after the nuclear war. They propel themselves, sure of themselves but they lack theoretical comprehension. Everywhere there develop tendencies, marxist currents which are Trotskyist. The consciousness of our historic responsibility allows us to develop as the centre of all these currents for example. There are all the nationalist currents and in spite of the existence of Cuba, of Yugoslavia of China, of the USSR, there is no organising centre. The Chinese are not an organising centre and they will not have the time to become one. When the marxist revolutionary tendencies can express themselves externally with a certain force, they are going to surpass very quickly the Chinese, because the Chinese are not an organising theoretical centre. They are an organising centre of resistance to the putrefaction of the leaderships and of the resistance to imperialism, but they are not a conscious organising centre of the revolution. This is precisely what is lacking. It is for this reason that the Chinese adopt our analysis, certain of our conclusions and of our qualifications, but they do not adopt our programme of concrete political action. Now it is the concrete political programme in which is expressed the comprehension and the decision for action on which this comprehension is founded.

The Chinese have been incapable of understanding the process that is developing in Great Britain. We foresaw this a year ago in the document of the 1 May; the Chinese have been incapable of foreseeing the wave of proletarian mobilisations in Europe; we have foreseen it. Well before the Manifesto of 1 May, we have foreseen this in articles. But this analysis is synthesised in the Manifesto of the 1 May which gives a world unity to the revolutionary struggle. The Chinese have said nothing on this subject, because they lack theoretical security. They do not dare to intervene in the matters touching on the proletariat.

And on their part it is not cowardice nor weakness; it is the effect of their lack of comprehension theoretically. They feel no urge to intervene on these problems. They have tried to do it from the time of Togliatti, imagining that he would allow the publication of their criticisms of Togliatti, so that the Italian party would follow them.

It was conciliatory impressionism.

If the internal struggles develop slowly, it is because of the policy of four classes, the basis of their relationship to everything. But a sector is in process of detaching itself from this conception and acquiring the consciousness of revolutionary politics. But that still does not give theoretical revolutionary historic assurance. If the most conscious sector is not yet detached from the other and has not yet eliminated it, it is because they are still united among themselves by this conception. Without our theoretical intervention, the comprehension of the Chinese would advance in a much slower and limited fashion. For a whole period the course of humanity depends and is going to depend on the Chinese; we cannot lose sight of this. History is advancing very quickly, the concentration of the process of the revolution is approaching ever more rapidly the nuclear war and the Chinese are the only force capable of intervening, of playing a role and of deciding. We have not got sufficient force: it is the Chinese who are going to decide. But not the Chinese in an undetermined way: they are in complete internal struggle and the revolutionary wing is in process of imposing itself. It is for that reason that they have within them the force to direct the course of history until the revolution triumphs. From this our preoccupation to influence them. They have neither the capacity or the theoretical assurance. They are afraid of what is going to happen tomorrow. The same thing happens within our own team. It does not suffice to speak of revolutionary courage. Without the theoretical political comprehension without an interior preparation which assures theoretical serenity and without a team on which to lean, there is no security possible. This is not a problem of the individual, the fraction or the party; it is a problem of the world team. We can influence the Chinese, we are going to influence them much more than we have done already. Until the present, they have always fled theoretical confrontation but now to continue to advance in this struggle, they are going to be obliged to advance in this theoretical discussion. Where are they going to go to seek theoretical assurance? This cannot be invented, it is not invented from nor created from one week to another, it is prepared and the preparation supports the action. Our influence on the Chinese will be tomorrow infinitely greater but to influence them, it is necessary to give them more assurance and this assurance is going to come to them for example from Guatemala. Although the reference made in "Peking Review" in their support for the revolutionary struggles of Guatemala is very general, it indicates the influence of Guatemala on them, an influence which is binding them to Guatemala.

And Guatemala is the 13 November movement, not Turcios or Fidel
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Castro. This is very symptomatic because they know that it is the 13 November movement. Monthly Review accepts publicly the influence and the leadership of the Trotskyists within the MR 13 November movement. Monthly Review finds a divergence on organisation but not in politics, or objectives, on the contrary. They are going to go farther than they think. They only show their lack of assurance. They feel themselves attracted by the revolution and they understand it and they are above all influenced by the pressure of what is passing within the United States. Our influence within this team is going to grow and they represent a very important instrument for the work in North America. In North America the struggle and the activity for the construction of the new revolutionary leadership is quasi-Trotskyist. However, in appearance our action is very small. It seems that it is the action of the Spartacus group but it is more than Spartacist; it is Trotskyism. When the North Americans of the movement of solidarity with Vietnam speak, what they say shows their knowledge of all our positions from first to last and their agreement. The Greeks did not know us, there was the obstacle of language, insurmountable and we have surmounted it. This is our concentrated action and it is in train of influencing the Chinese. The advance of the Trotskyist wing throughout the world is more powerful than the comprehension and maturity of our own team. Until now we have been able to influence in a general fashion but powerfully by the single theoretical and political force. But now it is a question of passing to the tasks of organisation and for that it is necessary to make progress. We are preparing to intervene in this process which has already commenced, in which different groups, tendencies and sectors in different degrees are in process of advancing towards the revolution but without being unified around a centre or a common objective. Such is the course of history. The process of degeneration of the workers state or the absence of the formation of the firm structure of the workers state, allows the appearance of all these tendencies and more particularly of nationalist tendencies. The crisis of the Communist and Socialist parties is going to develop in a dynamic and rapid fashion. The Chinese do not dispose of the necessary forces to order this crisis in organising currents and tendencies; they are not able to fulfill this task, because they do not possess either the programme or the policy nor the centralised revolutionary objectives. The revolutionary currents which are developing in the world have need of a centre. The IV International is the organising centre of this process.

It is in process of orientating and influencing. But in the course of the next period, it will not be able to be the directing organic centre of these currents. It is for that reason that all the nationalist, Chinese, Pro Chinese or other groups who break with the Soviets, make reference to Trotsky. And it is for the same reason that the Chinese attack Trotskyism in the years 1917-1924, but they do not criticise Trotskyism today. Not a single attack against Trotskyism today has been published in Peking Review. It is the Pro-Chinese who live on the money of the Chinese as they lived in the past on the subsidies of Stalinism who lead the campaign against us. But the revolutionary Chinese literature does not contain a single attack. Why? What is the meaning of this? It is because among them there are wings,

Campaign for the release of the Mexican Trotskyists

currents leaning on us directly or indirectly. In order that we can give this influence an organic form, so that we can realise an objective organic united front, it is necessary to give a better functioning to the party, to the international leadership; the latter must fulfill more its function as a leadership. It is necessary to prepare in a responsible fashion for each action with all its forces. And to prepare, means to discuss all that is necessary for this action, everything that concerns the attention, the preoccupation, everything that allows one to learn, to dominate, to mature in what is necessary to be done, for the programme and the objective of the United world front with the Chinese. Then all the attention must be consecrated to that. All the problems of incompatibility, of disagreement, of personal disputes disappear then very quickly. It is here that lies the role which the International leadership must play. It must consecrate its forces to comprehend that it is from today that it must act, and not from tomorrow. It is necessary to study systematically all the problems and draw systematically the conclusions and communicate in a flexible manner, the conclusions which appear to us to be the most important. That is the duty of the international leadership and that is the objective which it must propose to attain.

The process of the revolution is empirical in its form; in depth it is ordered and harmonious. If the revolution can strike with such effect, it is because it is based on the will of the masses who want change and want to lead in a united way. It is a harmonious process and an ordered process having a leadership, a guide, the workers states. It is the pole which orders the will of the masses. If the workers states did not exist there would not be the colonial revolution, there would not be the nationalist revolution. But the absence of the revolutionary leadership in the workers states prevents the nationalist revolutionary leadership acquiring immediately a marxist appearance. If this leadership had existed, capitalism long ago would have been buried. It is the existence of the workers states which unifies the will of the masses of the world which stimulates them to action, which orders and orientates them. This shows the power of statified property which as Trotsky said until his assassination has endured the tests of history. It is in basing oneself on this force that Trotsky without excluding the possibility of the disappearance of the first workers state, inclined to think that the latter would survive.

Trotsky needed great historical assurance to make such a prediction. It was not a prediction made blindly, a sentimental judgement. Trotsky added that even if the Workers State remained alone and came to disappear, humanity would retreat but it must necessarily recover the Workers State and that it would recover it, although under a more elevated form. Trotsky weighed, in a conscious fashion, all the possibilities, but his political conclusion was that even if the first workers state was destroyed, it would end by imposing itself. It is this conclusion which allowed him to do what he did, and to leave us the documents he has left. If he had based himself on the conclusion that the Workers state was going to be destroyed, he would have prepared the team with this perspective. Instead of this, he put the team on its guard "Pay attention, a step backwards could be produced". But if there was a step backwards, it is necessary to begin again by doing such and such a thing. Today the workers states of the world have shown that they have an irreversible authority on the masses of the world, that they are their centre of orientation. It is for this reason, that the masses are unifying themselves for the defence of nationalised property.

VIETNAM THE UNIFYING CENTRE OF THE REVOLUTION

VIETNAM UNITES THE WORKERS STATES TO THE FUTURE OF THE REVOLUTION

Those bandits like De Gaulle must oppose the Yanks, to defend French imperialism. But what a breach he opens, by his attitude, in the flank of imperialism!

There is also a harmony, less perfect, less visible, but none the less real, in this process of world organisation of Trotskyist currents or currents which are going towards trotskyism, in the USSR, in Czechoslovakia, in Yugoslavia, in Cuba, in China. What is this harmony? It is established in a very indirect way; Vietnam and China represent a centre in a still very indirect way.

The centre of this 1st of May has been Vietnam. We repeat here what we have already said several times before. Vietnam in itself does not have any importance it could disappear without the world economy noticing it. Why then is Vietnam the world centre? It is because that it is the place where the historic world forces confront each other, because it is the theatre of the struggle between what remains of capitalism in the world, and the world revolution. Neither Siniavski nor Daniel are a centre, the centre is Vietnam. We renew our revolutionary homage to the masses of Vietnam. They are in process of giving an example of social heroism unequalled and which will not be equalled. Perhaps the atomic war is going to give others examples such as this but in every way it will be different; it will be acted out in another period, in which the intervention will be global. Now the Vietnamese people are alone. There are nearly on its soil, as many imperialist soldiers as there are inhabitants and it is submitted to an enormous pressure; the threat of atomic war and one year of uninterrupted bombing, and meanwhile the Vietcong increases its forces in the revolution and reinforce its authority in the liberated regions. This is why Vietnam is the point where all the trotskyist tendencies in the world and in the workers states converge, in spite of all the campaign of slanders to which the Soviet bureaucracy submit the masses of the Workers states. It is a point on which the bureaucracy must show itself to be flexible; this point is Vietnam. The bureaucracy opposes Daniel and Siniavski, but it must respect Vietnam. It feels that Vietnam is the driving centre which unites the Workers States, the trotskyist tendencies and the future of the revolution. When history does not find a conscious representative, it invents one.

Vietnam is the unifying centre of all the revolutionary currents which are developing in the world and which through Vietnam, try to find a centre to establish relations and to influence each other. The bureaucracy of the Workers States must respect more than all the other demonstrations, the demonstrations on the subject of Vietnam, because the question of Vietnam is directly connected to the defence of the interests of the Workers

VIETNAM UNIFYING CENTRE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

For the revolutionary currents which are developing in the workers states, Vietnam is a point of support and of liaison, on a world scale. It is for this reason that independently of the weight, of the quality, and of the number, attained by the currents within the Workers States, all kinds of mobilisations, demonstrations and meetings of support for Vietnam are being produced.

These currents impelled by the proletarian vanguard, or even by the students, or even still by the intellectuals who receive the pressure of the world revolution, show, in a still limited fashion, the interest which exists among the masses of the Workers Sta-

tes. This is one of the most important forces on which the Chinese can base themselves.

The resistance, the fight of the masses of Vietnam matures, develops and organises the forces in opposition to capitalism and the Soviet Bureaucracy. The Soviet bureaucracy has the most urgent need to settle the question of Vietnam, because it is a hotbed, a constant stimulant to the revolution, not solely in the capitalist countries, but also and above all in the interior of the Workers States. This forces the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and the other workers states to intervene, more or less, in one way or another, in support of Vietnam, thus stimulating the resistance of Vietnam.

The meeting point between Nasser and Kosyguin and the Soviet bureaucracy has been Vietnam, that is to say, it is the meeting point, the firmest point of agreement between one of the pillars of the maturing arab revolution and the Workers State. This example expresses that between the maturing Arab revolution, the revolution in the countries of Latin America, of Asia and of Africa, and the workers States there is a common point of historic interest, which establishes a liaison, that is the defence of Vietnam. This does not mean to say that the Soviet Bureaucracy is interested in the triumph of the Vietnamese revolution as a socialist and proletarian revolution, on the contrary if it could prevent it, it would, but it fears a struggle which could go on for years and years. The bureaucracy has interest in expelling imperialism from Vietnam but it does not want the triumph of socialist revolution. Nevertheless the situation in Vietnam shows that it is only through the socialist revolution that a victory is possible there. Kosyguin and Nasser see themselves obliged to condemn Yankee Imperialism in their joint declarations and such a declaration is going to stimulate the Arab masses along the road of revolution. It is for this reason that this declaration is not without importance; what they are saying is going to have a great repercussion on imperialism.

This is not a policy destined to conciliate with the Chinese; its objective is implied, but it expresses a revolutionary necessity for Asia and the Workers States; the expulsion of imperialism from Vietnam.

The policy of Kruschev and Breznev, who wanted to conciliate with imperialism over Vietnam is more and more impossible. They are in process of arriving at a point where conciliation between the Workers States and imperialism is going to be totally impossible. This shows the new level to which the power and depth of the revolution has arrived at, the enormous contradictions of imperialism itself and the antagonism between on the one hand the bureaucracy of the workers states and imperialism, and on the other hand the advance of the revolution.

tes for Vietnam. The bureaucracy has tried to take away all the importance of these demonstrations to divert them. Imperialism has done the same thing. Imperialism has tried to hide all the importance of the demonstrations which have been made at home by presenting them as small in number, the bureaucracy feels itself, in order to justify itself, obliged to intervene more and more, not militarily but politically. In all its interventions the soviet bureaucracy continues to try to conciliate, but all the time it conciliates, it criticises. Why does the bureaucracy see itself obliged in the course of the last period, to deepen its criticism. It

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THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS POWER

Part III

J. POSADAS

THE GUERRILLAS ARE AN INSTRUMENT TO ORGANISE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The process of organisation of the guerrillas is submitted to world and local conditions. It is not necessary in every case, that the revolutionary struggle must start with guerrillas. But on the other hand, once the revolution starts and if the guerrillas are not formed before, it is inevitable that they will appear afterwards. But then it will be more of a fighting military force, as an accessory to the revolutionary process. Even the most important struggle, even the war needs the guerrilla as a form of partial organisation to accomplish specific missions. Even during the next war guerrillas will be necessary, not as a basis and a centre of the struggle, but as a complement to the armed, military and political struggle.

But where the guerrillas can begin and develop themselves as an organising centre of the struggle they can develop, as in Columbia and Venezuela, but where they stagnate, the mission of the guerrillas is to try to find bases, links, ways of extending and organising their struggle in the towns. To extend the fight to the towns, much more than seven or eight years ago, because today it is allied to the sentiment, the spirit and to the will to struggle of the great mass of the population.

The guerrillas must base themselves on the evolution of the class struggle on a world scale, on the tendency which is developing among humanity to intervene immediately by means of the struggle. The best example is in Santo Domingo, after 30 years of dictatorship, the masses intervened and in less than a year joined the armed struggle. There is still a general strike in Santo Domingo. It is stupid to call, as certain people still do, the Santo Domingo masses simply guerrillas. What it is necessary to do, is the general strike, occupation of the factories, taking weapons from the soldiers, the appeal to them to declare their solidarity, to give up their weapons and pass over

to the ranks of the people. It is on this basis that it is necessary to carry on the struggle; calling now for the organisation of guerrillas, is to weaken the centre of the struggle and of the influence over the whole of the population which feels itself united by the struggle which it is in process of carrying on. All organisations which call for the formation of guerrillas in the mountains, disorganise the fight. What it is necessary to do, if it is possible, is at the same time as the general strike, to set up bands of guerrillas whose action will accompany the struggle with the goal of dispersing the enemy and putting fear and worry into the ranks of the army. These detachments could provoke skirmishes with the military force or the repressive forces of the enemy.

In the revolutionary struggle, the guerrillas must be considered as an instrument of organisation. It is necessary to see at each stage what is the essential centre of the struggle and the activity, even taking the guerrillas as a starting point. For example in Columbia; the essential tasks of the guerrilla at this moment is not to maintain the fight where it is at present. It is necessary to maintain the forces in Marquetalia, Santander and in all

the centres which actually exist, but it is necessary at the same time to extend the organisation by launching appeals, agitation, seeking to establish links with the towns, with the trade unions, the peasant organisations, and the students, to form a front with them for the expulsion of imperialism, the big landowners and the oligarchy, and Colombian capitalism. It is necessary to call for the struggle for democratic demands: freedom of meetings, freedom of the press, of expression, of association, the right of the masses to organise in trade unions right to strike without restrictions, liquidation of the system of two legal parties, freedom for all the workers organisations to present their own candidates. But at the same time as the democratic demands, it is necessary to call for the occupation of the land, the factories, to unite the workers, peasants and students, in a common front, all maintaining the guerrillas. Since a guerrilla movement of such force exists in Columbia, it is necessary to combine it with the organisation of militias in the town and with peasant militias. The guerrilla movements have existed in Columbia for a very long time which renders this task easier, but all the other guerrillas must do

the same thing, as the MR 13 of Guatemala which has organised peasant militias.

The organisation of the MR 13 of Guatemala shows how a small group, in complete crisis, submitted to the sabotage of the government, in spite of the intervention of emissaries who sought to break its united front with the Trotskyists, in spite of all the pressures tending to prevent them from being influenced by the world revolution represented by the Trotskyists, this little group has been capable of facing up to all this, to the Soviets, to the Communist party, and it has won. Today the MR 13 is in process of developing as a party and it is in process of influencing the other guerrillas of Latin America through the programme of the socialist revolution, and by its revolutionary forms of political organisation.

The militia makes up a part of the MR 13, it is part of the organisation, but the role of the militiaman is different from that of the guerrillas. For in any revolution, the two forms are necessary. The militia are those combatants of the towns or of the country who without devoting all their time to the armed struggle are organised

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Vietnam the unifying centre of the revolution

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seeks to find a point of contact with the Arab masses for example, to gain their sympathy, their goodwill, and in order to find a basis of support in the Soviet masses. Today, all the masses of the Soviet Union, of the Workers States, of Asia, of Africa and of Latin America are preoccupied with the defense of Vietnam. Vietnam is the centre around which the revolution is unifying itself today. It is necessary to be clear about this; it is around this centre that the revolutionary currents are in process of developing in the world. But it is only in a provisional way that Vietnam plays the role of unifying centre. When the currents which are developing in the Workers States, or the Chinese, enter more publicly and openly in the struggle, the centre will move. But the centre today is Vietnam. This process of shifting of the polarising centre is due to the unequal and combined constant progress of the revolution in extension, depth and range

Cuba has not succeeded in being this centre. Certainly Cuba has been a stimulus, a political encouragement. But it has never been a centre as Vietnam is today, as much for the masses of the United States as for those of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Workers States. It is Vietnam which has succeeded in realising the phenomenon of unification, under unequal and combined forms, of the preoccupation of the revolutionary vanguard of the world and the U.S. petit bourgeoisie which constitutes the revolutionary vanguard. In the United States today, it is the petit bourgeoisie which constitutes the revolutionary vanguard. Tomorrow certainly it will be the proletariat. But for the moment it is the petit bourgeoisie which is doing everything, it is the petit bourgeoisie which by reason of historic conditions can reap the influence of the world revolution. Trotskyist currents are emerging there. As one can see such a phenomenon in the United States, it is absurd to suppose that within the Workers States, the process of the emergence of trotskyst tendencies has not already taken place.

Kosyguin did not go to see Nasser in order to say "We condemn imperialism". If he speaks in this way, it is because he must take account of the pressure, of the weight which the Soviet masses are exerting. Kosyguin does not speak in this way because of the

interests of military strategy, nor only because he feels that he is going to be pushed aside. He only does it to respond to the direct pressure which he is receiving. He makes this statement to try to calm the Arab masses, the petit bourgeoisie, the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie leaderships of the Middle East who are in process of following what is happening in Vietnam, in Egypt, in Syria. The result of this attention is going to be in the

next very short period, leaps forward and triumphs of the revolution. Dialectical leaps in form, while the content is continuity.

There is not a break in the revolutionary process. It is a continuity into which is inserted, at determined moments, dialectical revolutionary leaps. It is in this process of concentration that Vietnam, this small country, thanks to its influence unifies and concentrates the world revolution.

IT IS NECESSARY TO SHORTEN THE DELAYS AND TO LEARN ON THE WAY

Lenin had prepared a team for the taking of power but when the time came, this team refused to take power. It was not the party but the team closest to Lenin which refused the insurrection. There are the historic facts which repeat themselves, but which have in each stage, different consequences. We are in 1966, we have behind us 50 years of the existence of the Workers State and today such errors are inadmissible.

It is certain that the perspective of the atomic war and its destruction, weighs; the absence of a centralised leadership of the revolution gives birth to uncertainty, lack of assurance, and stimulates empirical methods. We understand all this. But the only way of avoiding these pressures, of preventing them penetrating the movement, of rejecting them, consists of preparing oneself politically and theoretically. But one cannot have an adequate and efficient political and theoretical preparation if one does not live a proper life which allows political and theoretical assimilation. This life, is that of individual and collective participation within the party. It is necessary to know how to give attention to all the party, and to everything that it is necessary to learn. It is necessary to fix this objective. Tenacity is the irreplaceable element in history, but if tenacity is not put at the service of an objective and necessary end, it becomes obstinacy; that is the tenacity of an imbecile, who wants to move a rock with the aid of a matchstick.

It is necessary to understand that we have very little time ahead of us, that the errors which have been committed can be corrected and that the qualities of the team are infinitely greater than its errors. But at this stage, it is not sufficient to see the errors and correct them, it is necessary

to prepare oneself better. The situation is the same as for scientific research. The latter prepares to discover new elements on the basis of previous knowledge, but it still does not know how; it must forge the means to the extent that its research advances. We must start to slip on the pullover whilst in process of knitting it.

This image is perhaps a little excessive, but we cannot wait. The process is very rapid. The war is going to break out at any moment. The struggles within Yankee imperialism are grave and profound. One wing seeks by all its means to extend the war in Vietnam so as to provoke the atomic war. When this will take place we do not know. But the more we prepare ourselves, the more we will be capable of responding to this process at no matter what moment.

J. POSADAS

10 May 1966.

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

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BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pölet. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30, Nieuw bruckaai Gand.

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THE ROLE OF THE GUERRILLAS

and ready to support the guerrillas in whatever action they carry out. The militia organises the population politically, unites it in political organisms which group together 5 to 15 people, in the trade union, district, village, or factory. But the organisation of the militias in the town or the country would lose all its force if it was not united to the political programme of the fight against capitalism and imperialism. Without such a programme, the military struggle does not create the intervention of all the population and this allows capitalism to repress. The examples of this furnished by the guerrillas, are undeniable.

The programme is not a talisman which resolves all the problems of the struggle. But it is the programme which allows the concentration of the will of the population, because the programme expresses what the population want and what it is possible to do. The programme must combine transitional demands—trade union, economic, political with those of the struggle against imperialism. The programme must include a series of slogans each one of which can become determinant at a certain moment; democratic rights, trade unions rights, right to strike, increase in wages, all these joined to the intervention of the guerrillas. When the workers go on strike, demonstrate, hold meetings, the guerrillas must show their support

GUERRILLAS, MILITIAS, PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS

Even under their most elevated forms the militias and the guerrillas do not replace the party or the trade unions. Militias and guerrillas must support themselves on the functioning of the unions, aid their organisation and functioning. The guerrillas must contribute to form clandestine unions. In Venezuela, the guerrillas must help towards the formation of peasant unions, help them to unite, protect their meetings, collaborate in the application of their resolutions to execute the assassins of the peasants. They must stimulate the activity which impels the agricultural workers, the small landowners, the small farmers to decide to unite and to struggle to defend their rights against capitalist power. The guerrillas must fix the plans and the objectives to attain, plan the constant periodic advances. In Venezuela, the guerrillas must have as an objective for a period, the organisation of trade unions and militias as much in the town as the country, the organisation of part of the population in order to be able afterwards to organise by workers districts and factories. The militias do not enter into competition with the party, on the contrary they help it. In so far as the revolutionary party does not exist, as in Venezuela and in Colombia, the militia must tend to stimulate its formation and call for the United Front. The basis of this front is the anti-capitalist programme, anti-latifundist, anti-imperialist programme which it is necessary to combine with the appeal for the occupation of the land and the factories. That will give confidence to the population.

There is no revolutionary party of the working class in Venezuela or in Colombia. In Colombia there exists a small communist party which has made a split with the old CP and whose programme is very near that of the MR 13 of Guatemala, but which is still very weak. If this little party advances to agitate and to construct cadres in the factories, in the workers quarters, in the country, it would meet with an enormous success in a short time. But for this it must agitate for its programme and organise struggles, also advance appeals for the united front. The absence of the revolutionary party in all these zones imposes on all the organisations, the necessity for the United Front with the Trotskyists and the Pro-Chinese who support the programme of the revolution. It is necessary to finish with all these so called "Pro-Chinese" groups who equal or are worse than the Pro

by their actions. At the moment when the workers demonstrate, the guerrillas must unleash their actions in the zones where they are to be found, carrying out actions of reprisal against the police and the army. Such actions reinforce the assurance, the confidence of the workers and decompose the capitalist apparatus and its forces of repression. The guerrillas can call for the occupation of factories and intervene directly to organise the occupations, holding meetings etc, doing this particularly in Colombia or Venezuela where strikes are forbidden, and even harshly repressed and the workers and strikers assassinated. Also in addition to the previous actions one must add that of the execution of assassins. The population must see that the execution of two or three murderers is accompanied by actions tending to stimulate their own actions. This contributes doubly to the decomposition of the apparatus of repression. If the population sees itself encouraged to intervene, at the same time as the guerrillas execute two or three assassins, it feels doubly stimulated. But what gives firmness and stability, and assumes the greatest importance, is the mobilisation of the population.

Moscow communists. They only live under the banner of the Chinese as is the case in Uruguay and profit from Peking money as they profited from Moscow. They only exploit the need for the propaganda activity of the Chinese government and party in order to assure their own material existence. They oppose themselves to every independent action of the class. They are intellectuals who have no contact with the working class and the exploited masses. They live on the periphery of the struggle and try to utilise the Trotskyists to justify their wages in the eyes of the Chinese, making them believe that they have an influence, contacts, an authority of which they have absolutely none, as is the case with Sarandi Cabrera. They are simply profiteers without any political value who understand nothing at all. The Chinese must break with all these people and lean on the contrary on the revolutionary organisations who struggle arms in hand for the programme of the revolution, as the Chinese themselves say that it is necessary to do. These people do not fight. We Trotskyists are those who struggle. We call upon the Chinese to support us.

To organise the militia it is necessary to have the revolutionary objective, that is to say the struggle for the expulsion of imperialism, of capitalism, of the great landed proprietors and the oligarchy, the struggle for the distribution of land. It is necessary to call upon the workers to struggle for this programme; that is the worker and peasant alliance. The guerrillas are not foreign to the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism nor consequently to the programme for the return of the land to the peasants. It is necessary to call upon the workers to organise themselves on the basis of the programme to give the lands to the peasants. It is necessary to call upon the workers to struggle for this programme to give the land to the peasants and call upon them to organise themselves in the form of militias to defend the occupations of the land and to intervene politically or militarily in the towns.

At the same time and accordingly as the guerrilla advances it must establish in the regions that it controls, the functioning of a workers state even if the area is still small. It is one of the conditions for example for the development of Marquetalia. If Marquetalia functioned as a workers state, that would have an immense influence on all the rest of Latin America. It is not enough to proclaim an independ-

ent republic. What influence can that have? This struggle has lasted for 18 years. There have been guerrillas in Colombia since 1948. They could have obtained enormous success. Because they are not developed as a base for workers power, they have not known how to define a centre for the masses.

Accordingly as the guerrilla advances, it must see that socialist co-operatives function in the indigenous communities. Without seeking to shorten the process-taking account of the habits, of the traditions or the absence of political maturity which delays it, it is necessary immediately to organise politically as a function of this necessity. It is necessary to form cadres capable of fulfilling this task. It is necessary to form revolutionary socialist peasant cadres. To convince and aid the peasants to comprehend, the socialist community organisation, the organisation of nationalised and collectivised property has as much importance as the revolutionary struggle. That will allow them to gain an influence on the peasants and to resolve with them the problems which are posed.

It is not sufficient to take the land, it is necessary also to say what it is necessary to do with the lands. In almost all these countries the expropriation and the nationalisation of the land is going to pose a whole series of other problems: absence of mechanical means to produce, absence of economic means to procure technical aids, lack of products to exchange. If one distributes to each peasant his little piece of land, one is going to lower production still further and hardly anyone will have the wherewithal to live. That is why from the beginning, it is necessary to pose the problem of the organisation of production, to pose the necessity of developing the communes in the manner of the Chinese; to organise each commune in smaller sectors so that each of them can resolve their problems of industrialisation, of commerce, of electrification, of distribution of water etc on the basis of the co-operative system. In the functioning of the communes it is necessary to combine the functioning with Soviets within which everyone can discuss. It is necessary to implant socialist democracy where the elaboration of thought is made from the base. The soviet discusses how to produce, how to distribute, what policy to conduct, what leadership to give, the conduct and objectives of military, political, economic and trade union policy. The guerrillas must promote this combined functioning immediately and in its totality everywhere they can impose their domination.

The problems which the Chinese have confronted for some years, has been due to the incorrect policy of the bloc of 4 classes. They tend now more and more to abandon the theory of the front of four classes, but they have not yet completely abandoned it. The princes like Sihanouk are paralysed with fear and approach the Chinese desperately because the whole population exerts a pressure on them. If the Chinese launched an appeal for a united front to occupy the land, to constitute communes and construct gigantic socialist co-operatives all the

THE STRUGGLE TO VANQUISH IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

The struggle to vanquish imperialist intervention.

When the struggle of the guerrillas, the war of the militia will have attained a certain level, imperialism is going to intervene. It is necessary to realise quite clearly that imperialism will intervene in every way: this is what the example of St Domingo demonstrated. The only way to hinder the intervention of imperialism would be to hinder the struggle of the masses, to force them into passivity, to per-

suade them to allow themselves to be destroyed.

The advance of the guerrillas must be accompanied with a progress in the forms of production which must take root in the population and permit them to defend themselves economically immediately. This allows them to augment production, to dispose of a greater quantity of products to distribute, to make them feel the necessity of collective production, of the beginnings of socialist co-operatives. It is on this basis that it is possible to pass afterwards to a higher form of organisation accompanied by the collective organisation of the population by means of socialist democracy. Everyone must discuss, give his opinion, it is necessary to recognise the right of tendencies on the basis of the common acceptance of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, imperialism, the landowners.

To advance such a struggle, it is necessary to link up with the struggle of the workers in the towns. The guerrillas must immediately seek for an agreement with the workers of the towns and the unions, discuss with them on the basis of this programme and propose to them the coordination of the struggles for the united anti capitalist and anti imperialist front.

Intervention in the elections is not excluded at certain determined moments with propaganda objectives. But if one uses Parliament sending there deputies or senators, it is necessary to be perfectly clear that it is only with propaganda and agitational objectives. The representatives of the guerrillas, of the united worker and peasant front must utilise the bourgeois parliament as a centre of propaganda and appeal for the taking of power. For that, they must analyse capitalism; why there cannot be progress within capitalism and demand the programme of expropriation and nationalisation of the land, calling the masses to fight with this programme. Parliament is nothing but a centre of revolutionary agitation and parliamentary activity must be unconditionally submitted to the extra-parliamentary struggle.

Guerrillas cannot be envisaged without posing all these problems. The guerrillas if they wish to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, must pose before themselves all the problems which are the problems of the party and develop themselves as a party. We call upon the guerrillas of Venezuela, of Peru to discuss this programme and to fight it.

We call upon the miners of Bolivia to organise the miner peasant militia high command. The problem of the guerrillas does not pose itself in Bolivia, where it is necessary to organise the militias where the bases exist already. To attract the peasants it is necessary to fight for the lands to be returned to them, for the annulling of debts, it is necessary to assure the paying of good prices for agricultural products, to furnish them with necessary technical equipment. It is on this basis that it is necessary to call upon the peasants to support the miners. That is a concrete example and can be realised at a determined place. In this case it is not a question of constituting guerrillas but militias. This will not prevent, once the revolution is unleashed in Bolivia, the appearance of guerrillas or of forms of guerrilla struggle. But the centre is going to be given by the militias and the worker-miner-peasant high command.

The only result that will be obtained from this means will be, moreover that imperialism reduces its intervention, for imperialism intervenes even if the masses do not struggle. To defend its economic and financial interests, to maintain its economic and financial domination over each country, imperialism is obliged to intervene directly or indirectly. The struggle of the masses

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The Role of the Guerrillas

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ses provokes the intervention of imperialism whether or not there are guerrillas in the country. But the difference when there are guerrillas, is that imperialism is obliged to intervene in a less organised fashion. In Dominica imperialism has shown its panic fear, sending in 60,000 men. The struggle obliges it to precipitate intervention, without previous political preparation and allows consequently the soldiers to be more exposed to the propaganda and political action of the population. It is for that reason that imperialism was obliged in Dominica to withdraw more than half the troops which it had sent and to renew them almost each day. The soldiers were influenced by the struggle of the Dominican people.

The intervention of imperialism must not paralyse the action of the guerrillas and of the militias. It is necessary to foresee this intervention and to prepare, to organise the country to demoralise the invading army, the imperialist army. It is for this reason that it is very necessary to address the soldiers in English, to be able to speak to them in their own language, to produce leaflets, to launch appeals by radio, by loudspeakers, to call meetings and conferences with this object. The Chinese must do this but also the Cubans. This is what was done by the Soviets and the Chinese against the Japanese, against Chiang Kai Shek and also in Korea. Now the Cubans and the Chinese must help to form everywhere, revolutionaries who speak English, in order to be able to influence the Yankee soldiers and incite them to surrender their arms.

This action in relation to the soldiers must be accompanied by an appeal to the revolutionary struggle in the United States itself. The Chinese and the Cubans must throw themselves with all the resources which they have to make propaganda and agitation in the direction of the masses of the United States. They must call for the trade union struggle, the struggle of the students and the universities in the United States; they must call for the unification of these struggles with those of the blacks; they must launch appeals to the students, to the movement against the war in Vietnam, so that they unite with the struggle of the blacks; they must call upon the black and white masses to struggle for their common demands, for the increase in

wages, the right to work, equal democratic right for all; they must call upon the blacks to struggle at the side of the white workers and of the poor petit bourgeoisie to expel imperialism from Vietnam. It is necessary to transform this mass movement of blacks for civil rights, to develop it into a movement to expel imperialism from Vietnam. The Chinese and the Cubans must appeal, themselves giving the example for mass demonstrations, trade union actions, meetings demonstrations and public discussions, after work and within factories by the proletariat and the North American masses who see and feel the struggle of the masses of Latin America. That will be a source of influence and of immense pressure on the North American masses and will contribute powerfully to raise and accelerate the class struggle, the revolutionary struggle in the United States. This will be an immense blow aimed at imperialism, within the citadel itself because imperialism which is preparing for war is afraid and seeks to safeguard its own backyard. The campaign of world aid which imperialism announces it is going to launch has the object of assuring sympathy for itself on the national and international plane from the petit bourgeoisie and certain governments, to pacify the opposition of certain capitalist governments who try to exploit the difficult situation in which imperialism struggles, to its own advantage entering into competition with imperialism.

These try through measures of economic aid, by deliveries of foodstuffs, to give themselves a certain social base a certain base of sympathy which allows them to intervene no matter where and at what moment.

The struggle of the North American masses is one of the elements which worries imperialism the most and which holds it back to a certain extent. This does not destroy its actions does not prevent it from fighting, but it limits its action. The struggle of the European proletariat is equally an essential element. Neither Fidel Castro nor the Chinese take account of the struggle of the European proletariat. They must correct this error, address appeals to the European proletariat, making agitation and propaganda in

this direction. The Chinese must support the organisations, groups, tendencies, revolutionary currents who are struggling in Europe for the overthrow of capitalism. They must support at this moment, the struggle of the Belgian proletariat who defend with class methods, their right to work faced with the repression of the army and the police. The struggle of the Italian, French, British proletariats holds capitalism in check, preventing it from using all the means which it has at its disposal, aggravating its internal crisis, aggravating intercapitalist competition. The struggles of the European proletariat, by deepening the social, political and economic crisis of imperialism, prevents it from using all its economic power which is immense, all the power of its atomic and conventional arms. It is these struggles which weaken the capitalist system and prevent it from acting as

a whole. This is an immense support to the struggles of the masses of Latin America, of Africa, of Asia, to the guerrillas and the Cuban workers state. And this is one of the reasons why imperialism does not have the strength to invade Cuba. It is not solely because the bureaucracy of the Workers States prevents it; but the struggle of the European proletariat is one of the essential factors which prevent the soviet bureaucracy from conciliating more concretely with imperialism. The Chinese workers state must take this strength into consideration and base itself on this by launching appeals to the European proletariat. It must stop placing all its confidence in the pro-Chinese of Europe, who are profiteers, parasites on the Chinese Workers State, and base themselves on the revolutionary organisations who are fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.

THE GUERRILLAS MUST BASE THEMSELVES ON A PROLETARIAN PROGRAMME AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The guerrillas must base themselves on the permanent process and on the constant progress of the world revolution. Their strength is not solely that which comes from the struggle in such or such a country, but on the world process of the revolution, while it is the programme of the revolution which unites the struggle of the guerrillas inside a particular country with the rest of the masses of the world. It is the programme—and the fight for the programme—of the socialist revolution which establishes this relationship. For want of the programme, the influence of the revolution is very limited because there is no bridge between the fight of the guerrillas and the world revolution.

The masses must base themselves on this; the proof is in Santo Domingo, the next stage of the world development of the revolution is going to be very brief. Imperialism prepares itself for the war and the revolution which is going to follow the war, immediately. What proves it, is that the masses are not frightened. Santo Domingo allows us to measure the ineffective nature of the imperialist intervention in the sense that it has been unable to crush, to stop the movement of the masses. Keeping things in proportion, it is in Vietnam and Santo Domingo that Imperialism has the most concentrated force in all its history, and it is precisely here that it has suffered its worst defeats. Capitalism is in the course of living a constant process of demoralisation and social disorganisation.

The guerrillas are getting where they can, the necessary means for their struggle; arms, money, material means, means of transport; after a certain time or immediately the guerrillas must carry on a work inside the army with a view to gaining a sector of the army. One part of the army can be gained; the example of Venezuela shows it; a considerable part of the army was gained for the military democratic uprising; in principle socialist. If the movement has not continued forward, it is because the leadership, partly petit bourgeois partly communist, which fought under the political leadership of Fidel Castro suspended its socialist campaign. If it had continued it would have won. Their limitation was due to the fact that they were not disposed to use, right to the end, all the means and all the possibilities which they had. They believed in persuasion and not in the armed struggle; it is for this reason that they lost. The same thing is going on in Argentina and Brazil; it is going to be seen that the army decomposes more quickly because its actions are not capable of crushing the movement.

If in Peru, the guerrillas of La Puente and Lobaton have been paralysed in part, it is not due to any success which can be attributed to the action of the army. It is the result of the lack of a political programme on the part of the guerrillas. The programme of the Peruvian guerrillas is in general, revolutionary, but its action was not orientated to mobilising the peasant masses, to organise them into trade unions in the sugar regions, to mobilise the workers of the trade unions of Callao the mining workers, to find points of support, influence, and attraction to resist the action of the army. When the army encircles and attacks the guerrillas, they must defend themselves by a double action: direct action against the army, to stop it or force it to disperse its forces by diversionary attacks, and the action of the mobilisation of the masses in the towns. It is necessary to organise the masses of the towns and choose the moment when the militias intervene to hold demonstrations and seek to put pressure on the army and demoralise it taking away all its feeling of security.

De La Puente and Lobaton have ignored the proletariat in their documents: they have not sought their support. In not making an appeal to the action of the proletariat they have deprived themselves of the most sure support, and not only for the future of the struggle but for the present. Not only do the peasants need to feel this support of the proletariat, but they themselves need to find a political base in the proletariat for their own support. The action of the guerrillas has the tendency to exalt a combative sentiment. The programme, the objective conclusions which have emerged, only came afterwards in the course of the struggle. But if the proletariat does not intervene, the peasants feel themselves to be alone. They cannot be attracted because they lack a tradition of organisation or of an independent political party. Above all it is necessary not to forget that the peasants of the north of Peru have won trade union rights through their direct struggle and are organised in a centralised fashion in the unions. Thus it is necessary to launch an appeal not only to the proletariat but to the peasants also organised in the sugar workers trade union. It is because the guerrillas have not launched such an appeal that the peasants feel themselves alone to face the capitalist state apparatus and hesitate. A supplementary cause of the weakness of the peasantry is that it has no experience of the programme. When the

OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manu-

- facturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
18. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
19. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
20. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polarist and rocket bases and their means of supply.
21. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
22. For a workers government.

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The role of the guerrillas

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peasants see the proletariat fight, they feel attracted to this fight. It is true that in several countries of Latin America and the world the peasants are in process of struggling without waiting for the proletariat to do it. But they are fighting for a proletarian programme through the leadership. Vietnam is an example. To struggle against imperialism and capitalism is not a 'peasant' programme, it is a proletarian programme, it is the programme of the Workers State of North Vietnam. Lobaton and De La Puente have not taken this experience into account. They have drawn superficial conclusions from the experience of Vietnam.

In Vietnam, the programme of the proletariat is represented by the workers state of North Vietnam, which means that the supremacy of the proletariat is ceaselessly present.

All the big peasant mobilisations which have been produced in this stage are the result of the influence of the workers states. The peasantry has broken its traditional isolation. This is not the fruit of an individual or collective reflection of the peasants or of their education, individual or collective; the peasants live today in worse conditions than ever before. It is the fruit of the influence of the world revolution, of the existence of the workers states and in particular the existence of Cuba, of Vietnam but above all of China. It is China which shows them their future, the necessity to unify their struggles, the necessity of providing themselves with revolutionary instruments of struggle to take the land and overthrow capitalism, the necessity of uniting themselves in a common front with the rest of the masses. It is this which allows the peasantry to put its thinking and its

functioning in order. This represents an enormous historical advantage. If in Marquetalia in Venezuela, and even in Guatemala there are still not great organised mass movements, it is the mark of a limitation: for Guatemala, a limitation of struggles, but for Venezuela and Colombia, the limitation is due to the fact that they are movements isolated from the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme. If in Guatemala, the MR 13 has been able to have such a rapid success, faced with the liquidation of the Communist party, and to beat the counter-revolutionary and conservative policy of the Soviet Bureaucracy and Fidel Castro, it is because it has adopted the programme of the Socialist revolution and has called to all the exploited masses to struggle on the basis of this programme, and because it organised itself into a party.

The peasants have broken their isolation and are joining, massively, the struggle for socialism. Vietnam, Santo-Domingo are illustrations of this. In Santo Domingo the peasant masses through their struggles are in process of learning the programme of the Socialist revolution and they accept it. The peasants see and feel that in order to win they must unify themselves into a single centralised movement which fights for the overthrow of imperialist power. This gives them consciousness of the need for a collective life, for collective force and prepares the collectivisation of all the properties of imperialism. It is for this reason that the guerrillas must feel that they are based on all the movement, that it is no longer necessary today to convince and interest the peasant in order to incorporate him in the struggle. Contrary to what has been the case in other periods, the peasant today is already convinced of the need for a centralised revolutionary fight.

FOR A LATIN AMERICAN UNITED FRONT ON THE BASIS OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The guerrillas must appeal for a united Latin American front, but without losing sight of the fact that such a front has never before existed. It is necessary to struggle at the same time to spur on the constituting of a single Latin American trade union centre, at the same time as impelling a Latin American anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front. The slogan of the single Centre—workers, peasants and students—in Latin America, with the programme of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist revolution is fundamental today.

The guerrillas must base themselves on the permanent process, on the constant progress of the world revolution. Their force does not merely emerge from the struggle within each country; it is the force of the world process of the revolution. It is the programme of the socialist revolution which unites the struggles of the guerrillas of the country to those of the masses of the entire world. Without this programme the relation is infinitely limited.

To fulfill these tasks, we appeal for a united Latin American front on the basis of the programme of the MR 13th of Guatemala, between the Trotskyists, the nationalist revolutionaries, and the revolutionary guerrillas. It is necessary to hold a meeting to transmit the revolutionary experiences and to launch an appeal to all the guerrillas, to all the masses of Latin America, to all the currents who are fighting for the expulsion of capitalism and imperialism from Latin America, an appeal to struggle arms in hand for the triumph of the revolution, for the constitution of communes, for the construction of organisms which allow the advance towards dual power and workers and peasants power. It is necessary to constitute a United front on the basis of the programme of the

socialist revolution, of the workers and peasants government, conforming to the programme of the MR 13 of November. This is the conclusion which comes from the experience of the MR 13 and from the Trotskyists throughout Latin America and in the entire world. We appeal to the Chinese to intervene in this struggle, to agitate by means of radio and propaganda and to aid materially and financially the realisation of this task. Such an intervention would represent a formidable stimulus to develop the experience of the guerrillas which exist and to accelerate the process of their political maturation; it is in this sense that the Trotskyists and the MR 13th of November of Guatemala struggle.

In spite of the campaigns of terrorism, of assassination and of repression carried on against certain guerrillas, in spite of the murder of revolutionary leaders of the guerrillas such as De La Puente and Lobaton, neither imperialism nor the capitalism have reinforced their power, nor won back the least particle of their lost authority. Their decomposition which is expressed in their internal struggles is the only thing to increase.

Above all where they are fighting the guerrillas, the internal struggles accentuates.

Through naivety, weakness, by lack of tradition and experience and by reason of the sabotage of Fidel Castro, of the Soviet bureaucracy and the communist parties, the guerrillas have still not succeeded in going further and organising their anti capitalist revolutionary movements. But on its side capitalism shows itself to be powerless to reconquer any positions, to strengthen or stabilise its power. The crisis of capitalism increases ceaselessly. The guerrillas are overcoming their errors,

The car workers must reply to the crisis in the industry by imposing work sharing without loss of pay

The effects of the government's policy of deflation have been revealed very dramatically in the car industry. In all the major car factories there is short-time working and redundancy. The car bosses, taking their cue from Mr. Wilson's speech at the TUC conference, refuse to accept the idea of work sharing and are insisting on cutting their labour force. The Chairman of BMC echoed Wilson's words when, in a statement on the cut-back, he said that work sharing was "uneconomical" and talked of "several thousands" being made redundant on November 4th. The Ford Motor Company have, so far, avoided short-time working by the very simple device of using a small labour force and getting high production levels by excessive overtime. This overtime has reached, in the recent past, a level of 25 per cent of the normal working time, but, at the moment, all overtime has been stopped at Dagenham. This means an actual cut of 25 per cent. in production and, no doubt, the general state of the world market and the government's deflationary reaction to it, will result in short-time and redundancy at Dagenham before very long.

In general the workers in the car industry have shown themselves to be unwilling to accept redundancy. At BMC's tractor and transmission factory workers have called for a strike against redundancy and at the S.U. Carburettor factory, which like tractor and transmission is in Birmingham, the workers have already called a one-day strike on the redundancy issue. The workers at Austins' Longbridge plant have also shown themselves to be in a militant mood, as did 500 shop stewards of the National Union of Vehicle Builders (NUVB) at a recent Birmingham meeting.

Although there is no lack of militancy among the workers in the industry, there is a lack of leadership and of a genuine workers' organisation. This lack of leadership is shown quite clearly by the statements of Dick Etheridge, convenor at Austin. Etheridge had been quoted, in the press, as being in favour of a strike, but he was at great pains, during a meeting of Austin shop stewards at Longbridge, to point out that he had never advocated a strike, but that he would lead one if that was what the workers wanted. In other words, brother Etheridge would lead the workers from behind and only take militant action when the pressure from the workers at Longbridge became too

strong for him to resist. The action proposed by the Longbridge works committee, and eventually accepted by the joint shop stewards committee, was to talk with the Austin management and, if no progress was made, to call in the union officials. As one shop steward stated, the actions of the union officials would be the same as it was during the seamen's strike, to sell-out, and the workers should have learnt their lesson by now. Another steward supported this view by saying that the union officials were committed to the government's policy and would give no support to militant actions by the workers.

A member of the Austin works committee was later in this particular meeting to point out that the shop stewards committee was committed to supporting the Labour Party. His reply came very swiftly from the floor of the meeting when he was told that nobody had been willing to defend the policy of the labour government during the course of the meeting. It is certain that this group of vanguard workers have no illusions in the labour government.

While the "Sunday Times" talks of 700,000 unemployed, the union bureaucrats sit tight. Faced, as they are, with an unemployment level of 3 per cent, the officials of the NUVB call on their members not to take any militant action. Cousins and the officials of the Transport and General (TGWU) are great with words when attacking government policy, but they are very careful not to propose any concrete militant action.

The so-called left-wing of the labour government refuse to vote with the government on certain issues in parliament, but otherwise they remain silent, they say nothing, they propose no action, and they do nothing. All these "left" gentlemen react to the pressure of the workers, but, at the same time, they seek ways of holding them back and diverting their advance.

The Austin shop stewards' committee was asked some months back to call a meeting of all shop stewards' committees in the car industry. The convenor at Austin, Etheridge, who is, of course, a well-known member of the communist party, replied on this occasion that, although he recognised the extent of the coming crisis, he would wait until something happened before taking any action. When questioned later on this point

Continued from page 2

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF HUGO BLANCO

The Peruvian guerrilla leader Hugo Blanco who has been imprisoned since 1963, is now being tried by a military tribunal. It is possible that if he is found guilty he will be executed.

We call to all the working class and to the students to pass resolutions, and to send letters of protest, to the Peruvian president, to the court, and to the Peruvian Embassy here, demanding the release of Hugo Blanco.

Addresses: The President, Fernando Belaundex Terry, LIMA, PERU
The Court. Tercera Zona Judicial de Policia de Arequipa, Peru.

The Embassy, 52 Sloane St. S.W.1.

advancing and finding the way to advance. Capitalism cannot overcome its crisis. An expression of the fierceness of this crisis is that Johnson, the President of the United States in person is obliged to go to Honolulu to discuss with the representatives of the Pentagon and a South Vietnamese general. Formerly, the President decided the problems of the world by a simple telephone call. Today he has to go to discuss with the Pentagon to try to continue his policy, which is to try to continue to gain time, profiting from the policy of peaceful co-existence; he must go in person to give assurances to the military of South Vietnam that they are going to continue the war.

We finish this article by rendering homage to the guerrillas of Peru, to De La Puente and Lobaton who have been assassinated while they were

fighting for the programme of Socialist revolution. But at the same time we repeat the need to draw the conclusions which we have stated, in order that the struggle and death for socialism is integrated with the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It is necessary to put the efforts, the life of the revolutionary militants and masses to good use to overthrow capitalism and shorten the delays to the final settlement of accounts, so that capitalism causes the least possible destruction for humanity.

12 February 1966

J. POSADAS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



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

NO 38

FORTNIGHTLY

6 NOVEMBER 1966

SIXPENCE

THE CAR WORKERS MUST RECEIVE THE SUPPORT OF THE BRITISH MASSES

The struggles of the car workers against unemployment and short time continue to act as the centre of the struggles of the British masses. Thousands are being dismissed and thousands are being placed on short time. The trade union bureaucrats are either silent, merely protest or actually dissuade the workers from action. Thus at Cowley, workers defied both Carron and the district secretary of the TGWU who tried to persuade workers against strike action in protest against sackings. The capitalist class has acted with its traditional ruthlessness and class instinct. In other sectors of industry the capitalists also show their determination to bring the workers to heel. Thus at Barbican, a building site which has seen much militant activity, the employers have dismissed 200 building workers quite openly because of "unofficial stoppages" and "disruptive elements." And in the docks the workers wage a continuous fight to determine wages and conditions suitable to themselves and not their employers. The actions of the Labour government in provoking unemployment have met an unequivocal response from the car workers. Birmingham BMC shop stewards under the pressure of the workers voted for a "walk in" of the unemployed on November 7th and this is a Trotskyist action. It reflects the strength and confidence of the British working class and announces an altogether more elevated stage in the class struggle in this country. And this elevation demands and will obtain a far greater degree of genuine workers' political life in the shop stewards committees and a far greater centralisation and co-ordination of the movement. All this will mean a step towards an open development of a formidable revolutionary current in this country.

military spending, import controls, control of the export of capital, the abandonment of sterling as a reserve currency. This is hardly a programme. It is a curious utopia, one of modifying capitalism but with demands that monopoly capitalism cannot sustain. The Wilson government has gone to great lengths to preserve the "strength" of sterling precisely because devaluation could cause great embarrassment and crisis to the whole world functioning of capitalism. Modifications in military expenditure may be experienced but capitalism is not going to stop its preparations for the third world war. The export of capital is vital to imperialism, wholesale import controls would lead to capitalist retaliation and further world market disruption. Nevertheless whatever the total programmatic inadequacy of the left M.P.'s in the face of the crisis of imperialism, their persistent opposition to the government and the inability of Wilson to do anything about it, is a blow at capitalism and undermines its authority.

where the liaison committee exercises influence rather than the TGWU. At the recent trade union Congress a motion was passed demanding the nationalisation of the aircraft industry and equal pay for women and that was that. The real voice of the proletariat cannot penetrate this bureaucracy. The unions have been useless. The NUVB put forward the idea for common action, to force work sharing but it is necessary to act now without waiting for the other bureaucracies. It is necessary to lean on the workers.

In this situation of imperialist and capitalist weakness, when the union leaderships show themselves so timorous in face of the open capitalist policy of Wilson, the vanguard of the car workers can lead in effect the whole British working class. In face of unemployment they must put forward demands for work sharing with no loss of pay. Unemployed workers should be mobilised to re-enter the factories and work as usual with their fellows. Factories should be taken over and run by the workers—and workers control instituted from production to sales. At the same time it is necessary to organise the whole car industry with this programme and generalise the struggle throughout the country. The car workers should appeal to the whole of the proletariat explaining the nature of the struggle, calling for the united front against the policy of wage freeze and for the imposition of nationalisations under workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, occupations of car factories etc. The way can thus be opened for the GENERAL STRIKE to bring down capitalism on the anti capitalist programme. The seamen—a small union—were never able to establish links with the rest of the class and hence suffered a defeat. It is essential for the car workers to mobilise all their strength in this struggle and appeal to the rest of the class for support in the form of sympathy strikes etc.

The Wilson government has embarked on a programme of unemployment effecting not only car workers but many workers in other occupations. It requires the action of the whole class to throw out the capitalist offensive and impose the wishes of the masses. The steel industry is being nationalised and placed under the control of a capitalist to be run for the interests of the rest of capitalism. This goes against the interests of the British masses and the only way it can be opposed is by the mobilisation of the working class with an anti capitalist pro-

Already the response of the car workers to unemployment and the opposition of the working class as a whole to the government's Prices and Incomes Policy, has meant an increase of pressure on those sectors of the bureaucracy most susceptible to it. Thus Cousins has called for a basic minimum wage of £15 a week, a 40 hour week and three weeks holiday a year. It is rare indeed for a trade union leader to speak in such a way. Timidly a minimum economic programme has been placed before the class. Nevertheless Cousins does not pursue this with all the means in his power. He makes the statement and then withdraws. We support these demands and believe a campaign should be waged around them with the full participation of the working masses. In practise every effort should be made to extend these demands. Wages should rise with the cost of living. Why stick at three weeks holiday? Many workers have this already. Similarly many workers already have a 40 hour week, a 35 hour week should be aimed at. Let the unions and the shop stewards wage a campaign for the demands that Cousins has raised, coupled with the demand that they should be extended. It is necessary in any question about lower paid workers to raise the question of equal pay for women. A real campaign in this direction is social dynamite. The women workers are among the most exploited in the country. They must be mobilised in all these economic demands raised by Cousins.

of the Labour Party has also resulted in the opposition within the Labour party to the Prices and Incomes policy of the government. The passing of the bill has met with the persistent opposition of the abstaining minority. However nothing that compares with the concrete demands put forward by Cousins has made its appearance. As yet no serious anti-capitalist programme has made its appearance. So far there have been demands which call for the reduction of

In the continued absence of the clear political centre, the essential organiser of the British working class remains the shop stewards committees. All the trade union apparatuses in this epoch particularly, are far behind the intentions of the masses. Even the TGWU which represents the strongest trade union opposition to the Labour government has shown time and time again its isolation from its members. The most classic example of this remains the docks

Red Flag Fortnightly

Starting this month Red Flag will be published each fortnight, appearing in the second and last week of every month. It has been decided to do this in order to be able to respond better to the accelerating pace of the world revolution which each day makes new advances as shown by the mobilisations of the Red Guards in China and the recent violent clashes between the Vauxhall workers and the police in this country. Comrade Posadas and the International leadership have insisted on the necessity of Red Flag appearing fortnightly so that it can more effectively fulfill its role of organising and orientating the vanguard, and of stimulating, and helping to build revolutionary currents and tendencies, in the present existing conditions which demand the intervention of trotskism, its programme and organisational methods.

The financial strain on the party will be heavy as a result of this decision and we appeal to all our regular readers to send us donations and take out subscriptions to the paper, to try to win other subscribers, and to take additional copies to sell.

Send to Red Flag,

24 Cranbourn Street,
WC2

The resistance of the masses to the policies

Continued on page 2

BERTRAND RUSSELL DEMANDS THE RELEASE OF THE MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

Your Honour,

I write to express to you my grave concern over reports that Mr. Adolfo Gilly and several other unnamed individuals have been arrested, imprisoned, and coerced to make 'confessions' regarding their alleged association with the Partido Obrero Revolucionario and the 'Fourth International'. According to the reports I have, the arrests came during student demonstrations at the University of Mexico. Thus, these arrests and any subsequent persecution of those arrested will be seen in the outside world as an attempt to make of Mr. Gilly and his comrades an example calculated to inhibit the students from further political activity.

I am appalled at the prospect of political persecution, particularly punishment for crimes of association and opinion. It is cowardly to use such measures to intimidate the university students.

I urge the immediate release of Mr. Gilly and his associates. Failure to release these men will certainly bring discredit to Mexico.

I anxiously await your reply before taking further action.

Yours faithfully

Bertrand Russell

THE MR 13th OF NOVEMBER OF GUATEMALA IS WITH THE IV INTERNATIONAL

This article appeared in the weekly 'Epoca' of Montevideo, on the page that this journal devotes, every Wednesday, starting from the 29 June 1966, to the publication of 'Frente Obrero' material (Uruguayan section of the IV International).

In today's "Epoca" there appears a so-called declaration of the MR 13 November of Guatemala, stating the expulsion of three Trotskyist militants from its ranks for "disloyalty and embezzlement of funds". We say so-called declaration of the MR 13, because we do not know of any official publication of the MR 13 which has published this declaration. This task, has been on the contrary accomplished by Turcios, by the counter-revolutionary leaders of the P.G.T. (Guatemalan Workers Party, the CP of Guatemala), by the CP of Mexico and some other renegades. The episode if it is true involves the three, but today, Yon Sosa declares, to the world press, his adhesion to the "programme of the

Socialist Revolution, which is the programme of the IV International."

We invite the readers of "Epoca" to compare the publications of the MR 13 with the publications and the documents of the IV International. There is a complete identity, in which the MR 13, transforming itself from the guerrilla movement, which it was before, arrives at the positions and the programme of the IV International. The so-called document of the MR 13 which we are commenting on, is a confirmation of this fact. All the pressure of the world counterrevolution which has been put on the MR 13 has had no effect. Turcios, Fidel Castro, the Soviet bureaucracy, world imperialism and the dictatorship of Peralta Azurdia have failed. They have not succeeded in imposing their strategic objective which was to push Yon Sosa and his team of revolutionary guerrillas to break with the programme of the IV International.

What is in process of happening, is that an experience such as this (it is the first time in the history of the world class and revolutionary struggle that a nationalist guerrilla adopts the conscious marxist revolutionary scientific perspectives of trotskyism), has been realised but not without crises and contradictions. The counter-revolutionaries—and among them Fidel Castro and Turcios who have made the way easier—have murdered the major part of the political leadership of the MR 13 in Guatemala City; Francisco Amado, Chinto, among other revolutionaries, have been assassinated. It is by profiting from these murders, that the agents of Turcios and the PGT, infiltrating into the MR13, have organised this provocation and proposed that the Trotskyists be shot. Their attempt has failed, but they have succeeded in expelling three of them, being able to do this by virtue of the isolation and the lack of information in which the team in the Sierra de las Minas found itself, and by using for their ends all sorts of slanders. We do not know exactly what the actual situation is, but

the provocateurs will receive the punishment they deserve, if it has not already been done.

The Trotskyists, the IV International, support unconditionally the socialist revolution in Guatemala. David Aguilar, his companion and other Trotskyists from Mexico have fallen, murdered, or find themselves in prison for their role in this task. Nothing and nobody can prevent, will be able to prevent this task being completed. What is in crisis in Guatemala is not the IV International, it is Turcios, it is the PGT, it is capitalism and imperialism. There is a crisis of revolutionary maturing and of transformation of the MR 13 into a party, it is a crisis which is developing not according to the desires of the counter-revolution, but in a revolutionary way, that is to say towards the programme the policy and the objectives of Trotskyism. We will return in more detail to this point in next weeks issue. Those who have gone to the trouble of publishing this so-called declaration of the MR 13 in "Epoca" on one page in two colours must know that by doing it, they have used a double edged weapon.

EDITORIAL: —

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

gramme. The car workers can play an enormous role in this mobilisation because of their great social weight and power in the economy.

Wilson and the capitalists may have sacked thousands of workers but socially and politically they gain no influence or power as a consequence. On the contrary more and more the LP apparatus is seen as a last ditch defence of a small exploiting minority. The alliance with American imperialism over Vietnam receives blows not only from the resistance of the Vietnamese masses but from one of the members of the alliance itself de Gaulle who says the Americans can never win. De Gaulle does this to save himself before the French petit bourgeoisie nevertheless he lowers the overall prestige of imperialism, British imperialism has to enter upon discussions with Franco over Gibraltar. Two thieves have fallen out and express the weakness of the Imperialist war alliance as Franco desperately tries to gain prestige by dragging up the Gibraltar issue.

The Italian masses in Genoa and Trieste openly embark on insurrection. In Germany Erhard's government goes into serious political crisis. All this process throughout the world helps to give confidence to the British masses and turns events such as the struggle in the car industry into much more than merely economic disputes but social and political confrontations.

The conditions are ripening for the revolutionary current among whole sectors of the British working class. For this to develop harmoniously, it is necessary to mobilise the shop stewards committees around the programme of nationalisations under workers control, equal pay for women, all wages to rise with the cost of living, occupations of factories in face of wholesale unemployment, democratic election and revocability of trade union officials, and the organisation of a national centre of the shops stewards committees. This is the only way to smash the capitalist offensive against the living standards of the masses and advance towards socialism.

THE WORKERS OF TRIESTE SHOW THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION

Recently the workers of Amsterdam mobilising against the police and their own union bosses participated in an explosive demonstration which gave the lie to all those who asserted that the Dutch proletariat was fast asleep. The workers had no need to go to the extent of this violent demonstration to have exerted pressure on the union leaders. The fact that they reacted in this way shows the enormous exasperation of the masses and their readiness to go forward to the overthrow of capitalism and Imperialism. And now in Trieste we have yet another example of the revolutionary spirit of the European masses. This spirit, although stimulated by economic grievances, is nurtured constantly by the political and social weakness of capitalism and the world advance of the revolution.

The line of the communist party is utterly criminal in relation to the process taking place in Italy. In face of such proposed closing of shipyards at Trieste, the leaders of the CP maintain the fiction that capitalist power can be tempered by "democratic reforms" of monopoly capitalism.

Nevertheless the process in Trieste reflects that the maturity of the Italian masses completely surpasses the restraining hand of the Longo's and Amendolas. For a whole period the Italian masses have engaged in major strike actions against Italian capitalism. The engineering workers, the electricians, the students, have led struggles which have elevated the whole level of consciousness of the Italian masses. The seizure of Rome university by the students shows that sectors of the petit bourgeoisie are prepared for revolutionary methods of struggle.

Already a few months ago the Italian proletariat in Milan made a display of its combativity in struggles with the police. The struggle in Trieste had the spirit of a veritable insurrection. The base of the C.P. rejected the leadership of the C.P. The bourgeois press in Italy expressed alarm at this. The crisis of the communist and socialist parties has been once again illuminated by the events in Trieste. Such outbursts of the masses will act as enormous encouragement to the British masses now entering on a new phase in their struggles. More and more the European scope of the workers struggles provides the workers movement with perspectives. For a European 35 hour week, no worker to be unemployed in Europe, all wages to rise with the cost of living, equal pay for equal work, all the profits of automation to the workers. A new European trade union centre is necessary. More and more as a response to the exploitation of capitalism and also its world weakness, the European masses will show the spirit of Trieste. Riots in Salonica, Amsterdam, Zwartberg, the struggles of Spain all show the developing process. Britain is part of this. We shall have our Trieste—and the seizure of power.

The immediate cause of the outbreak—seventy people were hurt and many more arrested—was the proposed shutting down of shipyards in Trieste. Italian capitalism is intent as indeed are all the various European capitalist economies on the rationalisation of industry, and is quite prepared to cause unemployment. The state apparatus in the service of the monopolies, that is the Industrial Reconstruction Institute, has taken the initiative in this typical piece of capitalist "planning." A new factory producing diesel engines is to be erected in Trieste and this is supposed to provide new employment there, but the pattern is like that of other "depressed areas" in Europe, which capitalism is incapable of really developing for the benefit of the masses. The North East in Great Britain is a similar area.

The reaction of the Italian masses is a powerful blow at the authority of the so-called "centre left" government. That government leaning on the alliance of the Christian Democrats and the recent PSI and Saragat party merger, is simply the "reforming" instrument of a monopoly capitalism which is incapable of sustaining itself directly by means of its own capitalist social

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12 Brazilian Trotskyist have been freed

We have learnt from the International leadership that 12 comrades, imprisoned in Santos, Sao-Paulo, and Rio have just been released. Three comrades of the Brazilian section are still in prison.

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THE JOURNEY OF DE GAULLE . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Revolution." On cannot have a "cultural revolution." It is not culture which directs the world. It is only an instrument which serves politics, the economy and the revolution. Nothing more. The "Cultural Revolution" is only a deformed expression of many more profound needs and of another historic and revolutionary significance. It is the camouflaged form under which the developing Chinese revolution still expresses itself, camouflaged to the degree that there is still not a conscious tendency. For the formation of this, the Trotskyists are in process of exercising a predominant influence. A little while ago Yevtuchenko intervened in the USSR, on this crisis, in the course of a recital given in a stadium. There one could see the advantages of sport! The comrades inform us that the stadium was full, with around 30,000 people. Those present applauded the poetry vigorously and with fervour. One of the poems was a criticism of the economic reforms and another a criticism of the bureaucracy of administrators of the Workers State. There one can speak of a "Cultural Revolution."

This criticism of Yevtuchenko is not the product of an individual decision. It expresses a state of spirit of preoccupation and of struggle well beyond himself. The preoccupation can remain passive for example when it is expressed with Daniel and Siniavski in literature, but when it takes a combative form, in the stadium, it is an important sector of the population which within the USSR, is fighting to impose its point of view. The poetry of Yevtuchenko expresses a decision which cannot come from his poetic objectives, but from a poetry used as an instrument of social policy, of revolutionary struggle.

In the same way, the "Cultural Revolution" in China will soon have its own Yevtuchenkos. Very quickly. But we can say in a sure enough way, that they will not present themselves under the form of Yevtuchenko but under the direct form of the political programme. All this is only a single, identical process which shows the

THE CONDITIONS IN EUROPE ARE MATURE FOR WORKERS STATES

If French Imperialism had its own strength to maintain itself and confront Yankee Imperialism, what would have been the need for a journey to the Soviet Union? It would organise, on the contrary, all its forces to overthrow the USSR—as Yankee Imperialism is doing. It is certain that this is its permanent objective.

With this visit it has not abandoned this perspective. The workers state is its enemy, and in so far as it can, it seeks to gain historic time. De Gaulle seeks to gain time with his own masses, to take political measures which tend to hinder the proletariat taking power and attracting the petit bourgeoisie on this basis, with the independent, revolutionary programme. As the French bourgeoisie by itself has not the strength to attain these objectives it has recourse to the soviet bureaucracy. Such are the objectives of the visit, of the discussion of plans, of the military and social agreements with the soviet bureaucracy. The crisis of French capitalism is social and political but not economic.

The present crisis of capitalism is infinitely deeper than that of 1929. Economically and financially Imperialism is strong very strong. Its concentration is enormous. But this power does not help it to advance socially, on the contrary it loses each time more social support. In spite of economic strength, full employment, the class struggle reaches higher levels, revolutionary class levels throughout Europe. How does this happen? From the economic needs of the European masses? Certainly not, it is the influence of the world revolution. The consciousness of the masses is already ready and decided for the overthrow of capitalism. And de Gaulle calls for the aid of the soviet bureaucracy.

And Tito in Yugoslavia, the assassin who conciliates with world capitalism gives it the greatest advantage which he can; by breaking the monopoly of foreign trade he allows Yugoslavia to fall under capitalist influence again. It is true Capitalism can only draw small economic and social profit from Yugoslavia; on the other hand the value that France can extract from the Soviet Union is

growth of the influence of the ideas, of the programme, of the objectives and the methods of struggle of the IV International.

This living and concrete expression of the influence of the ideas, the programme and the methods of the IV International expresses itself in this way in China. In Mexico it expresses itself with the imprisonment of our comrades, and in Guatemala by the criminal efforts of Castro and Turcios to crush the trotskysts and the fight for the Socialist revolution. As they are not succeeding, they denounce and they tacitly conciliate in order to betray the trotskysts and the Guatemalan revolutionaries, who without being trotskysts are fighting for the programme of the Socialist revolution, to the police assassins.

Equally in Argentine, our influence expresses itself in the programme of the FOTIA (the federation of trade unions of the sugar industries of Tucuman) which has nothing to do with reformism, nor with conciliation, and in which the essential points are anti-capitalist and in which the accomplishment of the programme poses the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

When a Workers Centre, a federation as important as the Sugar workers of Tucuman intervenes and fights for such a programme, it is not to express the particular spirit of this sector but the state of spirit of all the masses of all the country influenced by the world process. They do not act to resist one or another boss, but to confront the general interests of capitalism. The FOTIA calls to the masses to unite themselves around this programme and this policy of confrontation of capitalism. The decision is not local but national and this is Trotskyism.

Trotskyists do not claim paternity of this policy. We analyse it and characterise it in order to give it assurance and a point of support for the struggles. The crisis which the events of Mexico signify, also makes up part of this process. Such is the elevation of the process of the world revolution, which in return demands that one draws a certain number of conclusions.

enormous. Above all it gains historic credit and authority before the petit bourgeois masses.

If American imperialism had historic assurance it would have launched the war to crush the masses. What it wastes in Vietnam at this moment is infinitely more costly to it than a world war. It is in relation to historic comparison which is far more revealing. But it acts in this way because it has no historic assurance, it is a prey on the contrary to a panic fear and seeks to gain more and more time. The politics of the soviet bureaucracy allows it to gain time, which Imperialism uses to manufacture more nuclear weapons, to perfect itself militarily.

Faced with the policy of French imperialism, its European plans, it is necessary to meet the needs of the masses with one policy, the independent class policy. The PCF like the other CPs of Europe does not conduct an independent policy, but a policy which responds to its own bureaucratic interests and those of the soviet bureaucracy and other workers states. These are the interests of conciliation with capitalism. If they struggle among themselves, it is because they are divided by national interests. From that fact stem their differences. In Europe the conditions exist for the struggle for power. Capitalism lacks its own strength and de Gaulle shows this when he has to seek the support of the petit bourgeoisie and the soviet bureaucracy.

The ceaseless succession of strikes of the European proletariat, the recent organisation of a left wing in Great Britain which no one can prevent, least of all the tears of Wilson, shows the level of the situation in Europe. The strength of the British masses needs to express itself organically and politically and nothing will be able to oppose it. This attempt to organise the left will be accompanied by the concrete form of an organised left. It is impossible to believe that such a spirit of struggle of the British masses is not going to express itself politically. The Labour party apparatus does not do this but on the contrary expropriates the thought, the will and the decision of the masses.

The struggle of the building workers in

Holland shows the fighting spirit of the Dutch masses. Dutch imperialism has to run to gangsters from the 'lower depths' of society to confront the strikers. Beatniks joined the strikers which shows clearly that these groups are an expression of the social decomposition of capitalism. It is not a question as the capitalists argue of a crisis of youth; that is simply capitalism justifying itself. The crisis is an expression of the decomposition of capitalism which does not know how to apply or organise the energies of youth. When the opportunity was given to them by the proletariat, these groups integrated themselves with the struggle and show that they can be won over; they are of course numerically insignificant and have only limited social weight. When in Great Britain the proletariat enters into action, there will no longer be any more talk of the beatnik groups who fight on the beaches. They are only a circumstantial expression of the decomposition of capitalism and exist to the degree that they are not attracted, organised by the struggles of the masses for they do not see any way of acting in an independent fashion.

The conditions in Europe are ripe for the organisation of a centralised leadership of the masses; trade unions and workers political parties are those which in the last instant determine the life of Europe. Capitalism only knows crises and disputes and decomposes constantly. All this originates from the fact that its market narrows each day, that the sectors which accumulate are more and more confined. Capitalism needs each day more to exploit the masses to meet the cost of the preparation of the counter revolutionary world war and in the measure where the masses resist, they oblige

FOR THE SINGLE EUROPEAN CENTRE AND THE REDUCTION OF HOURS OF WORK

For the Single European Centre and the reduction of hours of work. In order to meet the social crisis of capitalism and to provide it with a socialist issue, the United European Centre is necessary with the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe. The fact that the European Common market, in spite of all its crisis does not disappear, shows that there is a vital need historically for the unification of Europe. But this unification must be made in the stage of the final crisis of capitalism, of the final encounter. It is necessary to construct the Soviet Socialist States of Europe to prepare for the nuclear war. The Single European Centre must struggle for the sliding scale of wages, the reduction in hours of work. One of the slogans which is most important in Europe and in the world today is the reduction of the hours of work. The British seamen have shown that it is possible to raise this. They have smashed, despite the miserable bureaucrats who conciliated, the idea of the impossibility of reducing the hours of work. They have broken through and shown that it is possible to go forward to obtain a reduction in the hours of work. The central slogan of the single European Centre must be; a thirty-five hours week, without reduction of wages as the first step towards the 30 hour week. This is not an impossible demand; the French workers fought in 1934-36 for this and won 40 hours which in large measure was taken away from them after the war. But they had won it.

The conquest of the 40-35 hour week is no substitute for the struggle for other demands but it gives an essential axis so that the proletariat organises the struggle to win all the benefits of productivity and of the enormous increase in production in Europe. The national income instead of going to capitalism must go to the proletariat.

And it is at this moment that the miserable soviet bureaucrats shake hands with de Gaulle against this struggle and against these aspirations and the needs of the European masses. The Soviet Union and the CPSU should be at the head of this struggle for the 35 hour week. It would be a great impulse and a real aid for the European masses. But on the contrary, the CPs of the workers states act in defence of capitalism, ignoring, fighting, concealing the needs of this struggle. When they speak of this it is only a simple formulation, for at the same time as they make this declaration—and they are forced to do this to maintain their position—they ally them-

capitalism to increase constantly the centralisation of its capital. The rapid, dynamic, vigorous growth of the concentration of capital is the product of the incessant struggle of the masses. Without this concentration, capitalism would not be able to face inter capitalist competition.

More quickly than at any other stage of history, the number of bourgeois diminishes whilst the concentration of capital increases. To sustain its concentration and to defend itself from the masses, capitalism has no other possibility than to increase its military investments and for that reason to increase productivity and production with cybernetics, automation. To the extent that European capitalism does not dispose of such means, it is Yankee imperialism which invests. All this in part, is the result of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Without the struggle of the masses in Vietnam, it would not be possible for the European masses to conduct the struggles which they are doing at the moment, because Vietnam is a constant factor in the deepening of the world crisis of capitalism. The struggle of the masses in Vietnam has repercussions in France, in Italy etc. It is by leaning on these conclusions that it is necessary to develop in Europe the policy and the organisation of the proletariat to confront the social crisis of capitalism with the Single European Centre, the United Front of the unions and of the workers parties on the programme of confrontation to the social crisis of capitalism. The concentration of the will to struggle of the masses is expressed constantly, daily in strikes, elections, the spirit of struggle in multiple isolated and general facts.

selves with, sign agreements, make agreements with capitalism. And this does infinitely more damage than any small profit gained from some slight declaration on the 35 hour week.

It is necessary to establish a programme of European production in which all the benefits of automation will go to the proletariat and the exploited masses. The methods by which to reach this, is workers' control, factory committees, a single workers leadership for the whole of Europe, the united front of the workers parties, guaranteed by means of union democracy, the right of tendencies, the control by the masses on the policy of the parties and the workers unions. It is necessary that all the problems are resolved in the workers assemblies and that the masses can give their opinion and their conclusion on all the points of the programme. It is necessary to pose again the application of the need for representatives and workers delegates to be revocable. Therein lies the programme to advance the struggle for the statification of all the middle and large properties in Europe, to collectivise agricultural production.

In order that the common market can feed itself and not depend on imports of primary products from abroad, to increase its capacity, European capitalism needs to concentrate itself. And the concentration of production is becoming more and more imperious in agriculture. The productive capacity of the ECM in meat, milk, eggs, butter etc. is three times greater than that in Uruguay. With fewer cows—and I refer to real cows and not the Queen of Holland or to the wives of Khrushchev, Kosygin etc.—production is double that of Latin America. Output is 100 per cent higher. European capitalism is obliged to increase investments to increase productivity and to maintain itself in the country. All this process is going to accelerate; from one sector to another it must be maintained but whatever the programme of particular demands, the solution of European problems is common to all the masses of Europe.

The workers states must intervene in this struggle and the best way to do this is to impel the petit bourgeoisie and the sectors of the proletariat. The visit of de Gaulle is the answer to the opposite objective, because it stimulates the authority of capitalism over these layers. He makes it appear that capitalism has a vitality which it really does not

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THE JOURNEY OF DE GAULLE TO THE SOVIET UNION SEEKS THE SUPPORT OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY TO SAVE CAPITALISM

J. Posadas

De Gaulle defends the same interests as Johnson. French Imperialism is united to American Imperialism in the defence of the world capitalist system. They only diverge in relation to their particular interests. From this stems the differences between them. Nothing more. If the capitalist regime had perspectives and security, capacity to make historic decisions, then it would unite, would resolve its problems to crush the workers states. But as it has not the historic force the crisis is going against it. It is because of this that the invitation to De Gaulle on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy is criminal.

The weakness of world imperialism expressed itself, expresses itself, and will express itself, with or without the visit of De Gaulle, for it is this weakness which makes De Gaulle go to the USSR. Even without this visit, the crisis of Imperialism would have expressed itself in another more profound form.

Imperialism has seen its own weakness when the masses of Vietnam showed it the door, and this without invitation from the USSR. It is not this invitation of the USSR which creates the weakness of capitalism. Capitalism, weak, tries to cling on to the USSR, by using the authority which it has over the French masses. It is the masses of France, of Europe who are decisive at this stage. In effect, European capitalism is the only centre of World capitalism which survives. It uses this to protect itself before the masses of the world with a certain authority and historic force, to resist socially. But all this is only a lie. Yankee Imperialism has the military solution, but without the existence of the Europeans, the Yanks would collapse.

The invitation of the bureaucracy to De Gaulle has been the result of the very limited and exclusive interests of those assassins, the soviet bureaucracy. Nothing more. This invitation, has been made to show to world capitalism that the bureaucracy is not going to make or stimulate the revolution, that it can arrive at an agreement with one capitalism against another. It has been done in reality to save European capitalism from being overthrown. The bureaucracy feels that the struggle against European capitalism would be a struggle against the power which confronts the decision of the masses to decide, to direct, to impose soviets, the socialist revolution. It also allies itself with European Capitalism, because it has no longer any historic perspectives.

The bureaucracy needs to show to its different sectors and among them the army, that a compromise solution is possible, that a diplomatic agreement is realisable to contain the march towards the inevitable war, but also to restrain the revolution. It wants to prove that with its diplomatic manoeuvres it can obtain its objectives. The bureaucracy needs a policy which justifies its existence before the different sectors of which it is composed and the army, (one must consider that there are about 23 million bureaucrats). Even if all the bureaucracy is not situated at the same level, the bureaucracy, as a body, needs an external policy and because of this it needs to take initiatives to demonstrate its dynamism.

The invitation to De Gaulle responds to the bureaucratic necessity to conciliate with capitalism against the desire and the will of the masses for revolution. By going to the Soviet Union, De Gaulle represented the interests of capitalism. Before the European

and world masses, in particular those of the United States, he wished to show that conciliation between capitalism and the Workers State is possible. It is a blow which he wants to aim at the needs of the Soviet revolution. French capitalism draws infinitely more profit than loss from this visit, because it gains an element of stability and authority before the petit bourgeois French masses. And this, is thanks to the Soviet bureaucracy.

Independently of the De Gaulle's journey, French Imperialism is in complete crisis. In order to exist, it has to enter into competition with American Imperialism and this needs strength. And America is not the only competitor. In Europe there are also the British and the Germans. They, and not the Workers States, are the competitors. And in order to maintain itself French Imperialism must confront Yankee Imperialism. This is the reason why it needs points of support. And the Soviet bureaucracy gives it to them. The principal object is not financial or commercial but social: and social means authority before the French masses, not before the French proletariat for this is impossible to obtain, but before the petit bourgeoisie. Capitalism needs this authority to prevent the petit bourgeoisie being gained by the proletariat. And the Bureaucracy has committed this crime, at this stage, where a blow at French capitalism would precipitate the overthrow of the whole of European capitalism; its overthrow!

With the crisis of British Imperialism, of the Labour Party, a decided attitude on the part of the French Communist party would accelerate the crisis to overthrow the bourgeois leadership of this party, while the left wing which has just been formed would find itself stimulated to go forward towards the left with a programme.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE EUROPEAN MASSES TIE THE HANDS OF IMPERIALISM PREVENTING IT FROM INTERVENING

If the C.P.F. (French Communist Party) adopted an aggressive attitude it would influence Britain. The British masses do not have a point of support to confront their bureaucracy. From this comes the strength of Wilson and the Labour bureaucracy; from the fact that the British masses do not find a point of support in the leaderships of the rest of the workers movement. But their will to advance towards the formation of a class tendency exists, and exists in a profound way. This is the reason why we are now witnessing, in a still embryonic way, the formation of this new team, at the resignation of Cousins. Cousins abandoned what he wanted to do as a minister; to conciliate was impossible. Thus he preferred to preserve his post as a bureaucrat. He has shown by this that he has no confidence in capitalism. If it had been the opposite, he would have remained as a minister.

This passing from minister to trade Union bureaucrat indicates the enormous pressure from the British Worker base. This resignation came after the seamen's strike.

The strike of the seamen reflected, as we have said and as our British Section has

very well analysed and characterised the militant will of all the British proletariat. Recently, the French, Belgian, Italian, Dutch workers—even though on the part of a small sector—have shown the revolutionary will of all the European Proletariat. In these conditions, the European United Front of the proletariat would attract, in a little time, all the petit bourgeoisie and, the peasants, to overthrow capitalism. And it is in such conditions that the Soviet bureaucracy invites De Gaulle. It does so to save capitalism, to show its good intentions and desire to come to the aid of capitalism. It is at this stage of the social crisis of European capitalism that the bureaucracy makes an agreement with FIAT. This is an attempt to salvage the economy in the crisis of Italian capitalism.

It is the Soviet Bureaucracy which flies to the help of European capitalism. A revolutionary attitude demands on the contrary putting the economic, social and historic interests of the proletariat in first place. And this obliges the workers organisations, the trade unions of the USSR to call for a United Front for the overthrow of capital-

ism. Here would be a formidable stimulant, a force in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in Europe.

Conscious of these dangers, the Soviet bureaucracy defends capitalism. It is conscious that the revolution will equally overthrow itself, for it is not necessary and has usurped soviet power. Its interests are not the same as those of capitalism in the historic sense. But to survive, means that concretely it must defend capitalism. In the same way the communist parties of the world, even while not having the same historic interests as capitalism, but who want a clean, proper, meticulous, peaceful passage to socialism—a thing which is impossible to attain—see themselves forced to ally with capitalism. Both are to be found defending counter-revolutionary interests.

It is because of this that De Gaulle can draw enormous benefit from his visit to the USSR. He has given nothing and uses this journey against the other European capitalists to negotiate more advantageous inter-capitalist agreements, in the struggle of French Capitalism against British, German, Italian, Belgian, Dutch etc. capitalism. He gains from this visit an economic and social point of support in the dispute between the different European capitalisms, to gain a social authority in front of the masses of France. An immense advantage has been given to French imperialism. It serves at the same time as a point of support, a point of conciliation between the interests of world capitalism and the Soviet Bureaucracy against the world revolution.

The Soviet Bureaucracy which is seeking to interest European capitalism in associating with it against Yankee Imperialism,

THE ECONOMIC REFORMS TAKEN IN THE WORKERS STATES GIVE EUROPEAN CAPITALISM CONFIDENCE IN THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY AGAINST THE REVOLUTION

The communist parties and the Soviet bureaucracy are making this policy in respect to capitalism so that they can come to an agreement to act against the revolution. The economic reforms in the USSR are the decisive point which gives confidence to capitalism to engage in this policy, to create more solid and profound links with the Soviet bureaucracy. One of the most criminal policies is that of the Yugoslav bureaucracy. They are all miserable and criminal. They have begun to abolish the principle of the monopoly of foreign trade. Capitalism sees the opportunities which this presents and through De Gaulle makes the concession to send him to visit the Workers State. What importance does it have for capitalism when De Gaulle says "What a great State." He is seeking to stimulate the tendencies within the Soviet bureaucracy which want a greater alliance with capitalism.

When De Gaulle goes to the Soviet Union, he does not only represent the interests of French capitalism but those of all European and world capitalism in wanting to weaken the development of the workers States. The most efficient way to do this is to increase the bureaucracy's links with world capitalism, with the direct and concrete results of impeding the masses of Europe, in struggle against capitalism, from taking power. Such is the conclusion of the journey of De Gaulle. It is the weakness of world capitalism which allows De Gaulle to make the journey to the USSR and to seek an alliance with the Workers States. The bureaucracy profits from this weakness to gain advantages for itself. But from such a weakness, it will not be able to gain profit. The weakness is inherent in capitalism, nothing more.

The crisis of French Imperialism with U.S. imperialism exists independently of the journey to the U.S.S.R. It comes from world competition and from the fact that capitalism cannot prevent the development of the world revolution. If this was possible

cannot succeed in this end without submitting itself to the historic interests of European and world capitalism. Not just European capitalism but world capitalism.

The Soviet bureaucracy in order to prevent and restrain the revolution, and to gain historic time in the measure that it does not have revolutionary interests, can only be empirical in its policy and its objectives. It is trying to attract European capitalism to an alliance against Yankee Imperialism. But "against" not socially, not to overthrow it, but to compete with it. The Soviet Bureaucracy wants this alliance to gain historic time, to gain historic advantages for itself and not for the workers state. It proposes to European capitalism, a policy impossible to realise; the unification of the European capitalist States with the Workers States.

The recent meeting of the Warsaw pact discussed this problem and a common policy and strategy in Europe to gain historic time. This is a stupidity which can only come to life in the head of bureaucrats, which develops from the neutrality of the bureaucracy which can understand nothing, for its usurpation and criminal interests prevent it from understanding the impossibility of unification. Only political agreements against the masses are possible. Capitalism will not make any agreement with the bureaucracy which does not give it an irreplaceable guarantee; the prevention of the European revolution. Such will be the condition for a unification. One cannot draw any other conclusion; European capitalism needs this base to defend itself against the world revolution. De Gaulle makes himself a standard bearer for all this policy.

they would be united and would have acted in the name of everyone. But as there is less strength in them every day, because the masses advance in their revolutionary victories, their crises, their competition deepens.

The aggravation of this inter-imperialist and intercapitalist crisis is fundamentally but not entirely due to the progress of the world revolution, and among other things to the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese masses. It is a criminal attitude of the Soviet bureaucracy to invite De Gaulle in this way. It goes against the interests of the world revolution and against the workers states. But it shows at the same time that the bureaucracy is in its death throes. It is inevitable that such a policy is going to deepen the tendency struggles, the internal crises and divergences within the bureaucracy. The crisis is going to become deeper among the bureaucratic layers of the party, who are based on the existence of the party and who would not be able to enjoy any other privilege, if the Workers State did not exist and the layers whose interests are linked to the economy, The planners, administrative and military layers. This crisis is going to increase.

One must consider that between the Vietnam crisis, the Argentine crisis, the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy and of De Gaulle, there are only differences of degree, but nothing more. There are differences in form but not in substance nor in historic significance. The crisis is the same and the reason is the incessant progress of the world revolution in which one of the most elevated expressions is the crisis in China.

The crisis in China is not the crisis of the Communist party, but the crisis of the reformist policy which it is necessary to eliminate so that the Workers State can advance. This is what is behind the 'Cultural

THE JOURNEY OF DE GAULLE . . .

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have. How does he do this? He does this with the policy of the soviet bureaucracy which allows European capitalism to maintain itself.

It is in consequence necessary to lead a campaign for a united programme in which all the benefit of productivity can go to the masses, which gives unconditional support to the workers states, to the revolution, to the masses of the world in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Vietnam, St. Domingo. It is necessary to give unconditional support to the World United Front against imperialism and capitalism. It is necessary to struggle for a programme of immediate demands for each country, united to those in Europe, on the basis of the common demand for the 35 hour week. It is necessary to struggle for workers control, expropriation of large and medium farms, distribution of land to the poor peasant, for credits without interest and technical aid to them. It is necessary to have a programme in accordance with the needs of the masses, the nationalisation of the nuclear enterprises. We are against the slogan of the destruction of all nuclear weapons, we want the destruction of all the nuclear weapons of imperialism but not those of the workers states. Imperialism will never accept the destruction of its nuclear weapons but it will encourage beliefs in the possibility of unilateral disarmament. The demand that must be put forward is the taking of arms by the masses to destroy capitalism and reduce the destruction which capitalism is going to cause with the possession of such arms. It is necessary to explain this.

It is necessary that the European United Front of the parties and workers unions is organised for an unconditional appeal to the masses of Europe, Spain and Portugal: general strike of solidarity with the Spanish masses. But apart from the General Strike; the means of aiding the Spanish masses in their struggle for the overthrow of Franco is the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in Europe. Three months of struggle in a united Front by the European masses and there would be no more talk of Franco. Franco does not maintain himself thanks to military power or the economic strength of Spanish capitalism but because the socialist and communist organisations of Europe prevent the proletariat from taking power. There lies the real factor of the strength of Franco.

This reply of the European proletariat is necessary to stimulate the revolution in Europe and the expropriation of capitalism, for the installation of new workers states. For a United Front of all the unions and workers parties, for a United European centre. The unions and the CP of the workers states and the unions and workers parties of the capitalist countries. The determining base of such relations is the programme, the motives of the struggle and the political line. It is necessary to call for this type of action, for this unification on the slogan of 'Down with capitalism' and with the programme of its overthrow.

It is necessary to call upon the workers centres and the trade unions of the workers states to support the programme of a single European workers centre, putting forward the programme of expropriations without compensation of all large and middle capitalist property, the collectivisation of the land while maintaining poor small property, the programme of nationalisation of nuclear energy functioning under workers control for the destruction of capitalism, the distribution to the population of all the benefits of the productivity of labour. The form in which to express that, is the reduction in the hours of work,—the 35 hour week. And that can be obtained immediately. Capitalism is going to say that it cannot do this because of competition—they can go to hell. If it cannot compete with Yankee imperialism, excellent. We will show it the door. It is capitalism which cannot compete, not us. We are not interested economically but socially. The economy must be at the service of society. The proletariat in taking power will be competitive with Yankee imperialism because it will boot it out. And the North American masses will take power.

The Chinese comrades must intervene in this struggle. This is fundamental. It is necessary to launch appeals to the European proletariat to struggle for the programme of the United Socialist States of Europe. That was the slogan of Lenin and of the Third International. It is necessary to appeal for the mass Communist International at the same time as the United centre in Europe, the United European centre of socialist and communist parties.

The force that unifies the struggle of the world masses, harmonises and stabilises the struggle in the different countries is the programme and the struggle for the mass communist international which is the struggle for the development of the world revolution. Such is the answer which the European masses, socialist and communist masses, the workers centres and parties must give to the present crisis of capitalism. The Chinese must intervene in this struggle to destroy imperialism in Vietnam and it is necessary that they lead this struggle. The struggle of the European masses constantly weakens world capitalism by not giving it a free hand to intervene on the world scale economically and socially and in consequence militarily. If the European proletariat abandoned the struggles which it leads at present, capitalism would have no social, economic, financial and military worries. And all the energies which it devotes to containing the European proletariat would be utilised by it to smash the masses of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Vietnam. The Chinese must observe that, understand this conclusion and intervene. They must intervene calling for the organisation of the United European centre, the United socialist and communist centre, the mass communist International. It is necessary to unify the struggle to overthrow capitalism, for the United Socialist States of Europe. Such is the answer to give to the crisis of capitalism. Such is the present actual necessity. The soviet bureaucracy cannot launch such an appeal because its interests are against revolutionary interests.

It is necessary that the left of the communist parties, the tendencies and currents which go forward to the class and revolutionary struggle conduct within their party a struggle, whatever the risks of a rupture or splitting and organise new organisms. They must do this now, for in a brief delay, they will be able to lead millions in Europe. The division of the workers movement is not an organic division but one which exists between the aspirations, the needs and the will of struggle of the masses and those of the leadership who instead of responding to them, reply to the necessities of capitalism, prevent the masses overthrowing capitalism and struggling for class and revolutionary demands. This is what divides the workers movement and prevents the working class attracting the petit bourgeoisie and the sectors isolated from the struggle or who are found at a more backward state of intervention. It is necessary to break now in defence of the revolutionary class programme and this is not to disunite the masses but to prepare the conditions for the unification of the masses and the overthrow of capitalism which is the central problem in the world today. The solution of the problems in Europe is the overthrow of capitalism. It is necessary to do it now. And if it is necessary, there must be a break with the socialist and communist organisations, to push forward the most important sectors. It is necessary to lean on the decisive sectors of the proletariat in showing them the necessity of liberating themselves from their leaderships who are only commercial travellers, agents of capitalism. It is necessary to break now and not in the abstract but on the class Programme. It is necessary to choose the right moment to do it: great strikes, great movements, as in Great Britain, the struggle of the seamen has resulted in the appearance in broad daylight of the Labour Left. This left wing has not been formed by the decision of the 'leftists' but it results from the action of the masses which has stimulate them. It is the struggle of the worker base which has given to this leadership of the left the decision to appear.

The journey of de Gaulle to the USSR was made with the intention of maintaining the authority of capitalism. But the conditions for this authority to last do not exist. But we must be sure that the objective of de Gaulle on this voyage was to regain au-

thority. And we repeat that when de Gaulle acts in this way, it is because capitalism has not the strength to overthrow the workers states. And if the soviet bureaucracy in its side calls for this united front with European capitalism against Yankee imperialism, it is because it has no security.

The workers state will not be able to support that for a long time. The actual solution for the workers states is their unification and in the measure where the bureaucrats hinder the process, they search for a means of conciliation with capitalism. As they are a usurping leadership, they need a policy not only to justify themselves but to continue to exist.

The issue of conciliation with capitalism is already no longer looked for on the national scale but on the world historical scale. And that is impossible. Capitalism cannot allow such an alliance.

The policy of the bureaucracy is going to prolong the existence of capitalism; but the masses of the world are against capitalism and they demonstrate this with their struggles in every continent. Also all these alliances can only be of short duration. The bureaucracy can make a political alliance but it cannot impose it socially because the masses of the workers states and of Europe are going to attack everything. It is on these perspectives that the Chinese must intervene and call among other things for the mass communist international and the programme for the European revolution and the United Socialist states of Europe.

De Gaulle has just created three great difficulties for Yankee imperialism not only because of his nose but also because, above all, of the concrete interests of French imperialism. The clash expressed in the policy of de Gaulle with Yankee imperialism means that each day that passes, world capitalism has less and less possibility of manoeuvring. In other historic phases the

capitalists resolved their problems with the conquest of new markets which each grabbed in Asia, Africa or Latin America. But today this is no longer possible and to dispute with Yankee imperialism means that each day more and more French imperialism has to seek a support in the workers states and the communist parties. One can see in the last speech of Waldeck Rochet how they use the CPs. The secretary of the CPF has just said that de Gaulle and the communists want peace. This is exactly how de Gaulle wishes to appear before the masses, that is a man struggling for peace because he has need of political credit, of political perspectives in front of the petit bourgeoisie and their political sectors with the object of maintaining the political authority of French imperialism. He needs this aid.

French imperialism would like to eliminate Yankee imperialism as a competitor in Europe. It would like to eliminate the political leadership of the latter, but it is not able to destroy its economic force because although wishing to throw it out of Europe, it has need of its capital. Capitalism is a unity and French imperialism would not be able to maintain itself today without Yankee investments just as the Yanks need to invest in Europe in order to survive.

But what French imperialism wants is to have in its own hands, the political leadership and this conflicts with Yankee imperialism. They are split by their commercial, economic competition and incapable from this fact of uniting against the workers states. At the same time that French imperialism sends de Gaulle to the USSR to deceive the French masses trying to utilise the soviet bureaucracy and the force of the workers state, it prepares the nuclear war, the nuclear bombs against the masses of the workers states.

FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF CAPITALISM IN EUROPE AND THE SOCIALIST PLANNING WITH THE WORKERS STATES

The soviet bureaucracy renders a service to French imperialism leaning on the support which they have in common; the fear of the revolution. They have the same interest; to hinder the development of the revolution, the triumph of the anti capitalist revolutions. Their historic interests are not the same, the bureaucracy for example has an interest in the suppression of capitalism.

But the only way to suppress capitalism is the revolution which will put the masses in power. New bureaucrats, are not going to install themselves and the masses on the contrary will feel the force to overthrow the soviet bureaucracy. That is why the latter do not impel the revolution. And in the measure where it does not find a sufficiently strong support in the communist party, in electoral policy and peaceful co-existence in France, then it seeks directly for alliance with French imperialism. To try to maintain itself as a usurping stratum of the interests of the workers state, it must give a social historic perspective. This is what it expresses through its stupid dream; unity of Europe between the capitalist countries and the workers states. This is a stupid dream. It is as if one wished to unite the worker to the employer, and so struggle for socialism. It is exactly the same thing. European capitalism is conscious that it is not able to have such a unity but it utilises the attempts, the offers which are made for it, as an element of authority in relation to the petit bourgeoisie to maintain and increase its authority. The bureaucracy must pursue such a policy because it has no other and its interests lead it in every way, more and more marked to conciliate with capitalism. And de Gaulle profits from this.

At this precise moment, at each precise stage, the soviet bureaucracy and that of the other workers states sees the danger of the war and of the revolution for it is conscious that the masses will not suppress the workers state, but the bureaucracy, just as they will suppress and destroy European capitalism, and intervenes concretely, socially and economically, in planning its economy in liason with that of capitalism. An example of this policy has been given to us with the installation in the USSR of the assembly factories for Fiat, with the increase of commercial exchanges with European capitalism.

The social crisis of European capitalism is very profound. At this stage of History it is not possible to measure the crises on the basis of economic blows but in relation to the social relations, the struggles of the masses and the capacity of capitalism to contain them. European capitalism, its capacity for capital and commercial developments, has to meet the greatest strikes in its history after the war and in reality of all the history of capitalism, simultaneous strikes of the proletariat, the French, Belgian, British. One sees for the first time great strikes against bureaucratic leaderships of the unions and the owners, with the strike of the women in Belgium in the first place. This is the struggle for the increase in wages, equal pay for equal work. The Belgian women had been pushed aside by the male leaders and yet they imposed themselves directing the strike themselves. With their children they marched in the streets singing the International integrating all the family in the struggle.

There are the strikes of the Italian, French and British proletariats, which are burying capitalism. It is socially menaced and besieged by struggle of the masses. Its downfall is only a question of minutes. Simply that. The destruction of capitalism in Europe is simpler than it was before the war because there is a unification of the will to struggle of the masses. Without a centre, without a leadership, without a single organisation, they transmit to each other their experiences, mutually influencing themselves and maintaining one of the highest levels of proletarian struggle.

The overthrow of capitalism is a simple thing. And it is in this stage, that the Soviet bureaucracy offers contracts, economic measures, alliances which save capitalism from its economic crisis, and particularly the most feeble capitalist power, Italy. And before the masses of Europe, the Workers States appear to conciliate with capitalism. It appears faced with the consciousness and the mobilisation of the masses, to form a bloc with capitalism, to oppose their will to struggle. The masses see the Workers State conciliating while they want to overthrow capitalism. Today,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

THE JOURNEY OF DE GAULLE . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

planning is necessary for all the Workers States of Europe among themselves and with Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, China. They must plan their economy. The single fact of world planning of all the Workers States would be the most powerful stimulus and political aid to unify the sentiment, the will and the security of the masses to take power. If the bureaucracy of the Workers States, Kosygin, Breznev, Gomulka, Tito and company do not carry out such planning, it is because they have usurped the interests of the Workers State, do not represent it and are as much defending themselves as a caste by wanting to save capitalism.

The visit of De Gaulle to the USSR is an element of this conclusion, this is why Waldeck Rochet must address the electorate to try to calm their anxiety. He must talk in electoral terms because he does not have any other way or any other ability but that which comes from the electoral struggle. His bureaucratic and conservative interests do not allow him to act in any other way. The strikes which the PCF are obliged to organise are small and they are turning their back on big strikes with the perspective of overthrowing capitalism. A general strike in the whole of Europe could be organised today in no more than one week. The Spanish proletariat, without party and without class leadership, without the possibility of living in an organised way maintain a rhythm of strikes, occupations of the factories as elevated as that of the French or Italian proletariat. Taking into account the activity of the proletariat we see that the whole of Europe is ripe for workers power.

We repeat that De Gaulle went to the USSR with the objective of defending the direct interests of French Imperialism, but also he is as much a representative of all world capitalism, including the Yanks. They all have interests in the conciliation between the Workers States and capitalism. They see there the manner of gaining historic time and have no other means of doing it. If capitalism had the authority and the ability to decide, it would already have launched the war. It will do it and it is preparing for it with the worst means; by atomic arms because socially it does not have any point of support, any perspective. This is why it takes refuge behind atomic arms. It maintains the theatre of war which is Vietnam in order to keep up the spirits, decision, the aggressive decision of the sector of yankee imperialism in representing the interests of the whole of world capitalism.

Imperialism, while certainly carrying out

this policy, seeks and finds a point of support in the Soviet Bureaucracy. But the fact that it maintains the Vietnam war indicates that in order to maintain itself, the journey of De Gaulle was not sufficient. The economic financial interests of Yankee imperialism enter into conflict with those of British, German, and French imperialism. And at the same time that their interests converge in the preparation of the world atomic war against the Workers states, against the masses of the world and the world revolution, they diverge profoundly in their economic interests. De Gaulle's journey does not determine the world line of capitalism, for neither he, nor the Soviet bureaucracy have the strength to do it. It is the revolutionary struggle of the masses and their progress which determines the world policy of capitalism and the intervention of the Yanks in Vietnam. The journey of De Gaulle decides nothing at all.

The attitude of De Gaulle towards NATO has only a feeble consequence for the plan. It is stupid to believe as the communists do, that de Gaulle's leaving NATO weakens the military apparatus of Imperialism on a world scale; absolutely stupid. His leaving makes things more difficult for their organisation and political structure and weakens in consequence, but only partly their military structure. And this stems from the fact that this structure of world imperialism is not a function of De Gaulle or of his military forces.

It is the atomic weapons of Yankee imperialism which are decisive; the atomic weapons of French imperialism are completely secondary. It is the social and political organisation of world capitalism which must confront the world revolution, that De Gaulle is damaging. This shows the degree of decomposition of capitalism, its immense weakness, for their common social interest is to unite themselves under the leadership of Yankee imperialism. European capitalism needs the military unification with the Yanks and De Gaulle's leaving NATO does not break this unification, does not weaken it, nor dissolve it. European capitalism has political interests different from those of the Yanks. But the latter can through NATO and SEATO exercise a domination which will not only allow them to decide tomorrow, on the military plan but which allows them today to impose their policy.

French imperialism wants to maintain the military force but wants to avoid political subjection because it must defend its competitive interests. It is a stupid dream which the bureaucrats have, to think that it is going to produce divisions, confrontations

within world capitalism. It is the same dream which Stalin had. We repeat; comrade Chinese, rank and file comrades and communist militants, socialists of the world who aspire to fight for the revolution, for the overthrow of capitalism, there does not exist any possibility of seeing a repeat of the inter-imperialist war of the type of 1939-1945. The war can only be against the workers states. In that period there were particular conditions, only one workers state existed, the communist parties of the world conciliated with capitalism and their weight was weak in the world. In 1939 the revolution was in retreat, the colonial revolution did not exist, there were no large strikes or revolutionary mobilisations of the masses. A certain state of passivity of the masses of the world existed, the masses who had previously been crushed with the treason of the Spanish revolution on the part of the Socialist and Communist parties. World capitalism was not preoccupied, it did not see the revolution anywhere in the world and saw the soviet bureaucracy conciliating with it, crushing the revolution within the USSR by the firing squad, repressing, assassinating in the Moscow trials signing the Laval-Stalin then the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. Capitalism saw the Soviet Bureaucracy on a world scale Conciliating, opposing the revolutionary currents and tendencies in the communist parties and opposing the masses of the world. It was in these historical circumstances that capitalism could decide to settle its accounts and to eliminate the least capable, before hurling itself against the USSR. Such were the plans and the strategy of world capitalism.

The diplomatic declarations are only a parody, pure comedy to deceive the masses, pretence and hypocrisy and it hasn't any practical and material effect. The needs of American Imperialism to maintain its economic military domination to prevent the advance of the revolution in Asia, Africa,

Latin America, cannot be contained by any declarations. Impossible. Imperialism is not moved by the needs of humanity, it seeks its egotistic class ends, in opposition to humanity. Also it cannot be persuaded by the will of the majority. It is neither the electoral will, nor diplomatic will which enforces itself, but military force. The communist parties are the allies of French capitalism, and hence of Yankee imperialism, because they approve the pretence and hypocrisy of French Capitalism. The highest level of support to this pretence is the support given to the journey of De Gaulle.

The beginnings of a serious and profound struggle already exist in the United States. The mobilisation of the students, and the strikes are multiplying. The masses of the United States do not remain submitted to the interests of Yankee Imperialism, but fight for their own class interests. The US population, contrary to what imperialism would like, does not remain attached to the interests and the preoccupations which the Vietnam war signify. There is already an important part which is openly against the war. It is a serious and solid point of support. The North American masses are going to see and feel the impulse of the influence of the mobilisation, of the struggle of the masses of the world, and are going to be impelled and convinced that it is necessary to organise in the United States itself, the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

If in place of the journey of De Gaulle to the Soviet Union, the world united front was organised—as it is necessary to do—of all the Workers states with the masses of the world, the trade unions, the workers parties, to unify the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism on a world scale, the dissuasive effect on Imperialism would be incomparably different. The masses do not have to convince, but to take up arms.

10 July, 1966

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 manu-

- facturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
 13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
 14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
 15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
 16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
 17. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
 18. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
 19. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaris and rocket bases and their means of supply.
 20. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
 21. For a workers government.

Aberfan

The result of the negligence of capitalism

The tragedy of Aberfan is not, as even the bourgeoisie press have recognised, a natural disaster. It is the result of capitalism, greedy for every last penny it can make from the working class and in this instance claiming even their children. And a consoling visit from the Prime Minister, and even the Queen herself can't make up for this!

The imposing of laws on the discussion of the disaster on radio, T.V. and in the press shows that the government and its organisations are terrified of what will come out of the enquiry. They are trying to make it a local isolated affair and to silence the villagers of Aberfan. But this is not a small local affair: when over 140 school children in one village school are killed through the sheer negligence and meanness of capitalism it is the affair of the whole of the British masses. Capitalism does not care about human lives but only about profits!

The parents of the dead children have the right to denounce who they feel responsible for the tragedy. We appeal to the miners and workers of Aberfan, to all the parents whose children were killed, and to all the children who survived, to organise their own "court of enquiry," giving it all the publicity they can. Calling on workers, miners, housewives,

intellectuals, trade unionists, and representatives of the workers and students organisations from all over the country to participate in this "court" and to expose the true culprit of the disaster.

It has been claimed that the officials of the pit were informed that there was a stream running under the tip which made is a danger to the Village: whether or not there was a stream, and whether or not it was this stream which precipitated the fall of the tip are not the most important facts; the most important fact is that every tip in Wales threatens danger to the villagers who live below them and it is the responsibility of the pit authorities and the government, firstly to see that they are safe and secondly to organise their disposal, as they are a danger to human life.

This is an instance where workers control is desperately called for, the miners must call for workers control throughout the coal industry, not only for the working of the mines where each year in one pit or another there is a fall and fathers, sons and husbands are needlessly killed, but to inspect the tips like the one at Aberfan and insist that they are made safe, refusing to work and calling other pits to strike in sympathy until all such dangers are averted.

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RENEW THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE MEXICAN TROTSKYISTS

Workers of the World, Unite!

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

RED FLAG

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



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FORTNIGHTLY

25 November 1966

SIXPENCE

THE SHOP STEWARDS COMMITTEES MUST ACT AS THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE BRITISH MASSES

The struggle of the car workers against the employers and the government has shown conclusively that all the traditional leaderships of the workers movement, whether trade union officials, communist party bureaucrats, or the conservative leaders of the shop stewards committees, have absolutely nothing constructive to offer as an alternative to the policies of British imperialism and capitalism. The majority of the workers showed in their demonstrations, as at Brighton or Vauxhalls, that they were prepared for a serious struggle if the available leadership had showed that it was capable of leading it, and resolved to do so. But those available have shown themselves to be milksops, conciliators, traitors. Therefore the struggle has lacked unity and has continued empirically without any clear sense of direction. Some sectors of the workers, those unemployed faced with no line or leadership abandon the struggle, concentrate on seeking new jobs and become sceptical of any serious possibility of challenging the set up. The union leaderships have particularly discredited themselves. At Cowley and Vauxhalls, both the AEU and the NUVB have simply tried to call off the strikes rather than give any perspective of extending them and mobilising workers throughout the whole of the car industry. The TGWU leadership, supposed to be of the left, has shown all the conservatism of the other unions. Cousins has refused to help to centralise the struggles of the car workers and so far we have heard of no great initiatives to push forward the struggle for a basic minimum wage, 40 hour week, etc. The workers have suffered a defeat in the short run, but the utter spinelessness of the existing leaderships will prove in a slightly longer perspective to be a real debacle for the continuation of policies conciliatory to capitalism. Neither is there any perspective that capitalism after the crisis in the car industry has the possibility of stabilising the situation in Great Britain. The policies of the government will only sharpen the class struggle and inevitably are going to give rise to a more formidable mobilisation of the whole working class not only in the car industry to finish with capitalism completely.

The dimension of the crisis that is coming can be gathered from the present somewhat tense relations between the government and the TUC.

It is true of course that these willing strikebreakers say they would support "repressive legislation if there is a national emergency" (and this happens to be one) but their latest statements reflect their great fear of where exactly the policy of the government is going to lead. It even rejects the principle of "productivity" as a means of deciding wage increases. They would like to see "arbitration" reintroduced and they want workers to be "represented" at all levels of management and they want union representation to be allowed on boards of management. All this shows that the union bureaucracy which is one of the most putrescent in the world feels that the actions of the government threaten to provoke a sharp retaliation from the working class, they feel that they are being undermined and that their role of conciliator between the workers and the bosses is being eroded away. And they have no viable alternative to offer. All their measures are tinkering reforms. They hope to strengthen the apparatus of conciliation just when it has become really obvious that their role of conciliation is over. But the fact that they talk about workers representation at all levels of management reflects indirectly the enormous pressure that is developing for workers control. We can expect nothing from most of the union bureaucrats but their report is symptomatic of the crisis of the traditional prop of British imperialism. the traditional prop of British imperialism and confirms our analysis of the depth of this crisis for imperialism.

The Wilson government already in an advanced stage of senile decay, endeavors as do the Tories, to mask its total lack of a perspective by going through the motions of seeking entry into the Common Market. This is all the more ludicrous as the Com-

mon market has already failed as a means of consolidating capitalist strength, subordinating the European working class and confirming the strength of the counter revolutionary war alliance against the workers states. The effort to gain entry into the common market can only be interpreted as a futile effort to strengthen the anglo-American anti-de Gaulle axis, to strengthen the European war alliance and to amalgamate with the biggest concentration of capital on the continent. Even if formally Wilson were to enter the Common Market—which he cannot—it would mean nothing because the third world war is going to intervene and eradicate European and British capitalism. Wilson is endeavouring to enter a system which has already failed. Capitalism even though from its nature it tends to transcend national boundaries, cannot unify the world or abolish national frontiers because of the massive weight of capitalist sectional interests. British Imperialism can only pose the capitalist solution of the "Common Market" due to the miserable treachery of the Soviet Bureaucracy which has refused to put forward the working class solution—a United Socialist States of Europe. Capitalism is simply marking time, putting out a smokescreen, dependent for its existence on the forces of inertia in the world due to the absence of a centralised world leadership. It is the rotten policy of the workers states which allows Wilson to appear to be taking a historic initiative—even though doomed to failure.

The Wilson government can only push forward its capitalist line as we have argued, because there is no established leadership with an authoritative programme which has mobilised the workers against the government. The attitude of the CP has been one of verbal opposition and the posing of utterly irrelevant or milksop alternatives. The CP stewards in BMC have proved incapable of organising a dynamic response to the line of the employers (at a London demon-

stration Etheridge a CP big wheel at Austins did not approve of the booing of M.P.s! The attempted walk in of the unemployed on November 7th into Tractors and Transmissions—fundamentally a Trotskyist demand—was a total flop because no real organisation lay behind the implication of the demand. The attitude of the C.P. is that the failure was due to the apathy of the men. But let us be clear. The policy of peaceful coexistence practiced for years by the C.P. in the shops stewards committees allied to the tendency that these committees frequently become bureaucratized anyway cannot suddenly be remedied by posing a correct demand made without any prior planning or organisation. But the fact that it was posed shows that an objec-

tive pressure for genuine revolutionary action exists. The C.P. could from the very beginning of the crisis in the car industry have posed, the programme of occupation of factories, workers control, work sharing without loss of pay. Inevitably there would have been conservative elements who would have opposed but a serious alternative would have been placed before the workers and a real perspective of struggle offered. However the car workers have only found sluggish response, hawking and downright class collaboration. Small wonder that some sectors abandon a perspective of struggle.

The whole historic experience of the immediate past period has shown that the only source of genuine workers strength—and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

LETTER OF THE CUBAN COMRADES TO FIDEL CASTRO

Havana, 10 July, 1966.
To Cde Castro.
Gen. Sec. CP of Cuba.

Comrade,

We are directing ourselves to you as the highest responsible official of the CP to bear the following in mind.

It is more than four months ago that Cds Idalberto and Ramires found themselves captive in the prison of Boniato in Santiago in Cuba. Comrade Idalberto, union worker, member of the militia, co ordinator of the sectional committee in Guantanamo, integrated in all the revolutionary tasks and tireless volunteer worker has been calumniated as a splitter without any proof of this and submitted to an unjustified arrest by reason of bureaucratic, anti democratic and counter revolutionary arrogance; an action which simply meets repudiation from the worker and revolutionary masses who are aware consciously of the revolutionary position of comrade Idalberto from the Sierra Maestra until our period of economic reconstruction and revolutionary international solidarity.

It is known not only by the Cuban masses but by the revolutionary masses of the world, that within marxist thinking there exist distinct revolutionary tendencies and Trotskyism is one of them and it is precisely this thinking which sustains Cde Idalberto, he knows that his position has been submitted to a deprivation of liberty without justification of any sort, simply for being Trotskyist. It is stupid that even in this epoch the methods of the criminal Stalin are continued. They can continue only in the heads of the ignorant, of the sceptic of the deluded who think in terms of class

collaboration, impregnated with the method of Stalin, abhorrent to history and repudiated by the soviet and revolutionary masses of the world. It is good to point out to these bureaucratic seniors, usurpers of socialist democracy and restrainers of the international proletariat, that the revolutionary struggle is not determined by the economic, technical power of a state and if they take a look at history they will see their historic blindness.

Krushchevism which appeared as the saviour of Stalinist chaos, which presented itself as the predominant idea of the new soviet marxist thinking, collapsed like a pack of cards at the moment that it looked to be at the top of its fame. And precisely one of the phases which characterised Khrushchevism was the constant calumnies against Trotskyism and the International. Another of these examples is that of China. Those who collaborated most loyally with Stalin and who accentuated this policy, incompatible with the actual process, are those who are being thrown out.

That is why it is necessary to stop all the attacks on Trotskyism and the IV International. It is necessary to guarantee freedom of revolutionary marxist thought and allow the Trotskyists to function as a tendency defending unconditionally, the Cuban workers state; it is necessary to demand the cessation of calumnies against Trotskyism, to guarantee proletarian democracy; it is necessary to allow to be published in Cuba "Peking Review" and "New China", revolutionary marxist reviews.

In acting in this fashion one uses Leninist methods. We consider that

Continued on page 4

The World Revolution Influences the British and Dutch Masses

Short Extracts

J. Posadas

We publish small extracts from the recent article of Posadas "Technical work is a fundamental part of the conscious development of the world socialist revolution" referring to the seamen strike and the Amsterdam riots.

"As opposed to the leadership, the working class even without political dominion of the process, without theoretical comprehension of the revolutionary process intervenes with enormous passion and security. For this reason the proletarian vanguard in revolutionary epochs is not subject as its leadership is to the contradictions, complications, limitations of means and obstacles but goes beyond them. The leadership is supported by the administrative machinery, the apparatus; the leadership has confidence in the apparatus and despises the force and capacity of the action of the masses. It has confidence in the apparatus. The masses no; they have confidence in themselves, in socially intercommunicating, tempestuously. For this reason in epochs such as this in Great Britain, the British masses have given a blow to imperialism and it has enormous, incalculable consequences. It is a blow at the power of British imperialism in its essential base, which is neither nuclear weapons nor military apparatus but the Labour party. This is the essential basis for the security of British imperialism. And the masses, 12,000 seamen, have demonstrated to the rest of the British proletariat that it can make strikes, can destroy the domination of British imperialism, without destroying the unity of the working class. This is an immense encouragement to the British proletariat, which is going to express itself afterwards. The attitude of Wilson is fear in confronting this. He fears that confrontation stimulates the rest of the class which he sees is observing and disposed to intervene. From this his fear of intervening. The strikers are a small group not 0.1% of the British proletariat. Why does he not smash it? Why does he not apply the emergency laws, the law of imperialist insecurity? He does not apply it, because he is afraid of the reaction, because he has heard that all the exploited British masses are observing the strike and are with it in sentiment. And Wilson does not wish to precipi-

tate or impel the rest of the class under the example of the strikers. There is no importance in itself of the British strike. But the significance, is the social historic consequence, against imperialism. It is not a question of 8 hours work (40 hour week) which British imperialism is discussing; what it is discussing is the authority of imperialism and the use of the apparatus of the Labour party. And 12,000 workers have shown to the British masses that it can confront the bureaucratic apparatus react in the Labour party, and the unions, without breaking the unity of the class, the fear of doing this being a constant preoccupation of the British Workers. The importance of this strike transcends the limits of the demands because the line of the British masses is placing the interest of the working class over the financial, commercial and political interest of British imperialism, it is imposing itself. It has demonstrated its independence of action in relation to imperialism and this is one of the greatest blows given to British imperialism which serves to impel the rest of the struggle of the working class throughout Europe. For this reason it is necessary that the worker's organisations, trade union organisations and workers parties in Europe, particularly organise, support, a general strike and enter into a strike for the British workers. With this it is necessary to make an appeal calling for a stoppage and general strike of all the seamen against the ships of British imperialism, to all the British proletariat for a united Front for the struggle to impose the 40 hour week, for the sliding scale of wages, for the democratic rights of the masses and to impede and overthrow the emergency laws against the masses, and at the same time the preparation of a General Strike throughout Europe in support of the General Strike of the British seamen. But at the same time it is necessary that the base of the seamen, if their leadership will not do it and even if they do, do it themselves, issue an appeal to the British working class, that all the British working class launches a strike in support of the British seamen, beginning with the port workers of all categories, the whole British proletariat. Appeal to all of them, for a strike.

And this should be directed at the rest of European proletariat which should also strike in support.

An appeal of the seamen union to the rest of the proletariat in Europe and the world and the workers states, is necessary. It is necessary to appeal to China, Cuba, the USSR, Poland, Yugoslavia, to the proletariat of these countries to demonstrate their support and communicate it. The trade unions and the communist parties of all the workers states must give their support and agitate in support of the British seamen. The leadership of the communist parties and of the workers states do not do this by reason of conciliation with world capitalism, of peaceful co existence. If the British masses felt such support today they would extend their decision to the rest of the British proletariat and communicate it to the rest of the world proletariat. For this reason the British strike is directly a strike of the British seamen but one which interests and includes the proletariat of the whole of Europe and of the workers states and the world proletariat, because it is a dispute between the independent and historic interests of the working class against the interests of capitalism, the functioning of British capitalism. We say historic interests because the working class opposes the necessity for capitalism to concentrate capital and the preparation of the war, puts forward its interests as a class to draw advantage from technical scientific development, for the benefit of the working class not of capitalism. For this reason it is a struggle, which has historic significance for the British working class. It is not merely a salary demand. They are asking for the diminution of 16 hours work which means that a sector of the proletariat is taking the initiative and is going to transmit to the rest of the British proletariat the necessity to dispute with capitalism the distribution of the advantages of technical development, of production, of work in general. This has an immense importance when capitalism needs, British capitalism in particular, to increase exploitation to pay the expenses of the preparation of the counter revolutionary world war against the workers states and against the world revolution. For this reason, the Chinese

workers state must intervene, the Chinese trade unions must give their unconditional support to appeal to all the workers of the world to support the strike and the other workers states of the world also.

It has incalculable consequences. The revolution is going more rapidly than our capacity for action, that of the Chinese (and ourselves also. The revolution expresses in a concentrated form its enormous concentrated power. Holland is among the countries having the highest standard of life in Europe. The Dutch workers after sixty years have confronted the police, attacked them, stoned them.

The virulence of the strike, the virulence of the reaction, the virulence against the political repression does not correspond to the original cause. The cause was very simple. In a meeting of the union they could have opposed the bureaucracy. The socialist bureaucracy and Dutch trade unions, as in the rest of Europe has a team of bureaucrats, of the worker aristocracy very well organised, very "judicious", very well "educated" under capitalism. The workers appear to have no education, are completely "uneducated".

Why? How does it come about that this apparent stability, tranquility and complacency of the Dutch working class is broken? What is the force which impels it? If there is no political life, organisation of assemblies, meetings and discussions there is no interior activity of the class which prepares it for the organic reaction, as the proletarian sector has done. Why then this reaction? It is the communication of the world revolution, the unequal and combined development. Small cause produces a great effect. A small cause. And what is the factor operating within such a small cause which has produced such an effect? the world revolution. It is this which influences the Dutch masses and which they are experiencing as with the British masses.

Capitalism grows reckless Birmingham Council Land Policy

When a social system is collapsing it frequently seems to act in such a way as to exaggerate all the usual vices of the system. Thus no sooner were there riots in Amsterdam and the Dutch monarchy had incurred enormous unpopularity than there were proposals to increase the royal income in Holland. As a dutiful servant of big capital the Tory controlled council in Birmingham, despite the attempts of the LP apparatus, refused to stop rent increases to council tenants. Now quite brazenly they propose to sell the freehold of land to commercial occupiers who now have it under lease from the Corporation. There are also plans afoot to encourage house purchase by council tenants. ie an attempt to promote the differentiation between owner occupiers and rentpaying tenants. The Tory leader said quite openly "housing is no more a social service than food or a suit of clothes". It is of interest to note that just as this Tory council announces its naked class policy, a meeting of council occupiers (at a meeting in Newcastle under Lyme) in the Midlands announced plans to establish a "trade union" to represent all council tenants throughout Britain.

The fact that the Tories can do what

they like and the Labour council can do nothing but moan, is a further sign of the pressing need for genuine worker organisations to combat all the capitalist policies nationally and locally with a clear anti capitalist programme. Local "government" is a gross farce. The masses play no role within it. It is the preserve of local party bureaucracies, local government bureaucracy, local business interests etc. The masses play no part and do not exactly take local election with the most profound seriousness.

In their struggles in Great Britain, the masses are faced with the wholesale rottenness of the LP bureaucracy, the trade union apparatus etc and this makes for enormous difficulties on both the local and national plane. Thus the Tories can get away with their land policy in Birmingham for example (when the class explosion happens of course, it will be the expression of the enormous accumulation of class exasperation of a whole historic period).

It is essential that the tenants committees especially, stimulate the struggle of the masses around a land and housing policy which does not confine the struggle to reformist demands within the operation of the capitalist

system. More money from the state for more council housing can only come with the social reorganisation of the whole economy without capitalists. To produce more houses, to make the land available for housing, to use the land for planned urban and rural developments means nationalisation of the land, nationalisation of the building industry—no more building societies, estate agents etc Only with this programme and rent strikes around it linked with the struggle of the shop stewards committees will it be possible to smash the power of the capitalists and prevent the arbitrary actions of a Tory dominated council as in Birmingham.

**WE SALUTE THE LAUNCHING
OF THE CHINESE MISSILE
WITH AN ATOMIC WARHEAD,
AS A GREAT SCIENTIFIC
ADVANCE OF THE WORKERS
STATE AND A GREAT
ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE
WORLD MASSES**

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

THE MR 13 OF GUATEMALA

The Italian section replies to the slanders against the IV International

We take this from Lotta Operaia, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Italian section of the IV International. It brings out the miserable alliance of the agents of Imperialism, the soviet bureaucracy and the degenerated ex-Trotskyists of the Pablo, Germaine, Maitan, SWP fraternity, united in lies against and vilification of the IV International.

We profit from the publication of the article of Frente Obrero on the MR 13, to reply to a miserable attack which the journal of Maitan, Bandiera Rossa made in its July number. For two years and more the alliance between the IV International and the M 13, an alliance which led to the transformation of a guerrilla force into a revolutionary workers party, on the basis of the programme of the Socialist Revolution, the programme of the IV International, and to the extension of revolutionary influences throughout Latin America, was not mentioned by Maitan in his paper. It is only now that, profiting from transient situations inside the MR 13 and which are inevitable in every movement in process of construction, situations aggravated further by the liquidation of a numerous group of revolutionary militants of the MR 13 (among which were five members of the leadership and of the IV International) that Maitan speaks. The forces of the counter revolution inside the worker camp, at the head of which can be found the soviet bureaucracy and the bureaucrats of the communist party who follow them, see the danger that is represented for them by the development of the IV International with its programme and its policy and its leadership. They have sought to stop this development in order to prevent it becoming a pole of attraction for the whole Latin American revolution and even for the whole of the world revolution. For two years the bureaucracy and the CP-s slandered the MR 13, the Trotskyists, and Posadas. During the whole of this time, Maitan kept quiet. And the soviet bureaucracy, profiting from the policy of Fidel Castro, of conciliation with the bureaucracy, utilised Castro, after the closing of the Tri continental Conference, to lead the attack which everybody knows against the MR 13, against Francisco Amado and the Trotskyists, against Posadas. In attacking Amado and the Trotskyists as agents of the CIA, they invited imperialism and the Guatemala dictatorship to liquidate Francisco Amado and the Trotskyists leaders in Guatemala, pointing them out as the worst enemies of capitalism. Such was the object of the soviet bureaucracy. And to facilitate still more this act of gangsters, the Guatemala communists, agents of the bureaucracy, denounced directly our comrades. The Guatemala police and the services of Yankee imperialism have accomplished their mission: 28 leaders and militants of the MR 13, Trotskyists and revolutionaries have been liquidated. Maitan continued to keep quiet. It is only now in consequence, in part, of this blow against the MR 13, but fundamentally from the process of the construction and the development of the revolutionary movement in Guatemala that Maitan speaks. And he does not do so to defend the revolutionary movement, nor to denounce the bureaucracy which assassinated them and render homage to those who have died for the programme of the world revolution, of the IV International. No, Maitan attacks the IV International, denigrates the assassinated revolutionaries, attacks Posadas and tries to

introduce division between the IV International, the politically most mature comrades in the MR 13, that is to say the Trotskyists and the forces politically less mature. Such is the object of the soviet bureaucracy, of Castro, of Turcios and of the Guatemala communist party; that is to say detaching the MR 13 from the programme of the socialist revolution. Maitan has allied himself openly with the soviet bureaucracy, with the assassins of revolutionaries, with Castro, with Turcios and even objectively with Blas Roca, through the reference which he has made to the latter. In acting in this way Maitan follows his role of capitulator who has abandoned the ideas of the International, its programme, its policy and the Bolshevik conception of the party, the conception of the inevitability of the war, the positions of the International on the colonial revolution and on the Sino Soviet dispute so that the capitulators have arrived today at the position of supporting the soviet against the Chinese. It is for this reason that Maitan and all the capitulators, Pierre Frank, Germain, Pablo have been expelled from the IV International. Since then Maitan has continued to degenerate. His positions have nothing to do with the programme, the politics and the objectives of the IV International. It is sufficient to read "Bandiera Rossa" to see this. It is the reason for which in his attack on the IV International and Posadas and against Lotta Operaia, one does not find a single political argument, but only insults, calumnies and all the hysteria of a powerless petit bourgeois who sees the development of the revolutionary movement and of the IV International but who has a panic fear of the proletarian revolution.

To conclude this note, we reproduce the following extracts from an article of comrade Posadas 26/7/66 in which, referring to this problem, he said:

"It is necessary that all those who criticise the Trotskyists and wish to profit from certain transitional situations, from logical struggle in a movement in construction, as in the case of the MR 13, in process of transforming itself from a guerrilla group into a party which fights for the programme of the socialist revolution, understand that it is normal that constant crises exist, crises in the selection of cadres and of leaderships.

There has not been a single political accusation against us, neither on the part of Yon Sosa nor the part of the MR 13. None of them is against us. It is a question simply of internal discussions, of discussions on how to utilise a part of the functioning of the guerrilla struggle. All those who believed that it was possible to profit from it against the IV International, are dead".

Every movement which transforms itself from a guerrilla movement into a party or organised movement must pass through crises. And crises means not simply an internal crisis but a crisis with a programme and a crisis equally with contacts and allies. All this is logical. The nature of the crisis must be evaluated in relation to the programme and of the policy. Every movement which orientates itself toward the programme of the IV International inevitably must ally itself with the IV International. The latter is not measured on the basis of its numbers but on the basis of its historic capacity for comprehension, organisation and leadership.

Rhodesia: No Solution For Imperialism

It is now over a year since the regime of Smith and the Rhodesian Front declared unilateral independence. Despite all the bluster by the African leaders about using military force against Smith, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) did nothing; British Imperialism imposed some economic sanctions and feebly attempted to apply an oil embargo, but the white racists have survived with the support of South Africa and Portugal. Its economy has contracted but continues to function. The Labour government's forlorn hope that as a result of putting a little economic pressure on the regime, they would be able to replace Smith peacefully by some more moderate sector of the white ruling class has failed. And this failure is precisely because at this stage of the African revolution, there is no moderate sector of the ruling class; it is united to defend to the last ditch its class interests and privileges against the African masses. And this is the immense danger of the Rhodesia situation to Imperialism; it cannot be solved without violence, and what imperialism and the African leaders fear above all else is the revolutionary violence of the African masses.

The recently held Commonwealth conference which spent all its time discussing the Rhodesian situation, has a significance only as a demonstration of the decline in the authority of British Imperialism. The Commonwealth is now seen to be barely hanging together, there is a deep rift between the Afro-Asian-Caribbean members and the relatively prosperous and stable white members, Wilson was twice (perfectly accurately) called a racist by the Foreign minister of Zambia, and at the close of the conference British Imperialism was forced in some measure to make concessions to the African members. The communique issued at the end of the conference gave an ultimatum to Smith to negotiate a settlement with the British government before the end of the year or Britain would sponsor selective mandatory sanctions in the UN, withdraw all the previous proposals for a constitutional settlement, and not grant independence until African majority rule is achieved. This represents a considerable advance on the earlier positions of British imperialism, which before merely asked the Smith regime to give a promise that there would be unimpeded progress towards Africa majority rule, and that the present 'rights' of the African would be safeguarded. In the past Smith has refused to accept even these conditions but Wilson hopes that by threatening stiffer sanctions now, the Rhodesian regime will accept them. Thus the conference showed above all, the fear of an uprising of the African masses. This is why it was so anxious to find a 'solution', to the crises.

The African leaders of Commonwealth, although defending the interests of capitalism and imperialism in their countries, must at the same time respond in some way to the pressure of the African masses. All are rulers of countries dominated by imperialism and some have settler minorities, owning the best land, enjoying a standard of living well above that of the African masses. The African masses want them to go forward to attack imperialism, and to expropriate the land, the factories, while imperialism puts pressure on the ruling "elites" in a hundred different ways to make sure that they do not. At the same time these leaders want to prevent the independent revolutionary activity of the masses at all costs. For this reason they cannot appeal to the masses of Rhodesia to rise and overthrow Smith, they cannot put forward a programme to organise the revolutionary struggle of the masses with precise anti-capit-

alist and anti-imperialist objectives without at the same time stimulating the masses of their own countries to do the same. Hence they can only, lacking the purely military strength themselves, call on British Imperialism to intervene, or appeal to that organisation which did its best to crush the Congolese revolution (the U.N.), to use their good offices. It will be in spite of these leaders, and imperialism and the U.N. that the African masses will overthrow the Rhodesian ruling class.

The nationalist organisations in Rhodesia (ZAPU, ZANU) which claim to be organising the struggle have put forward no programme and in fact Z.A.P.U., which ideologically takes a pro-Moscow position, confines itself to the slogan of one man, one vote. The armed bands that have been sent into Rhodesia have remained isolated from the workers and peasants and the Smith regime has boasted of wiping out whole groups of them. Yet in the first days of UDI the workers of Bulawayo, went on strike and showed in demonstrations their desire to struggle, and were completely failed by their leadership. Because of this they felt alone before the great repression of the Smith regime and were unable to sustain the struggle or to take it to a higher level. But in the coming period they will do this. The nationalist organisations must learn from the programme of the MR 13 of Guatemala and from the programme of the Pan Africanist Congress; these are clear anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programmes giving concrete objectives of struggle to the masses, and to which the masses will be attracted to fight. They must put forward the slogan for the workers militia, expropriation of all imperialist and Rhodesian capitalist enterprises without compensation and under workers control, and for the expropriation of the land and its collective working, and the workers and peasants government. The Chinese leadership also must put forward this programme, explaining their own experiences with the communes which are of enormous significance to the underdeveloped countries. They must at the same time send all military aid, both arms and personnel to aid the Rhodesian struggle.

All trade union and political militants in this country must reject the nonsense peddled by the Labour left and the Communist Party about the need for British imperialism to send in troops. British Imperialism will only send in troops if the situation looks like getting out of control of Smith and the white racists. Troops would be sent in to prevent 'disorders' or a 'racial blood-bath' so-called, just as Belgian imperialism dropped paratroops from planes provided by the Yanks and flying from a British base, to smash the revolutionary centre of Stanleyville. Imperialism only acts in its own interests. Only the Rhodesian masses with the aid of the workers states and the revolutionary masses of the world can solve the Rhodesian crisis in its own interests. The struggle which will soon break out in Rhodesia will not be a racial bloodbath as the bourgeoisie press will try to portray it, but the legitimate, violent and bloody struggle of an oppressed people and class against its oppressors.

The inability of Wilson and the Rhodesian whites to reach agreement—until now at least—shows the enormous contradictions generated within imperialism by the advance of the colonial masses. And the latter are reaching out to the programme of expropriations of imperialist and capitalist property, militias, workers and peasant power—the only way for Rhodesia.

The shop stewards committees must act as the political leadership of the British masses

(Continued from page 1)

even that feeble at times—has been the shop stewards committees, and the various unofficial strike committees thrown up by the workers in the struggles with the employers. No other serious opposition to capitalism exists at the moment. Even the "left" MPs who find the enormous physical courage to actually abstain in Parliament against the Incomes Policy have, to date, a programme very close to that of the CP's i.e. that of a "reform of structure" of capitalism, as though it is possible to legislate capitalism out of existence. None of these MPs have posed a programme of struggle for the car workers and neither has Cousins. The factory committees are the fundamental means by which the working class is going to develop its own powers of political leadership and find the programme against capitalism. But before they can function properly it is essential that a genuine and regular democratic life is instituted, with regular mass meetings, regular discussions, regular elections. Local factory committees should develop their own broadsheets to discuss all the problems of the day, national and international that affect the workers movement. Whole industries must be linked up on this basis, not as an alternative to the unions but as the only guarantee that they function properly. Long ago Trotsky posed that the workers must not allow themselves to be led by the nose by reactionary union organisations. The unofficial committees must not confine themselves to merely minimum economic demands but think in terms of demands that pose the abolition of capitalism, equal pay for women, a basic minimum wage that rise with the the cost of living, workers control, nationalisation of all the key industries, all trade union officials to be revocable at a moments notice, a 35 hour week.

Furthermore they must put forward the general perspective of a new socialist party based on the unions and the factory committees. Already branches of the T.G.W.U. and the N.U.R. have refused to pay the political levy to the Labour Party. This shows the desire to break from the Labour Party and seek a new political centre. The factory committees must appeal for solidarity from the Constituency Parties, appeal for a break from the Labour Party around the anti-capitalist programme. But in the meantime the factory (shop stewards) com-

mittees must act as the political leadership of the masses.

Through the programme outlined above it will be possible to build a powerful revolutionary current to crush British capitalism and Imperialism.

Commemorating the Hungarian revolution

Ten years ago this month the heroic Hungarian Workers and students hurled themselves against the army, the secret police, and the Hungarian communist party bureaucracy. Within a few days the secret police were liquidated, the bureaucracy smashed and the Hungarian army has passed to the side of the revolution. This was not a fascist counter-revolution as the C.P.s have tried to characterise it, but, as the IV International analysed at the time it was a part of the process of the political revolution. The revolution was fought not to reinstall capitalism, but to install proletarian democracy, and it needed the military might of the soviet bureaucracy to defeat it.

While today we pay homage to the dead of the Hungarian revolution, we also note that in the 10 years since the revolution there has been a constant weakening in the bureaucratic apparatuses of the workers states. This weakening is caused by the whole international advance of the revolution which is stimulating the masses to struggle against imperialism, capitalism and the soviet bureaucracy. The stalinist monolith had already begun to crack before the Hungarian revolution, and this encouraged uprisings by workers in East Germany, and Poland as well as Hungary, and the bureaucracies were forced to make some concessions. Ten years ago the Hungarians revolution represented the highest point of the development of the political revolution; today the highest point is the mobilisations of the Red Guards in China. Ten years ago the revolution was crushed, today the political revolution in China surges on, purging the topmost leaders of the Chinese C.P. and it is going to continue. The Process in China continues that of Hungary, and it is leading towards the establishment of Soviets in China, the united front with the IV International, and the mass communist international.

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OUR PROGRAMME

1. A 35 hour week in all industries.
2. Three weeks paid holiday in all industries, leading to 4 weeks paid holiday.
3. An all-round 30% increase in wages. Establishment of a basic minimum living wage. All wages to rise with the cost of living. Commissions of workers and housewives to decide the contents of the cost of living index.
4. Equal pay for men and women. Apprentices doing the work of an adult worker to be paid as such.
5. Profits of automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter hours.
6. Pensions to equal the average wage, and to rise with the cost of living. Lowering of the age of retirement to 60 for men and 55 for women.
7. Compulsory day release for all workers for industrial training and further education.
8. Students to be maintained on the wage of the average worker, which will increase with the cost of living.
9. Expropriation of royal palaces, luxury properties and unoccupied dwellings to meet the housing shortage. Establishment of defence committees to protect against landlords' thugs, eviction by bailiffs and harassment by police. Organisations of tenants committees to have the right to assess and fix rates and rents.
10. Factories about to be closed to be placed under workers management, leading to nationalisation under workers management. A sliding scale of hours and reductions in work time without loss of pay to absorb workers whose jobs are threatened by automation. Workers now unemployed to be found work or given full maintenance.
11. Nationalisation of all key industries without compensation including banks, insurance, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, chemicals, motor manu-

- facturers and road transport services, arms and the building and building supply industries. Nationalised industries to be placed under workers control.
12. State monopoly of foreign trade. Nationalisation of big wholesale and retail enterprises.
13. Workers control of all industries. No commercial secrets. Workers committees to examine the accounts of all industries.
14. Expropriation of the wealthy farmers. Large farms must be brought into state ownership, and small farms federated and run on collective lines by committees of farmers and agricultural workers who would organise direct marketing of produce and cut out middle men.
15. Industrial unions on a militant anti-capitalist programme.
16. Formation of factory committees on each job and workers councils in each locality on an anti-capitalist programme.
18. For a single European Trade Union centre on an anti-Imperialist programme.
19. Struggle against Imperialism! Defence of the colonial revolution by every means including strikes, boycott and sabotage, and the despatch of arms to colonial workers.
20. Withdrawal from all Imperialist alliances, such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc., directed against the workers states and the colonial revolution. Alliance and solidarity with the workers states and the colonial revolution against Imperialism. Liquidation of the Polaroid and rocket bases and their means of supply
21. For the United Socialist states of Europe as part of a world front of socialist states.
22. For a workers government.

LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL

Editorial of "Voz Proletaria" after the Argentine Coup

Extracts from the Editorial of Voz Proletaria 2 July 1966. (Organ of the Argentine section of the IV International) against the banning of the paper.

The present military government will be catastrophic for capitalism in the country and Latin America. The peasant and worker masses for eleven years of dictatorship have not been conquered in the country and have made the most gigantic steps in the struggle for the class and revolutionary programme and leadership. The bourgeois leadership of Peronism and the union bureaucracy have already exhausted their experience as a leadership and are in crisis and decomposition. The class and revolutionary tendency have opened the way to construct the revolutionary leadership. The programme of Huerte Grande, de la Falda, the thirteen points of the CGT, the programme of the Fotia, the class and revolutionary tendency in the Fotia, and in the press union, respond to the national development of this class and revolutionary tendency. In fusion with it, in a United Front with it, Voz Proletaria and our party continue in clandestinity to do the same work which we have carried out until now. Delays are abridged and the rhythms of the revolutionary process accelerate and in consequence our responsibility increases.

The production and the clandestine diffusion of Voz Proletaria takes place today in better conditions than ever. Trotskyism, the IV International have definitely broken their isolation. Great sectors of the vanguard in the country and in the world adopt already the programme and the socialist policy of the IV International.

We appeal to the vanguard and the

masses to contribute to the publication and the diffusion of VOZ PROLETARIA in clandestinity. We appeal for subs, for the diffusion of the paper in factories, schools, faculties, workers quarters, for its distribution by all possible means. We appeal for the papers to be fixed to walls, to be distributed in the unions and the workers assemblies.

We call for the repudiation of the banning to be publicised as much as possible, with the denunciations and reports which the bourgeois press will deny and conceal. We call upon workers organisations to declare publicly for the legality of VOZ PROLETARIA AND THE ANTI IMPERIALIST PRESS and to impose this legality in fact by making each factory and workers quarter an invincible bastion in face of the repression-constituting workers committees which guarantee the diffusion of the workers press.

VOZ PROLETARIA demands a lot more expense and money. We make an appeal for support, subs, contributions; for incorporation in the party.

VOZ PROLETARIA in clandestinity, has full security that the workers movement, its vanguard and the masses, in a United Front with all the worker and revolutionary tendencies, popular and anti imperialist tendencies, in this stage of the final encounter with imperialism and world capitalism, will achieve rapidly the conquest of socialist legality for all the workers tendencies. It salutes the working class of the country and its vanguard and the world working class for their intransigent struggle, the struggle for the construction of the world revolutionary leadership, the militant Trotskyists, cde Posadas and the International Secretariat.

Letter of the Cuban comrades

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the best way to impel the Cuban revolution and the world revolution is to guarantee socialist democracy.

It is naive to make the masses believe that "Peking Review" and "New China" are not marxist revolutionary reviews just as it is naive to believe that the Trotskyists and the IV International are the agents of imperialism, just as it is naive to believe that the 13 November movement led by Yon Sosa is not the centre of the socialist revolution in Guatemala.

It is necessary to finish immediately with these barbarisms, for one can never educate in this way the revolutionary masses; calumny only serve to close the door on honest revolutionaries and that is what we consider you to be.

It is necessary to be conscious of the fact that the methods of struggle conducted by the masses of the world today are the methods and the programme of the IV International which is very soon going to decide and it is going to assert its revolutionary world force, its methods and programme. The methods and programme of the IV International lead to some concrete ways in a lot less time than it was necessary for the Communist Manifesto to be brought to the Soviet Union. From 1848 to 1917 it took 85 years to see the fulfillment of the Communist Manifesto. The programme of the foundation of the IV International has been proved in far less a time. From 1938 to 1966, twenty eight years have passed; which from the historical point of view means that the fulfillment of the IV International—of which one see already the first success—has taken less time than the period for the success of the Manifesto of the Communist Party.

We consider that it is not by applying adjectives to the different marxist tendencies that one convinces or educates politically the masses. The Bolshevik form of polemic is to oppose

programme against programmes. One cannot criticise Trotskyism by utilising smear words; Trotskyism is not abstract. Trotskyism is a programme in revolutionary action. One cannot convince the masses by calumnies to show that Trotskyism is an agency of imperialism.

We invite the leaders of the Cuban revolution to discuss publicly with Trotskyism as with the Chinese. The masses must not ignore why the CP is against the Chinese and against the Trotskyists. They have the right to know what passes within the interior of Cuba, what revolutionary policy means.

It is criminal, shameful to imprison the Trotskyists without any justification and unknown to the masses. The masses must know that the only crime of the Trotskyists is to oppose peaceful coexistence to fight for the world revolution and for the socialist democracy.

That is why in the name of the IV International, we demand the immediate liberation of comrade Idalberto Ferrera Ramirez and our comrade Luciano Garcia, imprisoned by the bureaucrats in the prisons of Santiago de Cuba and the right of our party to function openly

For the IV International,

Idalberto Ferrera R

Secretary of "Voz Proletaria."

Newspaper of the Cuban Trotskyists.

CHINA FACES THE SUPREME SACRIFICE

China expects the war, and is prepared for it. The Cultural Revolution signifies, among other things a deep preparation for the war. We have made up our minds for the supreme sacrifice of losing four hundred million of the chinese masses, we are prepared to lose Peking, Shanghai and Canton, but China will crush imperialism, because China knows it is not alone but part of the world proletarian revolution.

These were statements made recently by Marshal Chen Yi to a group of Latin American visitors to China.

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

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

NO 40

FORTNIGHTLY

DECEMBER 10th 1966

SIXPENCE

The conditions are maturing for the revolutionary current and the new workers leadership

The deflationary methods the government are employing to maintain the pound and the war economy have inevitably resulted in the running down of the whole economy. The steel industry, for example, is running more than 20 per cent below its full productive capacity and 35,000 steel workers are now on "short time." One steel works in Rotherham is actually running at 35 per cent below its full capacity and this is the lowest production has dropped for 30 years. Thus, each "solution" supplied by Wilson and company aggravate the social and economic crisis of capitalism. Everything is sacrificed for the war economy. Capitalism has no other path.

The attack on the standard of living of the workers in the country creates divisions between the once solid block of trade union bureaucracies and the Labour Party. Cousins, responding in some measure to the pressure of the workers at the base of the T.G.W.U., was forced to leave the government and is now compelled to demand a £15 a week national minimum wage. But, at the same time, he indulges in double talk about "Co-operation between unions, management, and government." However the fact that Cousins has put forward this demand will encourage even more pressure from the workers to actually achieve this basic minimum wage.

The Labour Government, while attempting to "freeze" the workers wages, has done nothing to prevent the cost of living rising 4 per cent in the last year (food prices went up by 4.5 per cent). And profits, we are told, are necessary for reinvestment and cannot be touched.

Inevitably these obvious attacks on the workers produce some reaction from within the Parliamentary Labour Party itself, but no anti-capitalist programme has emerged. Talk of reducing arms expenditure is futile. The only way to defend the interests of the masses is by mobilising them on the basis of a programme which takes account of working class interests.

It has been a measure of the desperation of British Imperialism that Wilson was prepared to risk further opposition from a large section of his own party by offering concessions to the white Rhodesian government. British Imperialism has shown all its impotence in failing to make an agreement with Smith, and this failure will encourage the Rhodesian masses.

The parliamentary opposition to Wilson has no understanding of the world process but repeated abstentions are a distant echo of the pressure of the British masses. The Communist party has a policy of a "united front" with these "left" M.P.'s and this explains the space given to the speeches of these M.P.'s in the C.P. press. The idea is simply to maintain opposition to Wilson on the verbal level, as part of the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy was confirmed by Kosygin's visit to France. There he was greeted by a 101 gun salute and then said Europe and Russia were advancing faster than America and condemned the brain drain! He is attempting to create a front of European capitalists and soviet bureaucrats to block the European revolution even though the weapons of French Imperialism, of which De Gaulle is the head, are pointed, not at American Imperialism, but at the Workers States. This is the measure of the counter revolutionary line of the Soviet Bureaucrats.

The attitude of both the soviet bureaucracy and Imperialism to the gains of the National Democratic Party in the German elections reveals the true nature of the Soviet leadership. There is no possibility of a Nazi revival in Germany, even Kiesinger, aware of the weakness of German

capitalism, is calling for the removal of "obstacles" between West Germany, the Soviet Union and the East European Workers States. But, the gaining of a few votes

by a right wing German national party has given the Soviet bureaucracy the excuse to talk of a nazi revival and it attempts to say to the European workers that imperialism is very strong and there is no perspective for socialism in Europe. It is also an attempt to revive chauvinism against Germany. Such are the stupidities of the soviet bureaucracy.

The diplomatic manoeuvres of the soviet leadership will not prevent American Imperialism launching the war against the Workers States. Johnsons tour of the Pacific area, his visits to Australia and New Zealand were all preparation for the war. American Imperialism intends to launch the war and the Soviet bureaucracy is desperately trying to hold back the world revolutionary process because they know that the war means an end to imperialism and an end to their own position of power and privilege. Even so they are forced to oppose American Imperialism in Vietnam. It is reported that Russian trawlers are radioing news of the departure of aircraft, from the American base on Guam in the Pacific to North Vietnam. This enables

North Vietnam to alert concentrations of Vietcong who then disperse leaving the original bombing area. So in fact, the need to defend the workers states creates an objective alliance between two workers states, despite the bureaucracy.

Wilson has already recognised the useful role—useful to capitalism that is—which the C.P. bureaucrats play. His attack on these during the Seamen's strike was a way of saying to the workers that these bureaucrats are the real militants, the real workers leadership. It is necessary, in his defence of capitalism, for Wilson to find a substitute leadership to mislead the workers now that the old T.U. bureaucrats are more and more exposed. The Communist Party fills this role extremely well.

The influence of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world is being felt more and more in this country. This has resulted in the "blacking" of an Argentinian ship by the dockers. This action was taken in support of Argentinian dockers who were on strike, by the T.G.W.U. and the N.A.S.D. Shortly after this the Argentinian workers have forced the C.G.T. in Argentina to call a general strike in defiance of the military government.

Workers in this country will be strengthened by this example of revolutionary action on the part of workers in Argentina. The whole world revolutionary struggle is
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The IV International supports the trial against Johnson, organised by the Russell-Sartre-Cardenas Committee

The IV International launches an appeal that this trial be held immediately, that the World Workers Movement participates in it, and calls at the same time for anti-imperialist demonstrations in every country.

We greet the trial organised by the Russell-Sartre-Cardenas Committee. In the way that it has been prepared it is limited, because it has not allowed the intervention of the masses, but we salute the intention, the motive, of those who are organising this trial with Russell, Sartre and Cardenas.

Let them go ahead. They are still limiting the question within the framework of an intellectual condemnation of imperialism, when what is necessary is an appeal for the mobilisation and the organisation of the action of the masses to overthrow capitalism. One must give support to this trial, but at the same time make an appeal for mobilisations. This tribunal must meet and the world workers movement must participate in it. The Chinese, the trade unions, the workers centres must participate and transform this tribunal composed of personalities into a world public tribunal. It is necessary to transform this appeal, which is intellectual into a revolutionary world mobilisation.

The Chinese must intervene. We appeal to them to base themselves on all the forces which are acting today, like this committee itself and which basically, are pushed forward by an anti-imperialist sentiment. Russell, Sartre, Cardenas are in process of making a great progress. They are in process of showing that an intellectual sector—which still serves as a bridge between

capitalism and the world petit bourgeoisie—is in process of escaping from the control of capitalism, which is altogether collapsing. One must use this fact, which has a great importance, to mobilise what is called world public opinion and to seek a centre.

The Soviets are going to try to maintain this trial simply on the level of a declaration. But Russell, Sartre, Cardenas are not acting with the objective of making a simple declaration. If they remain on the intellectual plane, it is because their mentality is this way; but basically it is an attempt to intervene. They have not the same objectives as the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is for this reason that it is necessary to base oneself on the fact that they want to intervene and fight basing oneself on them, in order to intervene and to make the result the mobilisation of the masses.

It is not necessary to wait till March. It is necessary that this trial is held now. We propose the calling of a meeting to condemn imperialism now immediately. The IV International launches an appeal to this committee, to meet immediately and to call together all the world workers movement, all the revolutionary tendencies to this meeting, to condemn imperialism and draw conclusions from it, conclusions for activity so that this condemnation of imperialism has a practical, active sense, that is to organise activity. We propose that this meeting be made immediately. Any delay will be put to profit by the Soviet Bureaucracy in order to prevent mobilisations and

maintain this trial on the plane of a simple declaration, of an intellectual "exercise," a declaration which condemns and goes no further.

The IV International supports this tribunal and makes an appeal to all the trade unions, to the workers centres, to the students, to the Workers states, to all revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements, to make a statement and intervene. The International calls at the same time for the realisation, concretely, of mobilisations in the entire world against imperialism. Out with imperialism from Vietnam, down with Imperialism in every country of the world! For the expropriation without compensation of all imperialist enterprises! For the occupation of the land, its expropriation without compensation, and its distribution to the peasants!! For the expulsion of American bases! For the unconditional aid to the masses of Vietnam! It is necessary at the same time to make an appeal to the Workers States so that they intervene in Vietnam, so that they send arms, volunteers, so that they put all their resources at the service of the war against imperialism. It is necessary to appeal for a World United Anti-imperialist Front! It is necessary to appeal to the trade unions, the negroes, the students of the United States to unite with the masses of the world to smash imperialism.

September 1966

The International Secretariat of the IV
International

THE REVOLUTIONARY CURRENTS IN THE C.P. MUST STRUGGLE ON THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

With the enormous weakening of imperialism and the crisis of the soviet bureaucracy and allied communist parties, it is inevitable that tendencies arise in the communist parties which are against the parliamentary road to socialism and all allied forms of class collaboration. The process of the disintegration of the communist parties is particularly advanced in Italy. There, a multitude of revolutionary currents are in process of development. The communist workers in Trieste and Genoa showed a revolutionary spirit completely opposed to the line of the communist party. In Great Britain also it is inevitable that the process of the world revolution is leading and will lead to the creation of tendencies critical of the leadership and its fawning over peaceful co-existence. Such tendencies inevitably tend towards Trotskyism because the process is Trotskyist and dictates a Trotskyist orientation.

The conditions for the operation of such tendencies are much more favourable than in the past and these cannot be destroyed or demoralised in the same way. In the recent past the so called "Pro Chinese" tendencies acted in part as a pole of attraction for those seeking a genuine revolutionary solution. But the pro Chinese groups have shown themselves as elsewhere to be mere vehicles for stupid anti Trotskyist slanders belonging to the Stalin era. Whilst the process in the Chinese workers state is continuing to advance towards the positions of Trotskyism—Lin Piao has more or less put forward the idea of right of tendency in the workers states, the right of the masses to criticise the leadership,—in the main the pro Chinese groups were well behind the developments of the Chinese leadership, confined themselves to general propositions attacking revisionism, without really developing a concrete programme of any depth or seriousness to push forward the struggles of the British masses. But the phase when such groups could operate is over. They have disintegrated or failed. Any new Pro Chinese group, if it has any value will have to take account of the enormous advances of the political revolution now taking place in China. But in any case the development of the process of the political revolution will act as an enormous encouragement to the currents operating in

the communist party. The leadership of the British communist party were quick to condemn the process in China and the Red Guards in particular. The revolutionary elements in the CP must force discussions of this process and expose the leadership of the party who have reacted as the good bourgeois they are. And these elements must go directly to the workers, supporting the revolutionary mobilisations at the same time as they put forward programmes of support for the struggles of the British masses.

It is necessary to organise a systematic discussion of the policy of the communist party as it is being applied to the struggles of the British masses. It is necessary to understand the reactionary role of the communist party in the struggle of the seamen and in the car industry. In both strikes they made no endeavor to construct an alternative leadership to the existing trade union bureaucrats and reformists. Verbally they oppose the policy of the government, denounce it as benefiting capitalist interest, but when it comes to a specific programme by which to mobilise the masses, they show that they are in practice no different from the "right wing" trade union leaders that they denounce. Essentially their role is to be a substitute leadership for the old trade union hacks when the latter have so discredited themselves that there is a danger that the masses will advance well beyond any possible control. The so called "communists" in the Seamen strike did nothing to prepare the men for the collapse of the judas leadership of Hogarth or prepare a genuine fighting policy which would have mobilised the widest possible support for the seamen. In the crisis of the car industry the CP leaders in shop stewards committees have never seriously organised mass meetings with a real fighting policy of factory occupations, enforced work sharing with no loss of pay. When a more "left" CP tendency under pressure decided to organise a walk in on November 7 in Tractors and Transmissions, it cannot really be said any adequate propaganda or mass meetings were held to rally support. Basically it was viewed as a "symbolic" gesture. To mobilise the masses means intensive mass meetings, appeals to other factories etc. Suddenly to become militant after years of

soporific peaceful co-existence with the bosses and without any adequate preparation courts disaster. After producing a shambles the CP then puts it right by saying "we were too far ahead of the workers to take them with us" Similarly in the docks, the CP leadership of Dash has simply stagnated the struggle when a clear lead could long ago have led to the actual implementation of workers control through the length and breadth of dockland. Dash similarly made no systematic effort to mobilise support for the seamen when they were on strike. The verbal militancy of the CP throughout the seamen's strike—which announced a qualitative new stage in the class struggle in this country—was a camouflage for a policy of peaceful co-existence with the Wilson government, as is the policy of the soviet bureaucracy in foreign policy. Peaceful co-existence with capitalism allows any treason to prevail, because everything is submitted to keeping the peace with capitalism. Wilson's attack on the CP was simply a great subterfuge to create illusions that the CP was capable of giving an alternative leadership.

In the present world crisis of world and British imperialism the communist party gives no revolutionary perspective to the British masses. On the contrary, they scoff at any suggestion that the British masses are capable of making a revolution. Do you really believe this they say. And then they have the incredible effrontery to quote Marx and claim that they are communists, when their whole attitude is conditioned by the perspectives of petit bourgeois interests. When they speak of a united front, they speak entirely in terms of a front with left reformist MPs and trade union bosses with similar perspectives of slowly eliminating British capitalism "legally." People such as this will write in the "Morning Star" but when it comes for example to giving a revolutionary lead to the miners—who as at Bevercotes have paralysed the Coal Board—we hear nothing from Brother Paynter but various pious phrases and conciliatory proposals. It is no use summoning conferences of opposition to the wage freeze without any concrete platform of struggle resting on the struggles of the masses themselves. It means putting forward demands which range from minimum economic de-

mands to more elevated demands ranging from the occupation of factories to the establishment of workers defence committees, workers control, etc.

We have only to see the type of line put forward by the CP on the question of the common market to see the reactionary positions of the CP. They condemn the Common market but propose no European perspective for the struggle of the British masses. We are presented with visions of an all powerful capitalism mobilising behind itself the revanchists forces of a voracious Germany on the road to Fascism. The CP has not failed to try to exploit all manner of chauvinist anti German sentiments on the Common Market question instead of posing to the British masses the fact that capitalism is weak and the German bourgeoisie as shown in the fall of Erhard, their former miracle man, is entering upon confusion and insecurity. The way to oppose the Common Market is to raise the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe and associate this with demands which unite the struggles of the British and European masses, for a 35 hour week, equal pay for women etc. But the CP for example in the interests of peaceful co-existence never gives European perspective before the masses, it puts its trust in diplomatic arrangements with de Gaulle etc.

Inevitably currents of opposition are growing within the base of the communist party. We call upon the branches of the CP and the YCL who are orientating themselves towards a revolutionary perspective to enter upon a united front with us. They should intervene in factories with leaflets putting forward an anti capitalist programme on the lines we have suggested. They should endeavor to fuse their branch with the activity of the masses and should publish bulletins orientating the masses, making them feel the process of the world revolution and its repercussions in the struggle of the Vietnamese masses and the political revolution in China. They must conduct a vigorous internal political life, examine the ideas of Trotskyism, challenge in practice the whole line and programme of the British communist party. They should have a perspective of breaking from the communist party and working as independent revolutionary cells in whatever area they find themselves.

The Liege demonstration of the 15 October — a counter revolutionary manoeuvre of the capitulators

(From Lutte Ouvriere, paper of the Belgian Section).

About three thousand young people, students for the most part coming from several countries, participated in the 15 October demonstration at Liege "Against the army, against NATO" organised by the Socialist Young Guard. This demonstration was—and so it has been seen—a manoeuvre on the part of the leaderships of the Socialist Young Guard and of the PTW to try to show themselves publicly as a force, to try to show that they exist. Their object? It is quite simply to recover some authority over the party base which remains to them by showing an activity, a struggle. And at the same time they offer themselves—to the bureaucratic leaderships, Kosygin, PS, FGFB, with whom they are conciliating—as a substitute leadership, to prevent the expression of the workers vanguard, students and petit bourgeoisie who seek to intervene directly in the capitalist crisis in Belgium and against world imperialism.

The slogans against the army, against Nato identify themselves completely with the policy of the soviet bureaucracy in agreement with European capitalism to "neutralise" Europe militarily and to allow the bureaucracy to develop the United Front with capitalism against the revolution in Europe. If Belgium "formally" left NATO, the soviet bureaucracy would have a pretext to uphold openly Belgian capitalism, as it is in process of doing with

French capitalism, against the Belgian masses.

Such a demonstration is not only useless. It is not by pressures of this sort, without the masses that one can "convince" the capitalist government to renounce what it has considered more and more as its only weapon: its military force to try to defend itself from the Belgian masses and the world revolution. It is a counter revolutionary demonstration because it tends to divert the vanguard from organising real revolutionary struggles: work stoppages, strikes for immediate demands in Belgium and against the counter revolutionary war of world imperialism in Vietnam.

The demonstration itself has expressed in all its clarity the total rejection of every reformist manoeuvre, the death of all the groups who have claimed to offer a reformist policy, a substitute policy more left in words only than that of the Bureaucrats. The working class was totally absent from this demonstration and the Socialist Young Guard was hardly able to mobilise more than 2-300 from the whole country.

Expecting in advance this defeat, the organisers made a great effort to attract participants—British, French, Dutch. But as the demonstrators recognised themselves, what had stimulated these to come was the opportunity to participate in an international demonstration, to demonstrate together against imperialism. They were then a distant reflection, a deformed deflection of the consciousness which exists among the

masses for the necessity of the anti imperialist and anti capitalist United Front and the possibility of its immediate realisation within the European frame work.

Each of these groups moreover demonstrated on their own account with slogans and banners. The official slogans were disregarded. Slogans and placards were centralised around the condemnation of the war in Vietnam and solidarity with the revolutionaries of Vietnam, without at any time formulating the slightest proposal as to how this was to be accomplished.

In spite of all the intentions of the leaders, this demonstration could not avoid reflecting the radicalisation of strata, students for the most part under the influence of the world revolution, particularly from Vietnam and China and also the world authority gained by Trotskyism and the IV International. They demonstrated in the streets shouting "Long live Trotsky. Long live the IV International" and the soviet bureaucracy and the social democracy found no echo, no further base to attack and terrorise.

But we reject the utilisation of the name of Trotsky and of the IV International by individuals who has long ceased to have anything in common with the thought of Trotsky and with the militant Trotskyism of the IV International.

We denounce the usurpation made by Mandel, Frank, Lambert, Maitan, Healy, etc. traitors and capitulators, under the name of the IV International to try to

make appear as revolutionary, their policy of conciliation with capitalism and the bureaucrats of the CP and the SP, their alliance with the soviet bureaucracy and through them, with imperialism, against the World revolution.

The IV International is a programme, a policy a militant action in the service of the progress of the world revolution. The policy of the ex-Trotskyists is entirely counter revolutionary as the Belgian masses have found from their own experience whatever the words or the actions to which they have recourse, to try to present themselves as revolutionaries. The capitulators are against the proletarian revolution in Europe, in upholding a sector of the bureaucracy of the CPs and the SPs and of the trade unions against the organisation of revolutionary currents and tendencies.

They are against the fundamental centre of the world revolution in allying themselves with the bureaucracy of the USSR against the Chinese revolution, communist party and masses. They condemn the defeat of the political revolution in Hungary in 1965 but in doing this they present the bureaucracy with a force which it does not possess, as if nothing had happened since that time; in fact the revolution was temporarily contained in Hungary but it advances rapidly today in China. The capitulators try to restrain the United Front between the Chinese masses and the revolutionary masses of the entire world in trying to

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The student mobilisations reflect the necessity and decision for revolutionary changes throughout the world

J. Posadas

The mobilisations of the students in Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Spain, Belgium, Italy, Japan are a world mobilisation. When they reach such a degree of profundity, when there is such unanimity throughout the continents, in almost twenty countries, which attracts the majority of the students this does not only express in a general form the radicalisation of the petit bourgeoisie. When there is such a massive unanimous mobilisation it is because they are expressing the fact that the conditions, the possibilities are ready for the taking of power on a world scale. The mobilisations of the students are being realised at the same time in which the struggles of the European, Japanese and Latin American proletariats are in constant ascendancy.

The strikes in Italy, Belgium, Great Britain, France, the strikes in the Argentine, the reanimation of the struggle in the miner proletariat in Bolivia, in Chile, against their own leaderships, shows that the world pressure of the revolution, that the revolutionary will of the masses has no centre to express itself and on the other hand that the student sector can express itself more freely because it is not subject to the parties, to the trade unions, is not blocked by the bureaucratic apparatus, by its peculiar conditions and functioning. And when this is expressed in such a massive form, it indicates that there is a climate of enormous social pressure which the student movement receives and expresses but this does not stem from it alone. The methods of the struggle, the objectives, the forms of organisation are proletarian; occupation of the universities, hostages, student control, demands or the direct intervention of the students in electing the rector, deciding the course of studies, eliminating backward courses, the struggle for modern scientific programmes of education, control on the part of students of teachers and courses, the elimination of reactionary elements. This is not merely a student struggle; it is not simply a student reform, it is the social struggle raised in the student field and the social struggle for the change of power.

It is the expression in the student field, the advance warning that in a short stage of months, perhaps of a year there will take place an immense advance, the reanimation of the world revolution. But the student mobilisation in this form is not unanimous. In France, the students were at the head of the resistance to Mitterand. In Belgium they first mobilised in support of the Flemings against the Walloons, then they supported the strikers against the police. They went to give support in one area to the Flemish sector against the Walloons. The miners strike was launched and they resolved to support the strike and attacked the police and produced a phenomenal

mobilisation. The mobilisation in Spain acquires a revolutionary character of the first magnitude. Through these struggles the students are imposing the democratic rights of the masses and are advancing to overthrow Franco and the Capitalist regime. It is for this reason that it is not possible to take the student mobilisations throughout the world as mere professional or sectional reactions but as the aspiration towards change, of great sectors of society such as the petit bourgeoisie. The proletariat has shown its decision to overthrow capitalism, and the peasantry also. And all the exploited masses have demonstrated their desire to overthrow capitalism.

The struggle of the petit bourgeoisie of the United States shows the maturity of the American proletariat and of the world revolution.

When there are such events on a world scale, it is because now the conditions are right, precisely right for the world development of the revolution. For this reason capitalism cannot stabilise itself. For this reason Kennedy speaks of making arrangements with China because he feels that capitalism is dying. He tries to gain time, seeks the lesser evil. For this reason they sack Thomas Mann. For this reason also the governments of Latin America make opposition to the Yankees and make demands on them, demands of a bourgeois order nothing more. They are not demands favourable to the masses. They are simply a means to obtain more concessions, but at the same time to allow capitalism to remain (reference to the Bogota conference.) This is the situation which exists on a world scale.

A sign of the weakness of imperialism are the persistent declarations of Kennedy and the current which supports him on the basis "now it is necessary to negotiate with China." He does not strictly say "negotiate" but says "it is necessary to open the way to talk with China," and this means to negotiate. The current which has formed around Kennedy has a very great importance because already it is not a question of declarations. They are working on these lines and although they have no deep differences in objectives with Johnson and the Pentagon, they have to use this language to obtain political support and sympathy. They do not use other language because it will have no success, but at the same time they feel that the sectors, the peak of the financial power of American Imperialism, those who dominate and determine the policy of American imperialism are those who must jump on the hot plate this time, not them. They want to make them dance, it is a mad attitude because the man who

is dreaming is Kennedy. And perhaps they will kill him, not immediately but it is going to happen one day.

The determining force in the economy of the United States is heavy industry and the base of heavy industry is the arms industry not car manufacture. It is investment in war industry. If they contain, detain or diminish the expenditure or even without diminishing it, only contain the expenditure for the production of arms, they enter into recession and crisis rapidly. Shortly there will be one of the greatest social struggles which history has known because now the American proletariat is going to enter into struggle as a class, basing itself not on the experience of strikes, of the transport strike in New York but on the world revolution in Dominica and Vietnam. All that it is now seeing, observing accumulating, feeling and judging from within, tomorrow it is going to show externally. The students, the teachers of Berkeley, of California (the occupation of the University was made by Trotskyists), the students and teachers have the resolution and courage and part of its political comprehension, its own comprehension, is part of the influence of the world revolution. The environment in which they live does not allow them to make such conclusions. It goes against this. But when they are capable of maintaining themselves and persisting, it is because not only the world revolution influences them but they feel in the worker, poor petit bourgeois sectors of North America, a process of political preoccupation against the policy of imperialism throughout the world.

When there is such political preoccupation, which expresses itself in strikes, declarations, in the action of teachers and students, in the extension which is each time greater in the struggles of the negroes, it is because there exists in North America an

ample base among the proletariat disposed to an independent action as a class. That is to-day, the process is posing a WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS OR THE INDEPENDENT WORKERS PARTY. The teacher and students mobilisations are the indication of a much more profound process than the one they are immediately expressing.

There is a constant mobilisation of the student and petit bourgeois masses, lecturers, police (in Uruguay the civil police rejected the order of the head of police, by not employing methods of police struggle but those of the proletariat). The teachers, doctors

of Italy win, in Argentina there was a general strike of teachers and it succeeded. The workers occupied the trains, stopped them, turned them back, took hostages. The population intervened in the struggles. Children, women and young men, all. It is not the strike simply of the workers, it is the strike of the family. They are Trotskyist methods. This is the conception of the class struggle at this stage of history. EVERYBODY INTERVENES BECAUSE EVERYBODY IS INTERESTED. For this reason, the strikes, and student mobilisations, show that in a short stage, they are going to give way to the struggles of the peasant and worker masses.

Action of the class and party is necessary

The student conquests are never going to elevate themselves on the basis only of student movement. The action of class and party is necessary.

In Mexico as part of this world process, the objectives merely to impose a rector and a teaching programme will never be obtained with the student movement because that would be dual power. A pressure is necessary and a social force infinitely superior to the student movement. The movement has demonstrated an immense strength in having thrown out the rector and all the councillors but to impose a rector and a teaching programme means to dispute with the bourgeoisie the social basis of student selection, the mode of selecting the intellectual resources of the population. And this cannot be developed with the student movement but only with the organised worker and peasant movement and the party. And in Mexico the proletariat has not got its own class party, there are no democratic class unions.

There are gangsters, real gangsters who do nothing but envy the United States. The trade union leaders are bosses, owners who sell their position to the State and the capitalists.

For this reason it is important and fundamental to see the methods of struggle of the student sectors. In Mexico and Colombia, above all, the students have worked with the methods of proletarian revolutionary struggle whose objectives are not simply university disputes but dual power. In all, they are each time more preponderant, gravitating towards the basis of dual power and the process is going to pose now the necessity to extend the base of social political action, because the student movement is insufficient.

Peru has a brutal history of class struggle. It is useful to make an analysis above all on the cultural plane. In Bolivia as in Peru, and in part in Ecuador and before, in Mexico the bourgeoisie, the cultivated petit bourgeoisie argued that the struggles of these countries were very backward, because they were the result of a history of the submission of the natives. These countries inherited the submission of the Indians. For this reason they accepted capitalism. There was no development of the communist consciousness, there were no revolutionary class organisms. Capitalism had more possibilities to sustain itself and develop. This is totally false. The peasantry of these countries, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, the small part of North Argentina, inherit a tradition of semi feudal relations in the methods and forms of exploitation. The system is capitalist, the forms are semi feudal some feudal. But the peasantry did not submit. Who says that they submitted? The places of the greatest uprisings have been in Bolivia, Peru. The peasantry of Peru, of the North East impose their right to trade union organisation. The Bolivian peasantry made the agrarian reform, they imposed it. The Ecuadorian peasants supported these mobilisations and made an agitation demanding the right to trade union organisation.

The Mexican peasantry constantly occupies land and confronts the army and

the police. In Colombia also. The workers of these countries are organised in trade unions and the most decisive proof that there is no submission, that there is no submission of a backward race is that the Bolivian proletariat one of the most backward countries of Latin America, fourteen years ago nationalised the mines.

And not even military dictatorship has been able to return it to private property, because the proletariat defends it with life and soul.

It is not the proletariat or the poor petit bourgeoisie who are responsible or culpable for the situation in these countries. It is the impotence of capitalism which has been incapable of developing the continent and in not being able to develop, there has been no development of culture or intelligence. It cannot develop the intelligence and capacity of a country where there is no life, where there is no food, where there is no organisation to live, no work, where the level of life is the lowest, where there hardly exists minimum conditions. The development of capacity and intelligence, the development of the decision is part of the social development of the country. When the country itself does not have it, demonstrating that the country is a unity and that the masses move in accord with the criterion of social progress, the masses of these countries who have no party who have no capitalist development, who have no commercial development, the culture of commerce, feel the INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION and express it by nationalising the mines.

One of the most elevated forms of culture is the nationalisation of the mines. The writers and the literary gentlemen do not take this into account, because they say this is a socio-economic programme. No, this is culture. What is culture? It is the comprehension, the dominion over experience in order to be able to progress. And what is the nationalisation of the mines? It is the essential basis of economic development of the country which serves the well being of the masses. As they do not have power, it is of no use to them, it serves capitalism. But it is a condition, stratification of property. They do not take it into account and it is the masses who have done this if the masses did not want the nationalisation of the mines who would have done it? And the proof is that this military dictatorship of Barrientos was not capable of returning it to private capitalism.

It is not the masses who are responsible for the backwardness of these countries nor have the masses become submissive. It is the bourgeoisie who submit. It is the wealthy petit bourgeoisie who submit because it has no interest in confronting and on the contrary fears to confront world imperialism and nonetheless seeks a national explanation to justify itself to itself why it does not mobilise against imperialism, against capitalism. It suggests that it is necessary to endure oppression against the nation, the submission to imperialism because there is no other way of acting. "The population is very submissive, very divided,

The student mobilisations . . .

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very fragmented," that is the argument. A divided fragmented people is divided into so many departments and provinces. It is fragmented indubitably when it is impossible to produce order when the structure of the country is disordered; but it has order in so far as it tries to organise the struggle for power. It has an order which knows very well what it has to do without anyone saying it; the anti capitalist struggle. The backwardness has nothing to do with the backwardness of the Indian nor the Peruvian population. The capitalists are the backward ones. They have been incapable of incorporating in the country the slightest benefits of civilisation. Albania was one of the most backward countries in the world and China was more backward than Albania and Korea more backward than China, much more backward; Manchuria was more backward than Albania, China and Korea. And then Vietnam. It is necessary to see

The direct influence of Trotskyism as the expression of progress in the student struggles

Now in this stage of history, the communists of the world, Fidel Castro is incapable of influencing the Latin American revolution. He influences nothing. The workers state influences very limitedly. And it is not the policy of Fidel Castro which impels it. It is sufficient to see that he accused Francisco Amando of being an imperialist agent and the Nov 13 movement and the Trotskyists of being imperialist agents. And the Trotskyists are imprisoned throughout the world for struggling for the workers and peasants governments, are imprisoned not for making declarations, but for fighting concretely. They appeal for struggle. They appeal, agitating for the programme, making meetings, demonstrations.

The campaign of Fidel Castro and of all the communist parties, the campaign of the review "Politica" of Mexico (which is the most important in Mexico, subsidised by the government) was dedicated for two months, daily to criticise Trotskyism with insults, calumnies, denigrations. This invites betrayals, accelerates terrorism, betrayal. Why? If they were politically secure and strong, they would not do this. They would fight politically. At the same

Vietnam now. It was a most backward people, very enslaved. In five years they have transformed the country showing a capacity for creation, intelligence and immense initiative.

It is a social problem. When nationalised property allows the masses to intervene, when the nationalised property forces the bureaucracy towards a development of society which will allow in one way or the other the better utilisation of the forces of the planned economy, the masses can intervene even on a limited scale but they can intervene.

And submission, backwardness, isolation are finished with. This is what happens. And the proof lies in Bolivia. It is the impotent petit bourgeoisie which seek to explain to itself why it is not capable. So they put the blame on the masses. They are the ones who hold in their hands the instruments of culture, of administration, of organisation and they have been incapable of using them.

time they slander; the Mexican daily papers slander the POM.

In Mexico the comrades gain an authority of such a nature that they have succeeded in influencing a pro Chinese group, with some numbers to break away and bring out a publication and attack the conciliators. This is the authority of Trotskyism. This is a stage of great concentration of the experience of struggles and also cadres. They come with their experience. The proof is the POM who propose the most important tasks. This is the student movement which assumes the representation of being conscious that there is no student advance without the proletarian revolution. It is the influence directly of Trotskyism.

At the same time the idiots slander; idiots from F. Castro to Blas Roca. The Mexican government condemned eight Trotskyists as revolutionaries, for fighting for THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT for appealing for the overthrow of imperialism, for the occupation of the Universities, for imposing workers control, for imposing a new rector, a rector who must agree to eliminate the political obstacles which they had before and among these the elimination of one of the essential clauses of capitalist control, the selection of the student intake for the university being determined by the entrance examination. The fight of the comrades to eliminate the entrance exam. is just and logical. The entrance exam only has one reason; the selection of the student body. INTELLECTUAL SELECTION BY ECONOMIC MEANS. The student can be very capable but if the authorities feel he will be a political enemy, they prevent his entering in one way or another.

The examination has no importance in any way. It is socialism which is going to demonstrate that it is not examination which decides the quality of the student. The examination can be simply a statement learnt by heart. The examinations of the entrance students are to determine the selection of the students. In Mexico a political bureaucratic apparatus which is very large, is allied to the bourgeoisie and has some strength, there is a United Front of the gangsters (as the bureaucrats are called), of the political bosses of the regions, with the bourgeoisie and imperialism against the Trotskyists and with the support of Fidel Castro, who although he does not appear so, is allied to them.

The International grows slowly nevertheless, because we are the centre of the pre-occupation of the bureaucracies of the workers states and of the communist parties of the world; the review "Success" of Mexico, "Siempre" and "Politics" in one month have produced main articles in the centre against J. Posadas and the International. They call us charlatans, especially J. Posadas. Why do they make us the centre of criticism, our small Mexican party? They accuse them of adventurism but they must be Titans to produce so much agitation. They say that we dream about the nuclear bomb, that we are eight, but on the side they admit that each one is worth a thousand. We are not important because we are decided and capable, but because we understand the objective course of history.

The weakness of the proletariat is compensated by the world influence of the revolution.

In Peru there are no mass trade unions. There is no mass trade union tradition. There are few general strikes. In Argentina it is the reverse. There is an annual programme of general strike. In Bolivia there are successive general strikes.

In Peru there is no class party, there is no class mobilisation. There is no united front of workers, peasants, petit bourgeois except sporadically. Consequently the class struggles are much slower than in other countries. Slow does not mean that they do not exist and that they are not going to develop. The virulence of the student camp, the occupation of the University of San Marcos, the taking of hostages, the attempt to impose the election of the rector, to change the programme, is not inherent to the students movement. The student movement from its nature cannot change the structure of society because that depends on the economy. The student does not make the economy. And why does the mobilisation reach this level? From where does it come? It is the influence of the proletarian programme. It is the permanent revolution. In a country in which the proletariat has not sufficient weight to decide, does not have organisms or organic life to decide, the influence of the proletarian programme is based on the world revolution.

The weakness of the proletariat is compensated by the world influence of the revolution, and this is an identical influence. For the proletariat is identical in itself, is identical in all parts. Its physiognomy and objectives are the same because of the programme and the objectives which it pursues, that is to say to overthrow capitalism, to struggle for socialism, to construct socialism.

To attain this, to organise the masses, to occupy factories, general strike, factory committee, worker and peasant government, taking of the land, handing over of the land to the peasants, to oppose bourgeois power, to dispute bourgeois power by proletarian power, dual power constantly arises in the factories, in the occupation of the factories and the taking of the hostages. The students acquire these methods. And this is the influence of the revolution. This indicates that in due course in a few months more in the course of the year perhaps, the proletarian struggles are going to start from a much higher level. Thus a strike at Bata (a most important shoe factory) two years ago, in spite of its limitations, was sufficient to stimulate Fertisa (fertiliser factory) so that a more elevated strike has resulted, with factory occupation and hostages. This is the influence of the world revolution.

The proletariat is not going to have to run a whole apprenticeship, it already bases itself on this world experiences and when it bases itself on this, it means that they are not waiting but already they have it in their mind to act and try to impose themselves. Thus they influence the students.

If the proletariat did not make factory occupations etc the students would not make such strikes, they would not do what they are doing; they are an echo of the proletarian struggle. But an organising centre is lacking and the blame is not that of the proletariat or the Trotskyists. The workers states have authority but they utilise their authority to pervert the process, thus it is logical that the masses not only do not have a centre but they meet difficulties in orienting themselves in seeking for another centre. The masses see a great centre, a powerful weighty centre which blocks capitalism; the workers states. They do not see the antagonism and the contradiction between the revolutionary necessity and the leadership of the worker states. But there is a limit in this lack of comprehension. The proletarian and student struggles in Europe are growing and are going to have an influence rapidly in a short stage, in the course of this year and it is necessary to prepare for this. There can be a great development of our party in the worker and student movement, with the dynamism of the world revolution. The Chinese with all their capacity are advancing rapidly and they have the strength of six hundred millions and are holding the Yankees. The

process of history is slow, not because it is fated to be so but because it is blocked by the soviet bureaucracy but its limits have arrived at the end and it is necessary to prepare for this. The essential conditions for this are political and theoretical comprehension. It is the ordered theoretical and political life that matters, not the study of scientific theories but the dominion to be able to comprehend the world process of the revolution. It is necessary to prepare to intervene in this process; to prepare seriously.

The intervention of the proletariat is necessary to be able to decide and to impel the struggles in Peru and in the whole of Latin America, including the peasants. The students are not able to leave on one side the peasant movement.

There is no Student party, there is no student movement in itself. There is a revolutionary movement in the student camp which has a specific programme but which only expresses the particular tasks of the student camp; nothing more, absolutely nothing more.

All the cries and the attacks and tricks of the pro-Chinese of Peru, who were at the head of the student movement (they are going to have little more life) cannot fight against capitalism without a programme which expresses a possible and necessary progress. None of them has such a programme. Their programmes are simply bourgeois demands, demands of bourgeois liberalism. In this stage, it is necessary for democracy in the student field whose essential base begins with the programme of study. The student wishes to know where his life is going, where his future lies. And for this the movement has to demand that the programme of study is raised, this is the principle of democracy. And this cannot be pursued without the struggle in conjunction with the proletariat. But without waiting for the proletariat to organise itself. The student movement must help the proletariat, stimulate it to organise and afterwards make a united front on the basis of a single anti capitalist class and revolutionary party. It is not the backwardness of the countries which allows the control of the bourgeoisie. All this is a lie. Only a small part of the population votes, nevertheless there are strikes, everybody intervenes. The masses of Peru have not been able to centralise themselves, the forces which have authority and weigh as socialists, communists, Cuba, Fidel Castro even the Chinese have not developed the role of class organisers. For this reason the difficulty of the masses. On the other hand if the masses do not feel themselves capable of organising, they have shown what they can do when they have organised trade unions, have taken lands throughout the country and Latin America.

It is on this basis that it is necessary to organise the activity in the student camp.

It is necessary to organise a current in the student camp with the understanding that the student movement by itself alone has a limited policy of progress for the country, even cultural progress, because what decides is the administrative apparatus of capitalism. It is there that economic, financial and political power is concentrated. The student camp has no force to destroy it.

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present what is happening at the present moment in China as a stalinist manoeuvre. They ally themselves with the soviet bureaucracy, with imperialism, with the bureaucrats of the CP, SP and of Fidel Castro in the campaigns of calumny and attacks against the IV International and the Trotskyists throughout the world.

But in organising such a demonstration, the capitulators utilised a double edged weapon. The demonstration showed their failure and the death of any reformist policy, clearly rejected by the workers and its vanguard. In the measure that the masses advance on the road of constructing their own class and revolutionary leadership, as they are already in process of doing in Belgium and in the world. They are going to fuse more and more with the IV International and the revolutionary, current which is maturing in China.

WORLD TROTSKYIST PRESS

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

ARGENTINA: *Voz Proletaria*, organ of the Workers' Party. Centenario Uruguayo 1751, Lanus, Pcia de Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM: *La Lutte Ouvriere*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Claudine Pölet. *Die Arbeiderrijd*, organ in Flemish of the Belgian Section, 30, Nieuw bruckaai Gand.

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

BRAZIL: *Frente Operaria*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Caixa Postal 4562, Sao Paulo.

CHILE: *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Trotskyist). Casilla 14054, Santiago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL: *Cuarta Internacional*, organ of the International Executive Committee of the IVth International. *Revista Marxista Latino Americana*, organ of the Latin American Bureau.

The student mobilisations . . .

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The proletariat, workers and peasants yes. But the student movement must orientate itself for the construction of a class organism, revolutionary workers party for the

tasks of the student camp. They are not professional tasks. The tasks which the student consciousness now demands, the necessity for progress and change is the same as in the trade union camp.

decisive importance because in Vietnam it is possible to see the concentration of the forces of the revolution and of the counter revolution and imperialism on a world scale.

Ecuador shows that the student struggle is limited

Ecuador is a demonstration that students action has a limit. The students were the axis which overthrew the military junta but they overthrew it, not because they were the sole axis but because the bourgeoisie had an interest in overthrowing it. The military junta no longer served its purposes. It had to overthrow it but had no force to do this. It had to mobilise the masses. And if it mobilised them, the masses would have gone further, using the mobilisation to advance and to go against capitalism. The bourgeoisie were afraid for this reason it was the students who mobilised but in an empirical form. There was no centre.

Thus the bourgeoisie used the student movement. What is lacking in Ecuador is the PARTY WHICH ORGANISES THE MASSES, the proletarian and exploited masses in its totality workers, peasants and students. Ecuador shows this. There was no centre. The leadership does not arise from one day to the other. What is the centre? It is the political authority which the Leadership must have already and it is that which decides and mobilises. This does not arise at a specific moment because in order for the centre to arise and exist, it has to have the confidence of the class with whom the cadres acquired authority and they mobilise the class. The cadres of the party mobilise the class with the authority already gained in the class.

The students were in Ecuador the weapon to overthrow the dictatorship and the students and the workers used and tried to use this to advance farther. They showed this by freeing all the political prisoners, taking the radio stations but there they stopped. Why?

The city, the masses did not see an authority in them. If a party exists which fights for the programme, which fights for the organisation, this attains authority and when the circumstances arise and the party appeals, a leadership already exists. They do not come to the students, they come to the party. They come to an organiser which for stages and epochs has shown itself capable of organising. Ecuador is demonstrating the physiognomy of what Peru, Columbia, Bolivia are going to become very shortly.

The bourgeoisie of Ecuador see and permit the action of the students because it sees, foresees that a centre does not exist. There is no authority and it can use this situation. It allows the students to overthrow the military junta because it cannot impede it and because it can control it passively. It received the benefit of the movement; but partially because the student movement is united to the workers, peasants, office workers. In Cladas the students and workers dominated for a good time. This decayed because there is not, there does not exist in Ecuador an organised political centre; the same in Peru. Imperialism allowed the dictatorship to fall because it was no use to it, had no support in the masses and was a dictatorship which at any moment could fall but an organised centre was stimulated which in place of giving time to the military junta, to arrange its replacement by a new capitalist team, threw it out and gave the bases for a new workers and peasants government. The military junta in Ecuador was not against capitalism, on the contrary. But it did not serve to administer the country.

The great importers were against the regime. So were the great landowners. A whole combination of sectors were against the regime. Nevertheless there remains in power a firm, secure, stable, representation of big capital and of the large landowners, combined with the commercial bourgeoisie interested in the development of the internal market. And this movement has made a result, a great step forward for the sector of the Guayaquil bourgeoisie against the commercial bourgeoisie of Quito. This is part of the combination of the struggle. The

bourgeoisie of Quito had an interest in the continuation of the Military. But the Guayaquil sector was not in favour of this because it was a question of internal trade. The movement in Ecuador shows clearly that the students could mobilise, are capable of mobilising but not of organising and directing and giving, a social revolutionary solution.

This shows the necessity for the party, the class and revolutionary party.

The university movement, the students, can raise sufficient limited successes, but cannot sustain them. Its social force is insufficient for the conquests which can be raised. For example, the power to impose a new rector and a new programme of studies is not in relation to the forces themselves of the students. If these succeed in imposing themselves, it is not because they have the capacity to impose themselves on the capitalist state of themselves but because they can rely on the crisis of capitalism, with the struggles of the proletarian and peasant masses, with the world revolution and the workers states which is the central axis of the crisis of capitalism.

For this reason the students can achieve a series of conquests which are in disproportion to their social capacity. They receive, support themselves in the force of the world revolution, expressed in the struggles of the proletariat for the occupations of the factories, occupations of the land, the taking of hostages on the part of the workers and peasants of the world and in Latin America. But even so the students cannot sustain their conquests, for example in relation to negotiating with the rector and modifying the programme of studies. Capitalism is not going to allow such a dual power. Only by extending its strength will it be able to maintain the conquests which it is making in relation to syllabus, democratic rights etc. It is necessary to appeal to the comrades and students for the comprehension of their social and professional role, student and factory role. The social force of the proletariat is very limited but it weighs and determines and decides because it is the centre of the economy and society. And the economy determines and decides.

The bourgeoisie can make a series of concessions in the university field. These are determined by the struggle of the students but these concessions have a limit, if they are not extended, the concessions already secured will be withdrawn. For example the syllabus which abandons at the moment the old and archaic studies now prevailing and introduces the materialist dialectical conception cannot be implemented without teachers who know and can implement such a syllabus.

All this process is the advance of dual power. That is to say the bourgeoisie is abandoning in consequence, the basis for training the agents of bourgeoisie. But this is not decided in the student field but in the general social field; in the revolution. It is for this reason that the student comrades must unite their struggles with those of the proletariat and must help in the organisations, the constitution of the WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY with the anti capitalist programme. It doesn't matter that there are people who say that we are adventurers, whether they are communists or not. The world is not going to follow these people who say this in fear and impotence, but it is advancing towards the revolution.

For a year and a half we have said "Vietnam centre of preparation of the world revolution and of the nuclear war. A small country is acting as a world centre."

When throughout the world, Vietnam is the centre of the preoccupation of the masses including the workers states, it is because the conditions are ripe for the taking of power on the world scale. Vietnam has no importance. Geographically Vietnam is a little country, but socially it has such a

The university and secondary education mobilisation has a characteristic which is fundamental to understand the revolutionary process which is developing in Mexico. The secondary students have been one of the essential motors in maintaining the struggles. The dispute has been not only for secondary issues but to determine the structures of the university. The students themselves have demonstrated that they wish to decide the fate of the university as an exploited sector of the population, that they are going to determine the course of society. And the points which they propose to follow and which they are going to attain in a short period declare they are resolved to change the structure of the university, which is the equivalent to wishing to change the society. The points which they wish to change, mean the elimination of capitalism so that it does not decide the programme of study, determining the programme of study, determining who can or who cannot study. They want to decide the appointment of rector the programme of studies, appointment of teachers, elimination of police vigilance, immediate passing from secondary to university education, that is to say they are against selection, against capitalist whims to decide who studies.

The capitalist regime cannot absorb the number of students, it has to eliminate an immense number. It eliminates them in four ways. The most powerful is the economic, the students cannot sustain the complete course and abandon study en route. Secondly, selection by means of the entrance examination, thirdly internal repression to impede the student agitation through agents and fourthly via the syllabus which is anachronistic, reactionary which does not take into account the evolution, the development of the dialectical thinking of the students. The persistence of the student mobilisations shows that the students are ready for changes, they wish to change society.

The same stage exists in the working class with the difference that the workers are submitted to the "union" bosses and because there is a salary relation, a whole stratum of the bureaucracy has been created which allows it to dominate in the workers camp. It is different in the student field, as in other countries of Latin America.

In the student field a bureaucracy has not been able to organise itself because there are not paid posts where they could base themselves on the aristocracy. And the student aristocracy is subject to the direct pressure of the world revolution.

It is for this reason that the student mobilisations not only in Mexico, in the capital but in Puebla and in other department states indicate that the students wish to change society, its programme shows this; a change in the structure of society in which they participate directly. In the worker camp it has not been able to accompany this movement through the subjection to which they are submitted through the whole bureaucratic organisation of the workers movement.

The demonstration of the 1 May shows a very noticeable reduction in the participation of the workers. Half of the electricity workers voted not to participate accusing the government of being reactionaries. And in the field of the electricity workers, a marxist revolutionary grouping has been formed. The government immediately attacked the Trotskyists. And already they are investigating if the Trotskyists are there. They fear that each fraction and organisation whatever it might be, may be a base for the development of Trotskyism. Its fear is certain and logical, but it is impotent to prevent anything. Progress has to express itself in some way. The most complete way of expressing itself lies in Trotskyism, for this reason the groupings and tendencies which organise themselves to struggle for progress in the trade union struggles, in the student struggles or social struggles have a Trotskyist programme, because it is the programme which responds to the necessities of this epoch, of this stage.

The decisive lesson of the process in Mexico, as in Peru, Bolivia etc is the necessity to unify the student struggles with the workers movement. And a fundamental conclusion which shows the resolution and maturity of the revolutionary consciousness of important layers of the Mexican students is that the programme of the POM (the new student party which has just been organised) is directed at seeking the solidarity of the United Front with the workers, the peasants and petit bourgeois employees and this is going to signify shortly a very great progress of the class struggles and it will help the proletariat to differentiate itself from the ruling bureaucracy and the capitalist government. This indicates the necessity for the formation of the fraction, and of a United Front of all the currents in the student camp who propel the revolutionary struggle. This is the conclusion of these movements.

In Mexico the very great absence in comparison with past years of workers students, peasants, urban petit bourgeois in the march past on the 1 May shows that there is a process of elevation and maturity constantly among the exploited sectors of the population.

In Colombia 62 per cent of the population abstained in the elections, an immense number, nevertheless the struggles of the masses have not been delayed, the student struggles have reached a tremendous virulence. There have been constant demonstrations, occupations. There was the kidnapping of the bus, kidnapping of five footballers, as a protest against the government and the rector, the teaching and the reactionary leadership of the university. At the same time they confiscated five buses and took them to another state of Colombia, to another university where there was no bus. All these methods of struggle demonstrate the decision and resolution to lead of the students.

There must be no confusion. They are not the promoters of this process. They are an echo of the process of the struggles of the proletariat on a world scale, in Europe, the struggles in Santo Domingo, Vietnam. But at the same time, it shows that even without the proletarian mobilisation, the students come out to struggle; as in Mexico, without receiving proletarian solidarity. This is not because the proletariat does not wish to give it in the factories, the workers areas, the proletariat would give it, but in the trade union organism, the gangsters do not want the proletariat to show solidarity, conduct strikes, demonstrations, meetings. And the students must direct themselves to provoke, to stimulate, to seek the United Front with the proletariat. For this reason the government reacts, as Hitler reacted, as Mussolini, as Franco against Trotskyism, against the revolutionary currents, against the revolutionary student currents, against every other current and student organisation which orientates and proposes means of action and programme with revolutionary objectives and which seeks the United Front with the workers, because it feels extremely weak. It fears the worker student alliance which is going to attract the peasantry. Capitalism feels itself to be weak, for this reason its brutal reaction against the workers movement, against the democratic rights of the Revolutionary Workers Party, the organisation of the Mexican Trotskyists. This is in unity with Fidel Castro, it is the same conclusion, it is against the democratic rights of the revolutionary tendencies.

It is for this reason that it is necessary to organise in every faculty, committees to function as a class and revolutionary tendency to provide the base of the United Front, to reanimate and continue the struggle for the most complete programme, in the search for the solidarity of the masses, of the worker and peasant movement, on the basis of a common programme of demands and anti imperialist and anti capitalist objectives.

There is no possibility for the development of any communist party in Latin America, either of the Chinese or soviet variety. The development of the pro-Chinese communist party will take place on the basis

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The Healy group resorts to fascist methods

We publish the following letter because we think it is necessary for revolutionaries and militants in the workers movement to understand the nature of the organisation of the SLL which masquerades as "Trotskyist" but is more akin to a fascist organisation in its methods and to social democracy in its perspectives.

Naturally we completely disassociate ourselves from the opinions of Ernest Tate as the organisation to which he belongs is another miserable perversion of Trotskyism. The so called "United Secretariat" of Germain, Maitan etc gives no revolutionary perspectives for the world masses, has followed Castro quite blindly, has no real comprehension of the process in China, and regards the prevention of the nuclear war as more important than the world seizure of power. In other words they have capitulated to peaceful co-existence. The SWP wing of this outfit is nothing more than a liberal organisation in the USA and they all

showed their true colours in their agreement with the Stalinist bureaucracy that the intervention of the IV International in Guatemala was "adventurist." Having said this and we could say much more on this subject, the fact remains that Tate has a perfect right to sell his literature. He has the right to exercise the right of tendency.

As our readers can see, the beating up of Ernest Tate was systematic and the brazen manner in which it was done by Healy's hoodlums shows very clearly the openly vicious anti working class nature of the Healy gang. These stoneage creatures are always bragging about their ability to organise demonstrations of "Youth." The latter are generally petit bourgeois and student gatherings but they also include more than a scattering of lumpen proletarian elements, ideal material for beating up operations. The presence of these people is aimed at deterring anyone who might have different thoughts from the leadership. As we have discussed before the Healy group offers no serious revolutionary perspectives for Great Britain. Their activity during the Car mobilisations show that like the CP, they are masters of verbal games. They actually said in one article in their paper that strikes must be made through official channels. They have not argued for factory occupations but they are very good at resolutions in TU branches on nationalisation under workers control but suggesting no means of doing this. They turn the Transitional programme into symbolic utterances. In fact as they have shown over their attitude to the proposed walk in at Tractors and Transmission they were against it. In other words they take up an openly social democratic counter revolutionary position.

The period now opening is one with enormous revolutionary world and national perspectives, and it is at this time that the Healy group will inevitably become more and more vicious in its dealings with revolutionaries and anybody who exposes its non-Trotskyist character. There can be no doubt that some of the people in the organisation would at another period have worked in fascist groupings.

We have shown before that the Healy grouping has a real function in relation to Imperialism. It can confuse the vanguard but increasingly as Imperialism becomes more desperate, it will attempt to use its agents in the Healy organisation to act as provocateurs, to terrorise revolutionaries. Imperialism is very weak, it is incapable of mobilising big fascist currents but it will use what can be used and the SLL outfit is ideal with its gangster methods and the fascist mentality which prevails within it.

We denounce the beating up of Tate.

Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

now so intense that action by workers in any country in the world has a great influence on all workers. And this is despite the absence of the very necessary mass international workers organisation.

Despite the lack of a workers centre in Great Britain, the struggle of the masses is continuous and they are not held back by transient defeats. All the apparatuses of the traditional workers leaderships are bypassed by the masses. The C.P. does all it can to sabotage—Paynter the C.P. Miners leader tried to prevent a strike in Scotland recently, but all the pressures in the world centralised in the process in China, cannot be contained by Kosygin, Johnson, Wilson or Gollan.

We base our confidence on the struggles of the masses in this country and the world. In Germany capitalism is so weak it has to lean on the apparatus of Willy Brandt, whose party has a workers basis.

In this country the constant struggles of the masses, the seamen, car workers, etc, have prepared the conditions for the revolutionary current and a new workers leadership based on the factory committees (shop stewards). We call for the programme of nationalisations under workers control, Equal pay for women, etc, to be pressed forward on the basis of factory occupations, inter industrial strikes, work sharing with no loss of pay, mass meetings of workers to prepare the way for the unlimited general strike.

The Rhodesian crisis further weakens imperialism

Wilson has failed again. In the preparations for the Third World War British imperialism desperately has sought for a solution favourable for Imperialism over Rhodesia and again it has proved impossible. World imperialism finds it more and more difficult to rally its forces and paper the cracks. However Wilson and the capitalist class he represents has no interest in the freedom of the African masses. Whatever he does will only be a manoeuvre to block the masses. We call for strikes and demonstrations in support of the Rhodesian masses, with slogans of encouragement for the African masses, for a workers and peasant militia in Rhodesia, for the expropriation of all imperialism at home.

It is necessary for the Chinese to orientate the whole African continent with the perspective of the United Socialist Federation of Africa. They must denounce all the games at UNO. U Thant is acting as a front whilst world imperialism prepares for war. And above all the Chinese comrades must use all means to help the masses directly in Rhodesia with correct appeals for the seizure of the land and the sending of arms and money. The ruling cliques in Rhodesia and S. Africa are preparing for a bloodbath of the masses. It is necessary that the masses are given a clear perspective for the taking of power on the basis of the workers and peasant militia and the seizure of imperialist and capitalist properties.

The Healy press is always piously denouncing the misdemeanors of the "communist" parties but fundamentally there is no difference between Stalinist and Healyite methods. The SLL and the CP leaderships and the LP leaderships are identical in that all of them are anti-working class in outlook. They have no time for proletarian democracy. They do not want real discussion in their ranks. We repeat to all militants and workers that the beating up of Ernie Tate is not an isolated incident and will not be the last until a real workers state exists in Great Britain and organisations like the SLL in the service of imperialist interests no longer exist.

We call upon all YS branches to denounce this brutal beating which has nothing in common with Trotskyism but a great deal to do with capitalist and Fascist methods.

It is necessary to be aware of the odious anti-working class nature of the SLL to understand that its function, like that of the Kosygin CPs, is to mislead and to confuse militants with endless "lobbies" and vague agitation.

It is necessary for militants to observe the confusionist line of the SLL, to realise that its frenetic viciousness is only of value to Imperialism. Violence is permissible against the class enemy, not against misguided militants. The SLL and its activities disrupt and confuse. Their lumpen elements, and sectarian viciousness provide imperialism with stooges against Trotskyism. We warn militants that the methods of the SLL are not aimed at capitalism but at the interests of the proletariat, the interests of socialist truth and perspectives.

E. TATE'S LETTER

Dear Editor,

I believe it is a tradition in England that all socialists should be allowed to sell or distribute their literature, without hindrance or fear of violence, outside public meetings. I would like to report an outrageous violation of this tradition to your readers and ask for their assistance in preventing it from happening again.

As quite a number of people on the Left know, I manage Pioneer Book Service, a large outlet for Trotsky's books in England, and I or some of my friends try to cover most meetings with our literature. On

Thursday, 17th November, I went along to Caxton Hall to sell literature outside the Socialist Labour League's meeting on the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution.

I arrived at 7.15 p.m. and began to sell the *International Socialist Review* and a pamphlet, critical of the S.L.L., entitled, "Healy Reconstructs the Fourth International." Several people were selling literature. A group of Irish Communists were selling their publication and someone was selling the *English Militant*.

Initially there was some baiting of me by the Socialist Labour League supporters who were selling the Newsletter in the doorway of Caxton Hall, but nevertheless I was not prevented from selling.

At 7.50, Gerry Healy and Michael Banda entered the hall. A few seconds later Healy came to the entrance and indicated to his followers that I should be removed from the front of the hall.

I was immediately set upon and physically assaulted by six or seven Socialist Labour League supporters. My literature was knocked from my hands—I was punched and thrown to the ground, my glasses were smashed, and as I lay on the ground I was kicked repeatedly in the groin and stomach.

After the attack I had to attend the casualty department of Middlesex Hospital and I was forced to stay in bed for the greater part of the next day. At the moment of writing I am still badly bruised.

The issue is a simple one. The Socialist Labour League leadership hope by their actions to prevent me selling my literature outside their meetings. They hope to take away my freedom of speech. This attack comes after a number of threats against me and my friends by members or supporters of the Socialist Labour League. At Brighton during the Labour Party Conference, my comrades were physically threatened and prevented from selling our literature. The same was true at the recent anti-war demonstration in Liege, Belgium, where I was threatened.

I refuse to be intimidated. Neither a Fascist Mosley nor an ultra-left sectarian Gerry Healy who imagines himself to be a Trotskyist, should be allowed to curtail our democratic rights. I intend to be present at the next public meeting of the Socialist Labour League to sell my literature. I ask for the full support from all people on the Left to ensure I do it without interference from the misguided followers of Gerry Healy.

Fraternally,
ERNEST TATE

The student mobilisations

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5
of a revolutionary programme and in consequence under the influence of Trotskyism. The decisive proof is that where there is a pro-Chinese party, it tries to develop a revolutionary policy, is influenced by us immediately and enters into a united front with us; as in Mexico, Italy, Belgium and afterwards in other countries. There is no rival to our parties but so that our parties have no rivals in Peru particularly, as in other countries of Latin America, it is necessary that it demonstrates its capacity for organisation. There must be more publication, more agility, more dynamism, more resolution, more serenity. It is necessary to mature, to have greater preoccupation to bring out publications, to distribute them, to study, to write articles which strengthen and construct our fractions and tendencies

and the United Front. The present crisis, towards the left of the Chinese communist party and of the Chinese government will favour enormously the solidifying and maturity of currents towards a revolutionary Policy on a world scale among the student movement, the petit bourgeoisie, particularly, and the worker movement. The crisis is going towards our leadership, that is to say confirming the politics, the criticisms, the corrections and propositions and the activity of the IV International.

J. POSADAS

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CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF HUGO BLANCO

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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



NO 41

FORTNIGHTLY

DECEMBER 27th 1966

SIXPENCE

The only way to smash the capitalist offensive is the mobilisation of the masses around the anticapitalist programme

The new rules laid down by the Prices and Incomes board published last week, defining "productivity agreements" show the uncompromising attack by capitalism on the standard of life of the workers. These rules which are supposed to operate in the period of "severe restraint" are authoritarian decrees to make the pay freeze last as long as the government wishes. The workers movement struggles for everything that it can get from capitalism, not just what capitalism says it can afford. To set up "productivity" under capitalism as the deciding factor in wage agreements is sheer dictatorship. Under the new "regulations" if a productivity agreement is settled for one group of workers but the authorities consider this would provoke resentment in other factories i. e. other workers would press for the same wage, then the agreement cannot be made!! By bringing in these rules the Labour government makes it again very clear that the state is intervening with all its strength to keep down wages. Last month the cost of living rose 0.7%, while wages must not advance beyond 3½% per year. There is no control of council rents, mortgage interest rates have gone up to 7%. This is the face of capitalism. It has nothing to offer the masses.

There is a conscious effort by all the official working class organisations in this country to block the struggle of the working class. Cousins argues for his 15 pounds a week basic minimum wage (nothing about rising with the cost of living) but he does not go on to give any idea how this can be achieved. It is not sufficient to put forward this as a slogan without showing the measures by which it can be imposed, i.e. planned co-ordinated strikes, factory occupations etc.

At the Dec. 3rd conference of shop steward committees which was held in London, with a C.P. orientation, nothing more concrete was proposed for the workers to do, than various forms of protest. The T.G.W.U. accepts the proposals for decasualisation in the docks and the rationalisation of the labour force there,—capitalist proposals. It refuses to mobilise the dockers to extract all the profits of automation for themselves. Just as they sabotaged a joint struggle of dockers and seamen the C.P. hopes to cement its ties with the 'left' MPs to block the formation of a leadership for the workers against capitalism. Thus we see Jack Dash of the Port Workers Liason

committee, a representative of the C.P. at a meeting of dockers to discuss the Devlin report, urging the men to go to their trade union branches and pass resolutions opposing this report, i.e. he submits the workers own leadership to the bureaucrats. Dash played a rotten role when the seamen were on strike, calling on the dockers to continue to work. This is not the way for unofficial committees to operate. The Port Workers Liason committee should now be violently opposing the Devlin Report, and substituting a plan of their own whereby every docker will gain the benefits of a guaranteed wage to rise with the cost of living, holidays with pay, sick pay, no-one to be unemployed, workers control of the docks.

The attack of the National Union of Building Trades Workers last week on the Unofficial Sites Committees in the London area has shown the enormous gap between the leadership and the petit bureaucrats of the Trade Union apparatus, and the living organisations of the working class. The building workers unofficial committees held a one day strike and a demonstration in London in early

November against the wage freeze, and have organised many militant struggles on the sites, and the N.U.B.T.W. sees that this unofficial committee is growing and viciously suspends those who participated in the recent demonstration. This again confirms that the real source of a serious workers leadership must come from these committees.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF EUROPEAN CAPITALISM DEEPENS

Whilst British capitalism launches a wholesale attack on the living standards of the masses, the preparations for the counter revolutionary world war against the workers states and the revolutionary world masses continues. Recently a meeting of the N.A.T.O. command in Europe was held in which Germany participated and this meeting was obviously devised to accelerate the intergration of German capitalism in preparation for the war that is coming. The Soviet bureaucracy allies with De Gaulle in a stupid diplomatic game to 'weaken' world capitalism against the U.S.A., 'revanchist' Germany and the proposed entry of Britain into the Common Market, but all its diplomatic manoeuvres mean no advantage for the workers states or the world Revolution because such manoeuvres are all part of the policy of peaceful coexistence and the refusal of the soviet bureaucracy to put forward a revolutionary programme for the European masses. In Great Britain and in the other European Communist parties, no alternative to the Common Market is put forward by the CP's save a 'Conference' for 'peace' and 'security' in Europe. With the increasing economic crisis of major industries in Great Britain and Europe such as steel, coal, and the car industry, plus the inevitable increase in automation, European demands for the 35 hour week, basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, workers control and nationalisation of the key industries have an enormous relevance to speed the way for a United Socialist Europe. But the C.P. refuses to conduct such a campaign and this indirectly sustains the Wilson government and British capitalism and imperialism.

The failure of Wilson to come to an agreement with Smith even after the trip in the 'Tiger' is a great blow to imperialism. Wilson desperately wanted to come to a settlement with Smith and made

enormous concessions to the 'illegal government' saying in fact that Smith could remain in charge as long as they worked towards majority rule no matter how long it took. The only stipulation that Wilson seems to have made was that Africans should be part of a 'Broad Based' government, and Smith couldn't stomach this. From his point of view to have given posts in a government to Africans would have been to give the african masses more confidence in their struggle and so helped to precipitate the revolution in Rhodesia. Wilson will now be engaged in doing as little as possible to unseat Smith and everything to placate Vorster. But whatever measures are resolved upon at U.N.O. etc. the breakdown of negotiations over Rhodesia is a real blow at Wilson and world imperialism. The hysterical outbursts of the Tories show their realisation of the seriousness of the crisis. As we have argued before, the most vigorous aid the British workers can give the Rhodesian masses is by weakening and destroying British Imperialism in its home base.

The fact that British Capitalism is leaning on the Labour Party and indeed getting from the L.P. all the support it needs, the fact that the Trade Unions and the C.P. bureaucrats 'left' and 'right' attempt to sustain the Labour Party and therefore support capitalism makes it obvious that the only way the working class in Britain can overthrow capitalism is by building their own independent organisms. The bases for this already exists in the Shop Stewards Committees, but it is necessary for these committees to function on a regular basis, not simply to appear when the immediate situation demands it and fade away afterwards. The Labour Party with the T.U.C. and the C.P. present a complete block to the struggles of the working class and unless the unofficial committees are organised democratically with regular meetings, regular elections of officers, and linked from one industry to another, giving a political lead and acting as an organising centre for the workers, their struggles will continue to be blocked. The capitalist class through the labour government has put through a whole series of measures and initiatives, a veritable offensive against the workers. Only by the organisation of the workers around an anti-capitalist programme directly within the factories will it be possible to smash this offensive and open the way to the conquest of power by the workers.

Homage to David Aguilar

The British Section of the IV International renders homage to the Mexican Trotskyist Student David Aguilar who was killed a year ago this month by the Guatemalan dictatorship.

David Aguilar died fighting for the Socialist Revolution in Guatemala. In spite of his death, in spite of the death of many revolutionaries in Guatemala, in spite of the military repression and the role of the Guatemalan Communist Party which has betrayed many revolutionaries to the police, and in spite of the pressure of Fidel Castro, the struggle for the Socialist Revolution is continuing in Guatemala led by the MR 13th November, who are fighting on the programme of the IV International. David Aguilar has not died in vain.

WORKERS CONTROL

A transitional demand based on the revolutionary experiences of 1917

The slogan of "Workers Control" and "Nationalisation under Workers Control" are more and more finding a response in the trade union movement; for example the Hull district NUS put forward the demand for the opening of the books of the trawler companies to the trade unions, and there has also been a discussion in the AEU on workers control in the steel industry after nationalisation, and even in the Liberal Party Conference the Young Liberals pressed very strongly for workers control of nationalised industries. However the slogan has been raised in all sorts of confused ways, from the completely reformist suggestions of participation of Workers representatives on the boards of companies (this completely robs the slogan of its revolutionary implications) to the demands for self-management as in Yugoslavia, which in fact means a destruction of the central state plan and the introduction of chaos and competition into the economy of the workers state. Workers

Control is none of these things, but means control by the workers factory organisations over all the internal life of the factory, and is not intended in itself to provide lasting solutions to the problems confronting enterprises in the period of the death agony of capitalism but to raise the confidence, the consciousness and the level of organisation of the workers, and to show up more and more obviously the irrelevance and parasitism of the bourgeoisie.

A clear explanation of what workers control means is given by the resolution of the Factory and Shop Committee passed on the eve of the revolution which is published in John Reed's "Ten Days that Shook the World." We have reproduced a small section here because of its importance as a programmatic explanation of Workers Control. Also we publish the draft regulations on Workers Control instituted by the young soviet state just after the seizure of power,

RESOLUTION OF THE FACTORY AND SHOP COMMITTEE

Factory and shop Committees Resolution Part 14.

Matters of employment, discharge, vacations, wage scales, refusal of work, degrees of productivity or skill, reasons for abrogating agreements, disputes with the administration and similar problems of the internal life of the factory must be settled exclusively according to the findings of the factory-shop committee, which has the right to exclude from participation in the discussion any members of the factory administration.

Extract of Part 15.

The factory administration is obliged to surrender to the organs of Workers Control, for their aid and information, all data concerning the business to make it possible to verify this data and to produce the books of the company upon demand of the factory shop committee.

Part 16.

Prevention of illegal acts by the administration, finding of means to deal with the matter even to the extent of confiscation of factory.

The events leading up to the insurrection of 1917 bring out the transitional quality of the demand of Workers Control. On the initiative of a factory committee the Bolshevik faction of the Moscow Soviet issued on the 23rd October its "Revolutionary Decree No. 1." which was adopted by the soviet bodies. It provided that workers and clerks, in factories and shops shall "henceforth be employed and discharged only at the consent of the shop committees." This meant that the soviet has begun to function as state power. The Bolsheviks expected that the inevitable resistance of the government to this decree would result in uniting the masses more closely around the soviet. As Trotsky wrote in the "History of the Russian Revolution" the demand of workers control was used as a link to connect the phase of political preparation with that of the actual insurrection itself. In fact this idea was not put to the test as the revolution in Petrograd came before the Decree could be implemented.

From this it can be seen that Workers Control has nothing to do with co-partnership, under capitalism but a step towards a seizure of power. At the present time revolutionaries, by putting forward the demand for workers control of industry and nationalisation under control without compensation separate themselves from all those reformists who timidly suggest to the Labour Government the desirability of nationalisation. With workers control the working class will be able not only

to control the internal life of the country but to place under a magnifying glass and to expose to the whole of society the waste and squandering which is inherent in capitalism. Naturally the employers will fight this tooth and nail because gains in this direction mean so much more than just simple economic gains; for each advance each victory by the working class fundamentally weakens the position of the bourgeoisie.

In industries which are closing down as a result of the economic crisis workers control would be replaced by direct workers management. In this way workers control becomes the school in which the working class prepares itself for management after the revolution. But workers management does not mean self management such as in Yugoslavia now where each factory produces what it thinks it can sell, but management of the factories which will produce within the framework of a centralised state plan drawn up by the soviets.

The factory committees are the organs for carrying out this control. In the period of the revolution in this country (which will take place in the process of the world nuclear war) the factory committees will play a role of infinite importance. As in the early days of the Russian revolution when the state apparatus was badly organised, the factory committees will carry out the tasks of organising and reconstructing the forces of production, and distributing commodities on a local scale.

DRAFT REGULATIONS ON WORKERS CONTROL

1. Workers control over the production, warehousing, purchase and sale of all products and raw materials shall be introduced in all industrial, commercial, banking, agricultural and other enterprises employing not less than five workers and employees (together), or with a turnover of not less than 10,000 rubles per annum.

2. Workers control shall be carried out by all the workers and employees of an enterprise, either directly, if the enterprise is small enough to permit it, or through their elected representatives, who shall be elected immediately at general meetings, at which minutes of the elections shall be taken and the names of those elected, communicated to the government and to the local Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies.

3. Unless permission is given by the elected representatives of the workers and employees, the closing of an enterprise or the cessation of work of state importance, or any change in its process is absolutely prohibited.

4. The elected representatives shall have access to all books and documents and to all warehouses and stocks of materials, instruments and products without exception.

5. The decisions of the elected representatives of the workers and employees are

binding upon the owners of enterprises and may be annulled only by trade unions and their congresses.

6. In all enterprises of state importance all owners and all representatives of the workers and employees elected for the purpose of exercising workers control shall be answerable to the state for the maintenance of the strictest order and discipline and for the protection of property. Persons guilty of neglect of duty, concealment of stocks, accounts, etc., shall be punished by the confiscation of the whole of their property and by imprisonment for a term of up to five years.

7. By enterprises of state importance are meant all enterprises working for defence purposes, or in any way connected with the manufacture of articles necessary for the existence of the masses of the population.

8. More detailed rules on workers control shall be drawn up by the local Soviets of Workers Deputies and by conferences of factory committees, and also by committees of employees at general meetings of their representatives.

Pravda No. 178, November 16(3), 1917.

Thus we see that the demands for Workers Control are based on the revolutionary experiences of 1917.

Conference without a programme

The anti-wage freeze conference on December 3 in London merely draws attention to the fact that the CP is trying to block the development of a clear anti capitalist programme behind a great smokescreen of words and denunciations. The meeting ended with no proposals giving any revolutionary perspective. The organisers were very anxious in case the wrong people succeeded in gaining admittance to the meeting. Proposals were confined to calling for a week of national protest and campaign involving lobbies of Parliament etc. As usual this amounts to the appearance of doing something without the reality. It is absurd to think that capitalism is open to this sort of pressure. Any demonstration called, should march under the banner of proletarian revolution, with slogans of factory occupations, organised inter industrial strikes against unemployment with the perspective of a general strike and a workers government.

There was talk of calling for many resolutions, opposing dismissals, support for legal action against the Prices and Incomes policy, 100 per cent trade union membership. There may be no quarrel with the last demand but all the others are essentially a cover up. The conference did not relate the process of the class struggle in this country to the world revolutionary process to overthrow imperialism. No attempt was made to show the complete weakness of imperialism,

rather the emphasis was to try to convince the government of the error of its ways. Imperialism is not open to pressure, it is vulnerable to the mass mobilisation of the working class on a revolutionary programme. No appeals for the mass revolutionary intervention of the masses were made, everything was confined to the policy of pressures. One delegate did call for the unions to break from the Labour party but no further perspective was offered. In practice it is possible to see here only the usual policy of peaceful co-existence partly concealed by denunciations of the government. There was no talk of linking the struggles of the British masses with those of Europe, no mention even of a serious demonstration or a campaign for Cousins demands.

The nature of this conference and its total lack of perspective for the workers movement shows again that the vanguard in the factory committees must smash the conservative elements in their leadership and must organise themselves nationally, free from the pernicious influence of the CP and the TU bureaucrats who ally with the CP as a means of delaying and blocking the advance of the masses against British imperialism and capitalism. This conference was an attempt to canalise the turbulence of the masses by appearing with a new substitute leadership geared to "peaceful co-existence."

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THE ASSASSINATION OF TURCIOS BY THE C.P. OF GUATEMALA IS THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE FAILURE OF ALL THE ATTEMPTS TO ELIMINATE THE GUERRILLAS

J. Posadas

Fidel Castro praised Turcios — the Guatemalan — as they would do it in the circus or the theatre, or as they would present him on television. It was not the presentation of a revolutionary leader, but as in the theatre or circus, the director comes forward and presents; "Here is my best pupil". A person who is unknown to the whole world, without an idea in his head, who never gave a political opinion; he presents him "here is the great hero of Guatemala". This is what they do in circuses. In the Revolutionary struggle there is nothing like this, it is not decent, nor honourable, nor necessary, but Castro presents him as "the hero of Guatemala". He was no hero; the only idea of this guy was conciliation with capitalism or the internal struggle and the resistance to the 13th of November, the IV International and the Trotskyists; but Yon Sosa remains with the programme of the Socialist Revolution.

Through a combination of difficulties of the 13th of November movement; how to function as a party, its limitations, the lack of historical period to develop as a party and for its militants to acquire the sureness and the leadership of the party, above all the sureness; the pressure of the communist party, of Fidel Castro, of Turcios supporting themselves on the national limitations, they have succeeded in making the MR 13 of November expel two trotskysts. But they have not succeeded in making it abandon the programme of the Socialist revolution. And in the declarations of Yon Sosa, after the expulsion of the two trotskysts, they say that they are maintaining the Programme of the Socialist Revolution; and when he speaks of the history of the 13th of November movement, he thanks the IV International, that is to say, us, that we have helped them to understand Marxism.

It was Turcios who had to go to liquidate Yon Sosa. They believed that it was enough to liquidate the trotskysts, to expel the trotskysts, in order to corner Yon Sosa. Turcios and Fidel Castro hoped that it would be enough to make Yon Sosa submit himself to Fidel Castro through Turcios. Yon Sosa did not submit. It was Turcios, who looked for a contact with the MR 13th and declared that he was disposed even to fight for the workers and peasants programme for the workers and peasants government, that he was disposed to fight and unite with the MR 13 on this programme. While at the same time the Communist Party had declared and worked openly in alliance with Montenegro, the president of Guatemala. And the appeal of Montenegro that they abandon the revolution, the guerrilla, was directed at the Communist party to give a hand to the Communist Party so that it could influence Turcios, so that they would abandon the guerrilla struggle and moreover, to bring about the dissolution of the MR 13th. The MR 13th went forward, and Turcios did not accept either because Turcios reflected the position of Fidel Castro, a centrist position and not that of the Communist Party. He was an obstacle to the Communist Party. This is the accident of Turcios. They have liquidated him, they have killed Turcios. The Communist Party killed Turcios! as they are going to kill all they can who are an obstacle to their policy.

They have not only killed Guevara in Cuba, they have killed Turcios in Guatemala. They have not killed us because they have not been able to. They are going to kill whatever obstacle is put in their way. This is the assassination of the Communist Party. Because of this Fidel Castro who presented Turcios as at a theatre or circus, has not said a word about Turcios whereas if he had really been in an accident, he would have said something. He said nothing. It is a government in which there is a conciliation of tendencies. But Fidel Castro did not say a word about Turcios. It is absurd to ignore that it was not an accident. The car crashed says the reports. Good, we know something of these things. This person does not travel in any old

car. He goes in a car which can move fast. They are the cars which they use in actions, and when he goes in a car which crashes, it is because it was prepared in a way so that he was not able to control the car. And anyway, who said that the car crashed? Who said it? They riddled it with bullets, with bombs, liquidated him and presented it as an accident.

The proof that it was an assassination of the Communist Party to show to the government of Montenegro that they are against the guerrillas and that this is a basis of conciliation with Mendez Montenegro, is the official burial which they made. Turcios was the enemy number one, among others, of Mendez Montenegro; an enemy they were looking for, that they were giving millions of dollars for his head. Then the government accepts to give a public funeral for him as a hero of the country and moreover, he was given a police escort. He was given an escort. Even though it was only a single policeman, it was an official escort. The police were not there to look for Turcios and his people but to be an escort. This is the conciliation with the Communist Party. Filthy and miserable.

Fidel Castro must condemn this. This must be condemned. He must correct his declaration when he said that the IV International was "pestilential". This assassination is pestilential. And to correct his errors Fidel Castro must begin by correcting this. He must condemn the Communist Party and declare that this was an assassination. Fidel Castro doesn't say it because he is frightened the Communists will say "If you speak of Turcios we will speak about Guevara". It is a game between conciliators. It is an assassination which is going to have consequences and of that there isn't any doubt. And it is a retreat of the whole world-wide intention of that rabble who had wanted to use the political fight within the MR 13 November to single out, to denigrate the IV International the leadership of the IV International and Posadas in particular.

All these imbeciles, idiots who have written 'the maniac Posadas' and all those things which they have written about Guatemala; there, one has the consequences. There one has the result. We expect nothing from these people, who learn nothing because they are imbeciles and moreover because they don't have any revolutionary intentions. But it is going to show how history is not held up by the preoccupation of the imbeciles who dedicate themselves to political activity.

It is necessary to demand of Fidel Castro that he draws up a declaration condemning the assassination of Turcios. It is the same betrayal, and the same assassination as the communists have done in Venezuela betraying a whole leadership and before that Ojeda and all the leadership of the Communist Party who were against that half the Central Committee of the Communist Party who opposed the guerrillas. They betrayed all of them. And the last declaration of the Venezuelan government says: 'this is a report which came from the Communist Party'. The Venezuelan government

knows well that it puts its ally in danger but at the same time as it compromises it; its ally which it allows to come and go out of the country, they have to denounce it.

In all the world the communist leadership is going to act like this; the communist leadership not the communist base. The Communist leadership is going to try to follow this road.

It is absurd to admit that the government of Guatemala allows homage to be rendered in a public funeral accompanied by a police escort, to a man who was apparently enemy number one,—according to them. This is totally absurd. It only happens in films and the communists believe that they can act as in a film.

The claims which they make over Turcios are made for the simple minded. Who knew about Turcios? What articles exist by Turcios? What political orientation did he give? What did he achieve? He was a good shot. We respect this; we respect all revolutionaries whatever their tendency who struggle to overthrow capitalism. But to respect does not mean to regard them as a leadership, as political leaders. Turcios was not a political leader. Turcios was simply a guerrilla who knew how to kill and who did not fear death. That is all. He was politically incapable. Is there any evidence of a single idea from Turcios? The only idea which has been attributed to him is a repetition of the line of the 13th November movement. But when he spoke on his own account he spoke imprecisely because he spoke of a government in which the whole people is involved and also peasants and workers. What is this? The worker and peasant government is not a government of all the people. It is a worker and peasant government. All the people is a bourgeois, petit bourgeois conception. Turcios was not a man of ideas; he was not a leader, a political organiser. When the Communists pay him so much homage, it is not because of any work or capacity or political organisation of Turcios. They say he is a great man, a great fighter for his people, a great hero who did not fear death. Very well there are a million like this, in Vietnam, but there are few who are capable of making a programme and a policy and also have the capacity to organise the masses which is what counts.

We render homage to all revolutionaries who die in the revolution, to all without distinction of tendency, but this does not mean crediting Turcios as a leader with a political capacity which he did not have. To do so is a concession to empiricism. And in glorifying Turcios they are glorifying empiricism. No the revolution is not won by simply shooting. If the shooting is not the extension of the political line and of the objective to overthrow capitalism, the shooting is valueless. On the other hand it reflects and gives satisfaction to bourgeois desperation, the petit bourgeois who feel themselves to be suffocated by the crisis of capitalism but nothing more.

It is the political organisation of the party which answers the problem and in which the guerrilla struggle can form one of its aspects. It is the programme and objective to overthrow capitalism, the political organisation and the political struggle of the masses which gives the guerrilla activity an objective progressive path.

At the same time this acclamation of Turcios shows up the groundless charges, the lying, the denigrations which they have wished to make with respect to the expulsion of the Trotskyists from the 13 November movement. But what is important

is that the Nov. 13 movement continues with a policy and a programme which is Trotskyist. And now Turcios is liquidated and the FAR is liquidated.

The maintaining of the FAR will be in form only, putting a bomb somewhere and firing a shot in the air as justification. But it is already liquidated. They did not liquidate Turcios in order to put another in his place; they liquidated him in order to liquidate the guerrillas. And now they are going to use all their forces with the intention of eliminating the guerrillas, of Yon Sosa and the November 13 movement. They are going to act as agents, informers and guides to the army to try to eliminate Yon Sosa and the guerrillas because this is the programme of the Communist Party. The programme of the Communist party is peaceful co existence, it is against the revolution and the actions of Turcios did not favour this. It is sufficient to conclude that such an accident was an assassination. The proof lies in the public homage which they have given to him. The public homage is directed to exert an influence on the petit bourgeoisie to try to show that the communist party grieves at the death of this guerrilla and it cannot help but see this. But at the same time this official burial is directed to show that the government has changed and has an attitude of solidarity with or of understanding and of democratic respect for the ex guerrillas. It is an appeal for the decomposition of the guerrilla base of Turcios. This is the reason for the official burial of Turcios.

All those who have eulogised Turcios among them the Cuban government will have to correct themselves shortly. All this intrigue is the basis for the united front and the conciliation with the government of Montenegro.

We affirm and denounce, at the same time, the fact that they are going to concentrate all their strength to try to liquidate the November 13 movement of Yon Sosa.

And we appeal at the same time to Yon Sosa and to the November 13 movement to reestablish their organic links with the IV International. In effect they have never been broken but it is necessary to reestablish their organic links with the IV International, and to maintain the same revolutionary activity which has shown itself to be the most honourable, and of the greatest potential, the greatest benefit for the development of the revolution in Guatemala.

The money is for the use of the revolution and the revolution has a world scale. The Trotskyist revolutionaries collected the money which they say was appropriated. The Trotskyists appropriated nothing.

The Trotskyists nowhere in the world steal money because to steal money means individual use. When money is used for the revolution it is not appropriating money; it is using money where it is most valuable. And what determines the most valuable use is the conscious leadership of the revolution. And the Trotskyists will only intervene in this way to obtain money. They do not act individually; they gain no personal benefit.

There has never been a political discussion in history around this type of use. What has to be discussed is for what purpose this money was being used. When the Chinese or the bolsheviks or the Cubans took money and gave it to the revolution in another country what were they doing? They used the money of one country to

The struggle of the Israeli masses weakens imperialism's counter-revolution base

In an attempt to solve the economic crisis which has already cost 20,000 workers their jobs, the Histadrut has actually entered into an agreement with the employers banning strikes for the period of labour contracts, and, in those industries where there are no contracts, imposing on strikers the order that they give from 5 to 14 days notice of strike action. Under pressure from the government the Histadrut has also adopted a three years policy of wage restraint; there will be no more than 5% yearly increases in basic wages. Thus we see the open alliance between the Union leaders and the government in the interests of Israeli capitalism.

The strike rate in Israel doubled from 1964 to 1965. This year, in spite of all the appeals for restraint from

OUR PROGRAMME

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

the Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, and against many of the agreements made between the employers and Histadrut (the Israeli Trade Union Centre), the high level of strike activity continues and more often than not, the strikers win their demands. As in this country, 90% of the strikes are unofficial; in fact the number of days lost through union approved strikes actually dropped from 1964 to '65 while the total amount almost doubled. A sizeable proportion of the strikes are in those enterprises actually owned by Histadrut. Such is the fear of the Israeli ruling class in front of the masses that threats of strike action (even without union backing) are usually sufficient to extract concessions from the employers without strike action being taken. As a deflationary measure, the government and Histadrut have recently concluded an agreement abandoning the link between the cost of living and wages. This really shows the reactionary nature of the leadership of Histadrut which has, in this way, abandoned a very significant position (ie the sliding scale of wages) in the interest of Israeli capitalism. But in the present conditions, with the Israeli masses striking so confidently, the bourgeoisie are unlikely to gain very much advantage from this abandonment of the sliding scale of wages.

This struggle is of enormous signi-

ficance to the Middle East revolution. It means that the Israeli masses, despite all the crude nationalistic statements of the Arab leaders, are nevertheless feeling the influence of the world revolution which is giving them the confidence to oppose the Israeli bourgeoisie and their own trade union leadership. They are putting their class interests before any consideration of race or religion and are acting, in practice, in an objective united front with the Arab masses, and as a result of their struggles Israeli capitalism is entering into a deepening crisis.

The leaders of the Arab revolution do not use this powerful force which exists within Israel. It is true that Israel was set up by Imperialism as a base to be used against the Arab revolution, but at the same time it is necessary to distinguish between the Israeli bourgeoisie and the Israeli masses. The propaganda of the Arab leaders does nothing to attract the Israeli masses. Even the revolutionary government of Syria still holds to the plan of diverting the waters of the Jordan (this was the idea of that murderer of the Arab masses, Hussain of Jordan), a stupid, criminal plan, while the constant repetition of the meaningless term 'Arab Socialism' only serves to separate the Arab masses from the socialist aspirations of the Israeli masses. And neither the Soviet

bureaucracy, because of its counter-revolutionary nature, nor the Chinese leadership because of its opportunism and feeble command of marxism, have done anything to correct the leaders of the Arab revolution.

But today the Chinese leadership, which is stimulating the attacks of the Red Guards against the conciliatory and right wing sectors in China itself, must also give a correct orientation to the Arab revolution. Also the Syrian revolutionary leadership which is more and more forced to base itself on the workers militias in its struggle against Imperialism, Syrian capitalism and feudalism, must launch an appeal to the Israeli masses to overthrow their ruling class and seize power.

Israel only remains a problem in the Middle East because of the limitations of the Arab and world working class leadership; it will only be solved by the advance of the revolution. As Cde. Posadas said in his article 'The Arab revolution and the Problem of Palestine'. 'The solution lies in the appeal to the revolution and for the installation of workers states throughout Africa and Asia and at the same time with the call for the integration and unification of Palestine, with the right of self-determination, within the Federation of the Workers States of the Middle East and its fusion with the Mahgreb and the rest of Africa'.

African revolutionary organisations approach trotskyist positions

We are publishing below a small extract from a joint communique issued by a number of African revolutionary organisations, attacking a Seminar on "Africa: National and Social Revolution" organised by the Pro-Moscow CPs. The line expressed in this communique, although not formulated in a clearly trotskyist way expressed not the stalinist concept of the revolution by stages, but the line of Permanent Revolution i.e. the democratic revolution growing over directly into the socialist revolution.

For us dedicated revolutionaries there can be no sharp division, separated in time, between national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution. The objective of the liberation revolution is precisely to liquidate foreign monopolies and take over imperialist investments in the country. This

alone invests the democratic revolution with a national character. But for the revolution to stop at this point and not to proceed to socialist reconstruction immediately is to give imperialism time to recover and plot the reversal of the liberation revolution. The victory of the national democratic revolution can be secured only by taking the first steps to socialism. And this means the taking over without compensation of the main means of production and nationalising them without compensation. This at once cuts the economic ground from under the imperialists' feet and eliminates their influence from the national life.

Far from hindering the development of the African revolution, as one report at the Seminar says, the ideological struggle between the Soviet Union and Peoples' China is to be welcomed, because it shows

up the Soviet revisionists for what they really are; the allies of imperialism for the retention of imperialism, and the enemy of armed revolution and thus of human progress. For ourselves, the undermentioned liberation movements, who have been excluded from a Seminar held on the soil of our Motherland; we believe that the African revolution can only rely on all sorts of assistance from Socialist States, who believe in Peoples' Wars and revolutionary violence. We also believe that by such mutual assistance they can take the great leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom and prosperity.

Signed:

1. Basutoland Congress Party
2. Bechuanaland Peoples' Party
3. Mozambique Revolutionary Committee
4. Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile
5. Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa
6. Swaziland Progressive Party
7. South West Africa National Union
8. Zimbabwe African National Union

Cadre School of the IV International in Spain

The European Bureau of the IV International organised in June 1966 a Cadre School in a Spanish town with the participation of leaders of the International. This school lasted 8 days and was organised around the following agenda.

1. Marxist Philosophy and Economics.
2. History of the Workers Movement.
3. Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Process of the Political Revolution in the Workers States.
4. Colonial Revolution.
5. The Process of the World Permanent Revolution.
6. The Process of the Development of the Proletarian Revolution in Europe and Spain.
7. The History of the IV International and the Bolshevik Conception of the Party.

Fifteen comrades participated at this school which functioned for 12 hours a day. The school adopted different organisation and resolutions on the activity of the Party. It sent greetings to the International Secretariat, to Comrade Posadas whose documents had given the basis for the course and the discussions of the school, to all the sections of the Inter-

national and in particular to those who were suffering repression, like the Mexican section, the Guatemalan, Cuban, Brazilian Sections and to all the imprisoned comrades of the International.

The School rendered homage to Francisco Armado and all the comrades of the International assassinated by the repression of Capitalism for their struggle for the socialist revolution.

The School sent a greeting to the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world in particular to the Vietnamese masses, the Chinese masses and the advance of the Chinese Communist Party towards the revolutionary programme and the united front with the IV International; to the Spanish workers, peasant and student masses who, with their struggle and the progress accomplished in their independent class organisation, are preparing the overthrow of Franco and of Spanish capitalism, the setting up of a workers state in Spain within the frame work of the proletarian revolution in the whole of Europe.

The Cadre School was held under the Presidium of Honour of Leon Trotsky, Natalia Sedova, and J. Posadas. It finished by singing the international.

THE ASSASSINATION OF TURCIOS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

aid the revolution in another. What can be criticised in that. That is the extension of the revolution. And the Trotskyists used the money of one country for use in the revolution of another country, what is there to criticise in this? The point to criticise would be if the politics which were developed were those of conciliation with capitalism. If the policy is revolutionary it is necessary to discuss if it will be more convenient or not in such a country. Why do the Chinese help the Vietnamese? To think otherwise than in terms of international solidarity is to be confined within a nationalist mentality, a regional outlook which gives no benefit because it prevents an understanding of the objectives of the revolution, of finding support in the world revolution to give the political security to advance. If this is not understood, inactivity and conservatism result.

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